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scattered material has been rendered available by the patient scholarship of the late Barthélémy Hauréau, whose studies must form the starting-point of any other investigations in this field¹.

In endeavoring to bring together such information as the sermons contain upon the life of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century we must give up from the first any idea of an exhaustive investigation. Of all countries France was the most productive in sermons, and probably most of the distinguished French preachers of this period were at some time in their careers connected with the University of Paris; and while few of their sermons have been, or ever will be, published, the number preserved in manuscript reaches far into the thousands. Some practical limit must evidently be set by confining the study to the printed texts and to such portions of the manuscript sources as seem likely to yield fruitful results. Accordingly, besides the collections of *exempla* and the extensive materials published or indicated by Hauréau², attention has been directed especially to those preachers who had personal knowledge of academic conditions at Paris and were in the habit of alluding to them in their sermons, particularly to that altogether delightful cleric, Robert de Sorbon³, the companion of St. Louis and founder of the Sorbonne, and to the chancellors of the

Reference should also be made to the *Latin Stories* edited by Wright for the Percy Society (1842), and to the fables of Odo of Cheriton in the edition of Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, IV. (1896). There is a collection of *exempla* in Munich (Cod. Lat. 23420) which would repay study.

¹ See particularly his *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (cited below simply as Hauréau); and numerous articles in the *Histoire Littéraire* and the *Journal des Savants*. The catalogue of *Incipits* of sermons and other Latin works of the middle ages upon which Hauréau based many of his conclusions as to authorship is now in the hands of the Académie des Inscriptions.

² Hauréau's studies were chiefly confined to manuscripts in Paris. Besides the various manuscripts in other libraries noted below under individual preachers, I have found of special interest the following miscellaneous collections of Paris sermons: Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 757; Merton College, MS. 237; Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372; Library of St. Mark's at Venice, Fondo Antico, MS. 92.

³ See Hauréau, "Les Propos de Maître Robert de Sorbon", in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXI. 2. 133-149; and the bibliography and list of Robert's works in the introduction to Chambon's edition of the *De Conscientia* (Paris, 1903). The library of the Sorbonne formerly possessed "Sermones magistri Roberti de Sorbona de tempore, de festis, et ad status" (Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III. 113), but the manuscript seems to have disappeared. The most considerable collection of his sermons which survives is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 15971, ff. 68-198, a collection for Sundays and holy days throughout the year, delivered, as appears from the concordance of the fixed and movable feasts, in 1260 and 1261. A large number of these sermons are in his name and many of the others are in his style. Scattered sermons are in MSS. Lat. 14952, f. 53 (printed by Hauréau, *Quelques MSS.*, IV. 69); 15951, f. 374; 15952, ff. 14, 119, 119v; 15954, ff. 172, 272; 15955, f. 179; 16482, ff. 309-312, 318; 16488, ff. 437v, 457v; 16499, f. 272; 16505, ff. 155v, 157, 217, 220v; 16507, ff. 30, 267, 268, 421; and in Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, p. 124.

university. Originally simply the official of the church of Notre-Dame who was charged with keeping the chapter's seal and drawing up its documents¹, the chancellor was early given supervision

¹ On the early functions of the chancellor, see Guérard, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, I. civ-cv; Mortet, "Maurice de Sully", in the *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, XVI. 150 ff. On the later development of the office, see the *Chartularium*, I. xi-xix; Rashdall, *Universities*, I. 305-313, 333-334, 339-342, 393-396, 448-452, 456-458, 472-474.

The chancellors of the thirteenth century are enumerated, with their approximate dates, in the *Chartularium*, I. xix, note, II. xv. The following list of their sermons includes all that I have been able to find after a somewhat protracted search. Unless otherwise indicated, the manuscripts are those of the Bibliothèque Nationale:

Pierre de Poitiers, chancellor as early as 1193 and as late as 1204. See Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 54; and Hauréau, II. 240, III. 67 ff. The only important collection of his sermons to which attention has been called is in MS. Lat. 14593, where several numbers of the series are repeated. Some of these are also in MSS. Lat. 3563, f. 114; 3705, f. 129; 12293, ff. 99-107; 13586, p. 330; Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 1005.

Prévostin (Prepositinus) of Cremona, chancellor from 1206 to 1209 or thereabouts. On his life and works see Hauréau in the *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 297-303, where a list of the Paris manuscripts of his sermons is given. "Sermones Prepositini" are also preserved at Munich, Cod. Lat. 14126, ff. 1-5; in the British Museum, Add. MS. 18335, ff. 2v-25v; and in the Stadtbibliothek at Treves, MS. 222, ff. 21 ff.; but they contain exceedingly little on the life of the time. It may be noted in passing that the above-mentioned manuscript of the British Museum also contains (f. 26) the liturgical treatise seen by Pez at Salzburg, the authorship of which appeared doubtful to Hauréau ("Incipit tractatus de divino officio magistri Prepositini per circulum anni. Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile . . .").

Étienne de Reims, chancellor from 1214 or 1215 to 1218. Only one of his sermons is known, MS. Lat. 16505, f. 190.

Philippe de Grève, 1218-1236, the most distinguished chancellor of this period, often called simply "The Chancellor". His poems and theological writings do not concern us here; on the man and his sermons see Oudin, *Commentarius de Scripturibus Ecclesie*, III. 121; Peiper, in the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, VII. 409 ff.; the index to the first volume of the *Chartularium*; and especially Hauréau in the *Journal des Savants*, July, 1894. His sermons fall into four groups:

1. *Sermones festuales*, for Sundays and holy days throughout the year. MSS. Lat. 2516A, 3280, 3543, 3544, 3545, 12416, 15933, 16469 (last portion of series only); Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 1009; MSS. Troyes 1417; Rouen 615; Alençon 153; Bourges 117; British Museum, Royal MS. 8. F. 13; Siena, MS. F. x. 5. According to Omont (*Cabinet Historique*, 1882, p. 568), this series is also found in the seminary library at Autun, MS. 139 B. Scattered sermons of this series are in MSS. Lat. 15951, 15954, 15955, 15959, 16466, 16471, 16488, 16505, 16507; MSS. Amiens 284; Bourges 115, ff. 74-84; Arras 329, f. 54.

2. *Expositiones Evangeliorum Dominicorum*, also called simply *Omeliæ*, really a theological commentary on the Gospels throughout the year (cf. Hauréau, VI. 56). MSS. Lat. 3281, 18175; Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MSS. 1246, 1247; Lincoln Cathedral, MS. A. 2. 5; Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 1. 3. 9; Munich, Cod. Lat. 3740; Erfurt, MS. Q. 97; Troyes 1100, ff. 206-227v.

3. *In Psalterium Davidicum CCCXXX Sermones*. Numerous manuscripts; published at Paris in 1522 and at Brescia in 1600.

4. A number of occasional sermons delivered at Paris and various places in northern France and possessing considerable historical interest. Two are in MS. Lat. n. a. 338 (ff. 152, 236), where they were seen and their importance noted by Hauréau (*Journal des Savants*, August, 1889; *Quelques MSS.*, VI. 239). The others, unknown to Hauréau, are found in MSS. Avranches 132; Troyes 1099; and Vitry-le-François 69. The

over the schools which sprang up about the cathedral, and as these grew in numbers and importance and developed into a university he still asserted his right to license masters and his jurisdiction over scholars. Stubborn conflicts arose over these claims in the earlier years of the thirteenth century, and various papal bulls placed important restrictions upon the chancellor's powers, but he continued

Avranches manuscript is the most complete collection of Philip's sermons, containing also the first and second series.

There is no apparent reason for attributing to Philip the *Sermones cancellarii Parisiensis* of MS. 403 of the Royal Library at Berlin (cf. Rose, *Verzeichniss*, II. 237) or the *Sermones . . . cancellarii Parisiensis* at Erfurt (MS. F. 103). For an old French sermon on the Virgin composed in part by him see Valois, *Guillaume d'Anvergne*, 220 ff.

Guiard de Laon, chancellor from 1237 to 1238, when he became bishop of Cambrai. On his writings see the *Histoire Littéraire*, XVIII. 354-356; and Hauréau, in the *Journal des Savants*, June, 1893. His numerous sermons, many of which are shown by the manuscripts to have been preached at Paris, have not come down to us in any single collection (the *Summula Sermonum* seen by Oudin at Dijon seems to have been lost) but are found in several manuscripts, scattered among those of Eudes de Châteauroux, Guillaume d'Anvergne, and others of his contemporaries. Taken together, MSS. Lat. 15959, 15955, and 15964 offer a fairly complete series for Sundays and festivals throughout the year, often with several for the same day. MSS. Lat. 15951 and 16471 and MS. Arras 329 contain a large number of sermons *de sanctis*. Various sermons are in MSS. Lat. 12418 (five, not three, as Hauréau states), 15952, 15953, 15954, 16488, 16502, 16505, 16507, n. a. 338, and in MS. Amiens 284 (which contains some in addition to those enumerated in Coyecque's catalogue). An old French sermon of Guiard is printed in the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* (1861), IV. 124. Some of his sermons in MS. Lat. 16471 were ascribed by Hauréau to Gautier de Château-Thierry because of the opinion, which he was finally compelled to abandon, that Guiard was never chancellor.

Eudes de Châteauroux, chancellor 1238-1244 and afterward cardinal bishop of Tusculum. The time at my disposal has not permitted an investigation of the very numerous manuscripts of Eudes, apparently the most prolific sermonizer of all the chancellors of his century. Cardinal Pitra (*Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis*, II. 188-343) has published extracts from a collection of 765 of his sermons in the possession of the Dominicans at Rome and has enumerated a large number of other manuscripts; many of the Paris manuscripts have been noted by Hauréau. See also Delisle in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIX. 268-272. The printed sermons and such others as I have read bear out Hauréau's statement that they contain few allusions to the customs or events of the time. On Eudes see Pitra, II. xxiii-xxv; Hauréau, in the *Journal des Savants*, August, 1888, and in the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, XXIV. 2. 204 ff.

Gautier de Château-Thierry, chancellor from 1246 to 1249, when he became bishop of Paris. Scattered sermons by him are found in MSS. Lat. 15951, 15953, 15955, 15959, 16471, 16488, 16507; MS. Arras 329, ff. 1, 53v, 72, 152; and MS. Arras 691, f. 139v. In a volume of *Questiones Theologicae* in the Bibliotheca Antoniana at Padua (MS. 152) his name appears on ff. 150v and 153; on f. 152v, apropos of the question whether a master reading at Paris can preach without the bishop's license, he has something to say of the chancellor's office. Some account of Gautier and his writings will be found in *Gallia Christiana*, VII. 100; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 390-395; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 95.

Étienne Tempier, also known as Étienne d'Orléans, chancellor from 1262 or 1263 to 1268, when he became bishop of Paris. See *Gallia Christiana*, VII. 108-115; Hauréau, in *Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 255. Three sermons by him are in MS. Lat. 16481, ff. 77v, 136v, 214 (cf. Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, I. 269).

to style himself the head of the university and to direct the examinations leading to the master's degree. As the chancellors were themselves masters and generally distinguished preachers as well, it is evident that their sermons, though they are naturally of the learned and dignified type and need to be used with due allowance for the official and often unfriendly attitude of the authors, represent close acquaintance with university affairs and possess special importance for the purpose of our study.

With regard to the studies pursued at Paris we must not expect to find much information in the sermons. Various chancellors do indeed draw out elaborate comparisons between the seven liberal arts and the seven gifts of the spirit¹, between the lessons of the Lord's school and those of the devil's², but in such cases the audience is assumed to be sufficiently familiar with the studies mentioned, and the weight of exposition is put upon the corresponding virtue or vice; and even where the account is more specific, it offers interest as an expression of the preacher's attitude toward learning rather than as a description of particular subjects. The all-important study, according to the preachers, is of course theology, "Madame

Jean d'Orléans, also known as Jean des Alleux, chancellor from 1271 to 1280, when he became a Dominican. See *Chartularium*, I. 494; Quétif and Échard, I. 499; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXV. 270-280. His sermons are scattered through MSS. Lat. 14899, ff. 46, 83, 86, 132; 14947 (see Quétif and Échard, I. 385); 14952, f. 188v; 15005 (contained also in MS. 14947); 15956, ff. 279v, 301v, 313v; 16481 (see Quétif and Échard, I. 268); 16482, ff. 178v, 204, 275v (ascribed to him by Quétif and Échard and the *Histoire Littéraire*); MS. Soissons 125, f. 60 (Molinier's catalogue is wrong in attributing to him the four that follow, of which two are anonymous and two in the name "fratris Petri de Remerico Monte"); MS. Troyes 1788, f. 82v; Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, pp. 8, 15, 19, 29, 39, 47, 53, 88, 129, 130; Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 757, ff. 81, 349, 359; Merton College, MS. 237, ff. 32v, 94v, 110; Venice, Library of St. Mark's, Fondo Antico, MS. 92, ff. 228 ff. (six sermons).

Nicolas de Nonancourt, 1284-1288. Sermons in MSS. Lat. 15952, ff. 277v (also in 14961, f. 135), 279; 16252, f. 279. A "sermo cancellarii" in MS. Lat. 15952, f. 113 (and anonymously in MS. 14899, f. 109) is attributed to him by Hauréau.

Bertaud de St. Denis, 1288-1295. But one of his sermons is known: MS. Lat. 14947, f. 210 (also in MSS. Lat. 15005, f. 113, and 15129, f. 191). Cf. *Histoire Littéraire*, XXV. 317-320, XXVI. 439; *Journal des Savants*, 1889, p. 303, 1891, p. 302.

Sermons of anonymous chancellors who have not been identified are in MSS. Lat. 568, f. 190; 10968, f. 104; 12418, ff. 109, 110; 15527, f. 1; 15952, ff. 107-108; 16502, ff. 26, 84v, 124. The editors of the *Chartularium* declare that various sermons of Aimery de Veire, chancellor from 1249 to circa 1263, are extant, but none were known to Hauréau nor have I been able to discover any. The sermons in MS. Lat. 2516A, of which Lecoy de la Marche conjectures Aimery to have been the author, are the work of Philippe de Grève (*Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 249).

¹ Prévostin, British Museum, Add. MS. 18335, f. 14; Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 429; and MS. Arras 329, f. 3v; Eudes de Châteauroux, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 240v; Barthélémy de Tours, Hauréau, IV. 35. Cf. Philippe de Grève, in *Psalterium*, I. f. 311 (Paris, 1522); Jacques de Vitry, in Pitra, II. 365.

² Jean d'Orléans, Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, p. 39.

la Haute Science" of the thirteenth century¹, supreme above all other studies, which may be valuable as discipline but do not deserve to be studied for their own sakes². The arts are merely preparatory to theology³; indeed the *trivium* affords a sufficient preparation, since "the branches of the *quadrivium*, though containing truth, do not lead to piety"⁴. "The sword of God's word is forged by grammar, sharpened by logic, and burnished by rhetoric, but only theology can use it." Some students, however, use up the blade in putting on the edge⁵; others give the best years of their life to fine speaking⁶ or to the study of the stars⁷, coming in their old age to theology, which should be the wife of their youth⁸. Some neglect theology for geometry⁹ or for the works of the philosophers¹⁰, so that even when they reach theology, they cannot be separated from their Aristotle¹¹, but read his forbidden books in secret¹² and corrupt their faith¹³. The chief menace, however, to the preëminence of theology seems to have been the study of the canon law, after 1219

¹ Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des Sept Arts*, line 79 (ed. Héron, 46).

² "Exercitandus et exercendus est animus in aliis scienciis, et in logicis et in naturalibus et in moralibus, secundum uniuscuiusque possibilitatem. Ipsa etiam scientia iuris, maxime iuris canonici, non parum necessaria sacre scripture doctoribus. Licet autem predicta discantur ante ipsam, finaliter tamen addiscenda sunt propter ipsam". Philippe de Grève (?), "ad scolares", MS. Troyes 1099, f. 38.

³ See the passages from sermons cited by Denifle, *Universitäten*, I. 100.

⁴ Jacques de Vitry, in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 368, and Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 458, note.

⁵ "Gramatica fabricat gladium verbi Dei, logica ipsum acuit, rethorica ipsum polit, et theologia ipso utitur et ipso percussit; sed quidam scolares superintendunt fabricationi, id est gramatice, alii acutioni in tantum ipsum acuendo quod totam aciem auferunt ei". Robert de Sorbon (?), MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198.

⁶ Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 437, col. 1.

⁷ "Est alia quorundam sapientia qui scire complexionum argumentationum, deceptionum sophismatum, secreta celi rimantur, motus astrorum, cursus planetarum. In his tamen non adeo reprehensibiles invenio sacerdotes sed quosdam qui etatem suam in his consumunt, quorum ingenium in talibus desudant; semper discunt et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis proveniunt". Pierre de Poitiers, MSS. Lat. 12293, f. 101v; 14593, f. 146v, 320v.

⁸ Philippe de Grève, in *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 430.

⁹ "Multi proponunt librum geometrie libro theologie". Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 221.

¹⁰ "Tercia sollicitudo mala est nimie curiositatis studendo in libris philosophorum et pretermittendo theologiam". Jean d'Orléans, MS. Lat. 14889, f. 84v. For the different view of an eminent philosopher, Jean de La Rochelle, see Hauréau, *Histoire de la Philosophie Scholastique*, part 2, I. 194.

¹¹ Jean de St. Gilles, in Hauréau, VI. 234.

¹² Guiard de Laon, in *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 370.

¹³ Jacques de Vitry, in Hauréau, *Philosophie Scholastique*, part 2, I. 108, note.

On the standard authorities in the various subjects at Paris cf. the following passage from a sermon of Friar Bartholomew of Bologna: "Aristotili creditur in logica, Galieno in medicina, et Tullio in rethorica, et similiter de aliis; et esset opprobrium alicui quod in grammatica aliquid diceret contra precepta Prisciani et in logica contra precepta Aristotilis et sic de aliis scientiis". Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 757, ff. 367, 403v.

the only branch of jurisprudence represented at Paris. The rapid development of the judicial and administrative side of the ecclesiastical system in this period created a considerable demand for men trained in law, and many are the denunciations uttered by the theologians against those who forsake the water of sacred scripture for the Abana and Pharpar of the decretists¹ and are advanced to the best places in the church through the seductions of their devil's rhetoric².

The utilitarian motive appears not only in such obviously "lucrative" studies as law and medicine³, but likewise in theology and arts, the study of which was the natural road to ecclesiastical preferment. The chief hope of many students lay in securing a good benefice or prebend⁴, to which end they would toil early and late, since a prebend of a hundred livres might depend upon remembering a single word at the examination⁵. Favoritism also played its part in the distribution of patronage, and great was the popularity of those masters who had the ear of bishops or could exert other influence on behalf of their scholars⁶. Many who had the good

¹ Philippe de Grève (?), MS. Troyes 1099, f. 37.

² "Leges . . . multi audiunt ut volare possint ad dignitates". Jean de Blois, MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 110v. Hauréau, VI. 226, 228; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 394; *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 368. Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, ix. 133 ff., xii. 82-83; Cesar of Heisterbach, in Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., CXLIV. 9. 79. Robert de Sorbon tells the story of a woman who supposed that her son was studying theology at Paris when he was really studying canon law, and who burst into tears on his return, saying, "Credebam quod filius meus deberet esse in servicio Dei et deberet ire ad scientiam Dei et quod esse deberet unus magnus predicator, et el vey a crotalas (volebat dicere ad decretales)". MS. Lat. 15971, f. 167.

On the general feeling toward lawyers in this period cf. Étienne de Bourbon, Nos. 438 ff.; the poem of Philippe de Grève *De Advocatis*, published in the *Archives des Missions* (1866), second series, III. 288; and the following passage from a collection of Paris sermons in the Library of St. Mark's (Fondo Antico 92, f. 193): "Quondam ecclesia consuevit regi in pace per canones, modo regitur per advocatos, per quos fiunt plura mala quam per hereticos; et student in legibus dicentes quod canones non possunt sciri sine legibus".

³ "Omnes avaricie student, quia intermediis scienciis intendunt que sunt lucrative, scilicet medici, legiste, decretiste". Robert de Sorbon (?), MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198. On "lucrative sciences", cf. the bull *Super speculam* of Honorius III., *Chartularium*, I., No. 32.

⁴ See the debate between the poor and the rich student published by Hauréau, VI. 306. Cf. also the forms of solicitation for benefices preserved in the student letter-writers. *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III. 209, note 3.

⁵ Robert de Sorbon, in Hauréau, IV. 70. Cf. IV. 38; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 436. So Albert de Reims: "Sic laborat, aliquis .xx. annis in studio, et quis est finis eius? Certe ut capiat muscam, id est prebendam". St. Mark's, Fondo Antico 92, f. 261v.

⁶ "Scolares [curiositatem habent] de magistris qui habent favorem prelatorum". Guiard de Laon, MS. Amiens 284, f. 5v. So Robert de Sorbon, *De Conscientia*, 26; anon. in MS. Lat. 16471, f. 118; MS. Arras 329, f. 86.

fortune to get benefices remained at Paris to enjoy them¹, a form of non-residence which seems to have become a serious abuse by the thirteenth century, so that some students even held more than one benefice at the same time². Indeed a parish or cathedral appointment might come at the beginning as well as at the end of one's university career, being sometimes conferred upon ignorant youths, who at once hastened to Paris to secure some sort of an education—"like a physician who should take his pay, leave his patient, and come to the university to learn his medicine", says one preacher³.

Too eager pursuit of learning for its own sake was in quite as much disfavor with the preachers as were ambition and non-residence. Scholars are constantly warned against the vanity of much study and against the sins of pride or false doctrine which may arise from wandering beyond the limits of modest attainment.⁴ "Clerks busy themselves with eclipses of the sun, but fail to observe the darkening of their own hearts by sin"⁵. Far better is it that they should seek to know themselves than to search out the nature of animals, the virtues of herbs, or the courses of the stars⁶. The doves know well the golden rule, yet they have never studied at Paris or heard lectures on the *Topica*⁷. This doctrine is enforced by stories of masters struck dumb to punish their conceit⁸, and of ambitious scholars dead before their time, after they had studied so hard in the hope of becoming bishop that they would never go out into the fields with

¹ Hauréau, VI. 209, 210, 213, 214, 230, 233, 237; Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 14; Jean de Blois, MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 111.

² *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 368, 1894, p. 436.

³ "Contra illos qui tunc primo incipiunt studere et addiscere [MS. addicere] cum habent curam animarum, similes medico qui recepto salario dimisso infirmo vadit ad studium addiscere medicinam." MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198. Cf. Hauréau, III. 243, VI. 58. An example of this abuse from the early part of the twelfth century is given in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, IX. 610. In 1254 two canons of Mainz, who were banished from Germany for stealing, were permitted to receive revenue from their prebends if they would study at Paris. Böhmer-Will, *Regesta Archiepiscoporum Moguntiensium*, II. 322, No. 78.

⁴ Jacques de Vitry, in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, I. 362; Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16488, f. 377v; Prévostin, in *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 302.

⁵ "Querunt clerici de eclipsi solis sed de eclipsi solis spiritualis que contingit in cordibus eorum per peccatum non querunt." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 167. He alludes to the study of the stars and the movements of the heavens in the same MS., ff. 171v, 195. So Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 429; MS. Lat. 16488, f. 410.

⁶ *Id.*, MS. Lat. 15951, f. 185; MS. Lat. 16488, f. 399.

⁷ "Hanc regulam bene sciunt columbe que nunquam studuerunt Parisius nec audierunt *Topica*." *Id.*, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 79; MS. Lat. 16507, f. 39.

⁸ *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 54; Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198, translated in Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de nos Aïeux*, 279. Robert tells as the counterpart of this story the instance of a successful master whose only preparation for lectures consisted in going to mass every morning.

their companions¹, or had put off entering monastic life till they should have completed a full course at Paris, Montpellier, and Bologna². The most popular story of this sort was that of a Paris student who appeared after death to his master, clad in a cope of parchment covered with fine writing. In reply to the master's question he said that the writing consisted of the sophisms and vain inquiries upon which he had spent his time, and that the cope was a heavier load to carry than the tower of St. Germain-des-Prés, near which he and the master stood. As proof of the inward fire which tormented him he let fall a drop of perspiration which pierced the master's hand like an arrow and left a permanent opening in it; whereupon the master abandoned the vain croakings and cawings of the schools and joined the Cistercians³.

Nothing in these Paris sermons is more interesting than the insight they afford into a phase of the university's life concerning which we have otherwise but little information, namely the nature of the examinations and the preparation for them. On this point evidence is found mainly in the sermons of Robert de Sorbon, and particularly in his treatise *On Conscience*⁴, which is really an expanded sermon based upon an elaborate and suggestive parallel between the examination for the master's degree and the last judgment. Taking as his text Job's desire that his "adversary had written a book"⁵, and outlining his headings in the approved fashion of his time, Robert begins with the statement that if any one decides

¹ Hauréau, IV. 37.

² "Clericus quidam Parisius scholaris cum quodam socio suo in una domo et camera manens inspiratus a Deo deliberavit intrare religionem et socium suum ad hoc inducere. Quod renuens socius ait se velle adhuc esse Parisius per triennium et fieri magister, iterum morari apud Montem Pessulanum et fieri magister in medicina, iterum morari Bononie per septennium et fieri dominus legum. Summo mane surgens alius et veniens ad lectum ut acciperet licenciam ab eo invenit eum morte subitanea percutsum qui disposuerat vivere tantum." MS. Tours 468, f. 78; MS. Baluze 77, f. 175.

³ Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 12. On the wide-spread popularity of this *exemplum* see Crane's note (p. 146) and Hauréau, "Les Récits d'Apparitions dans les Sermons du Moyen-Âge", in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXVIII. 2. 239 ff. It has recently been shown that the original of this story was a master at Oxford, Serlon of Wilton, and that the vision antedates 1154. See Schwob in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1898, p. 508.

There is also a curious story of a stupid student who is made miraculously clever by Satan. After his early death devils take his soul to a deep valley and torment it by playing ball with it, but he returns to life and becomes a holy abbot. Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 36.

⁴ Robert de Sorbon, *De Conscientia et De Tribus Distis*, ed. Chambon (Paris, 1903). The old editions of Marguerin de la Bigne (*Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, XXV. 346-352) and Du Boulay (*Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, III. 225-235) are very faulty.

⁵ Job, xxxi. 35, where the rendering of the Vulgate naturally suggests Robert's treatment: "Librum scribat mihi ipse qui judicat."

to seek the *licentia legendi* at Paris and cannot be excused from examination—as many of the great, by special favor, are—he would much like to be told by the chancellor, or by some one in his confidence, on what book he would be examined. Just as he would be a crazy student indeed, who, having found out which book this was, should neglect it and spend his time on others, even so is he mad who fails to study the book of his own conscience, in which we shall all, without exception, be examined at the great day. Moreover, if any one is rejected by the chancellor, he may be reexamined after a year, or it may be that, through the intercession of friends or by suitable gifts or services to the chancellor's relatives or other examiners, the chancellor can be induced to change his decision; whereas at the last judgment the sentence will be final and there will be no help from wealth or influence or stout assertion of ability as canonist or civilian or of familiarity with all arguments and all fallacies. Then, if one fails before the chancellor of Paris, the fact is known to but five or six and the mortification passes away in time, while the Great Chancellor, God, will refute the sinner "in full university" before the whole world. The chancellor, too, does not flog the candidate, but in the last judgment the guilty will be beaten with a rod of iron from the valley of Jehosaphat through the length of hell, nor can we reckon, like idle boys in the grammar-schools, on escaping Saturday's punishment by feigning illness, playing truant, or being stronger than the master, or like them solace ourselves with the thought that after all our fun is well worth a whipping. The chancellor's examination, too, is voluntary; he does not force any one to seek the degree, but waits as long as the scholars wish, and is even burdened with their insistent demands for examinations. In studying the book of our conscience we should imitate the candidates for the license, who eat and drink sparingly, conning steadily the one book they are preparing, searching out all the authorities that pertain to this, and hearing only the professors that lecture on this subject, so that they have difficulty in concealing from their fellows the fact that they are preparing for examination. Such preparation is not the work of five or ten days—though there are many who will not meditate a day or an hour on their sins—but of many years.¹ At the examination the chancellor asks, "Brother, what do you say to

¹ "Putatis vos quod si unus homo fuerit per .x. vel per .v. dies ad unam scientiam, quod cancellarius tam cito det licentiam? Certe non, immo oportet quod clerici multis diebus et noctibus et multis annis studeant. Sed multi sunt qui vix volunt una die vel una hora de suis peccatis cogitare." MS. Lat. 16481, f. 154; sermon of Amand de St. Quentin preached at the Madeleine on the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1273. Cf. *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 455.

this question, what do you say to this one and this one?"¹ The chancellor is not satisfied with a verbal knowledge of books without an understanding of their sense,² but unlike the Great Judge, who will hear the book of our conscience from beginning to end and suffer no mistakes, he requires only seven or eight passages in a book and passes the candidate if he answers three questions out of four. Still another difference lies in the fact that the chancellor does not always conduct the examination in person, so that the student who would be terrified in the presence of so much learning often answers well before the masters who act in the chancellor's place³.

If those who have studied their consciences thoroughly will have such difficulty in the great examination, how much worse will it be for those who have not studied at all? The moralist is thus led to consider where the book of conscience may be read, namely in confession, and to compare the necessity of frequent confession with the student's need of regular attendance upon his master's lectures. At Paris only he who goes to the schools at least twice a week and hears "ordinary" lectures is considered a student, and only such can expect a master to demand their release if captured by the *prévôt* and imprisoned in the Châtelet⁴, yet many there are who confess but once a year or at best make only a hurried confession (*cursorie*); these are not God's scholars and for them there will be no release from the *prévôt* of hell. As at Paris the best clerk is he who by diligent attendance upon lectures becomes able to answer questions which silence the great teachers, so on the day of judgment some simple monk or *béguine* who has well pondered the book of conscience and frequently confessed will put to shame and derision great masters of arts or law or medicine or theology who have neglected these duties. What will it profit a man then to possess the learning of Aristotle and Priscian, of Justinian and Gratian, of Galen and Hippocrates and the rest, preserved on the skins of sheep or goats? If a master were to give his scholars new robes or assure them good prebends in

¹ "Scitis qualiter probantur clerici Parisius? Queritur ab eo, Frater, qualiter diceretis ad istam questionem, et qualiter diceretis tu ad hoc et ad hoc; et secundum hoc quod respondet licenciatur vel refutatur." Amand de S. Quentin, *ibid.*

² "Item si quis sciret litteram librorum corditenus et nesciret sensum, non transiret examinationem cancellarii." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 16482, f. 309v. Another allusion of Robert to the chancellor's examination is printed in Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française*, 457, note.

³ Robert here cites the instance of an abbot-elect examined before Guiard de Laon, bishop of Cambrai, who was so overcome that he could not even read his missal or say his *Pater noster*.

⁴ On the distinction between "ordinary" and "cursory" lectures at Paris see Rashdall, I. 426 ff.; and on the method of securing release from the Châtelet, the *Chartularium*, I., No. 197.

a cathedral, he would have such a throng of scholars that no room could hold them, and other masters, however excellent, would be obliged to shut up shop—"put their fiddles under the bench"—for lack of hearers. Yet God gives to all his followers the garment of the new man and the prebend of his grace the day they enter his school, and, unlike certain proud masters who will lecture only to a large audience, he is willing to read to a single scholar. Many choose as confessors those who have been guilty of the same sin, yet only a fool would study his book with the poorest teacher of Paris, it being one of the glories of a student at his inception that he has studied under the best masters in the city. None but unworthy masters would imitate the jealousy of certain confessors who are unwilling to have their parishioners confess to others; indeed a good master will advise his pupils to attend the lectures of others, for it is scarcely possible to become a good clerk unless one has listened to several masters. Yet men should not avoid their own confessors and seek out strangers, but should follow the example of good students at Paris, who choose by preference masters who are compatriots and well known to them. In the day of judgment priests, as well as people, will be held responsible for the proper study of the book of conscience, just as the chancellor, when he hears on Saturday the lessons of the boys in the grammar-schools, flogs the masters as well as the pupils if he thinks them to blame for the pupils' ignorance.

For the faults of the masters the preachers show little indulgence. Many begin to teach before they have studied long enough in the schools, an abuse which prevails in all faculties, but particularly in that of arts¹. Such masters, says Jacques de Vitry, draw their lectures from books and closets, not from well-stored minds, but they succeed in securing students none the less, by personal solicitation and friendship and even by hiring them to come². The number of their scholars is the masters' pride³; to crowd their class-

¹ "Quidam scolares ante tempus ablactari volunt et fiunt magistri, et hoc in quaque facultate." Philippe de Grève, sermon of August 21, 1226, MS. Avranches 132, f. 243v. "Multi qui adhuc deberent discere presumunt docere, quod viciū maxime in artibus inolevit." *Id.*, MS. Royal 8.F.13, f. 130v. Cf. his *Psalter*, edition of 1522, f. 8v; Nicolas de Nonancourt, MS. Lat. 16252, f. 279v.

² Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 359; Lecoq de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 452. The hiring of scholars is also found at Bologna; see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 223, note 2.

³ Guiard de Laon, MS. Amiens 284, f. 5v. Cf. Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 176v: "Vidi Parisius multos magistros qui dimittebant legere quia non habebant multos auditores".

Hence their class-rooms should be large and easily accessible: "Scola est exposita cuilibet transeunti ut sciatur. . . . Item est fenestrata. . . . Item debet esse lata ut multos capiat". Guiard de Laon, MSS. Lat. 16471, f. 10; 16507, f. 8v. Cf.

rooms they preach new and strange doctrines¹, and for money they will lecture even on Sundays and holy days². Masters there are, too, who make life easy for the scholars who live with them, letting them sleep late in the morning and roam about and amuse themselves freely³, and even conniving at their vices⁴. The great aim of the master is not to instruct his pupils but to appear learned and be called rabbi⁵; many speak obscurely in order to appear more profound⁶, and even pay the beadles to magnify them and cover up their ignorance⁷. Their quarrels are like cock-fights⁸, and they are so jealous that they seek to draw away one another's scholars⁹ and, even when detained by illness, will not suffer their pupils to hear lectures from another¹⁰.

When we turn from studies and teachers to the students themselves, we find the material contained in the sermons fuller and more satisfactory. The ideal scholar of the pulpits was a rather colorless personage, obedient, respectful, eager to learn, and keeping very much to himself¹¹. In order to win the favor of the master and his personal instruction¹², one should be assiduous at lectures, quick at learning, and bold in debate, and should also attract other pupils to

Buoncompagno's description of an ideal Bolognese lecture-hall, Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca Juridica Medii Aevi*, II. 279.

¹ "In discipulis coluntur magistri qui inaudita dicunt." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 296v. Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, IO, II.

² "Illi qui pro argento diebus dominicis et festivis legunt debent saluti anime sue intendere ut laicis bonum exemplum ostenderent." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 437, col. 2.

³ "Magistri illi qui blandiuntur clericis suis et adulantur et dant eis licentiam spaciandi et ludendi et voluntatem faciendi habent plures scolares; sed illi qui arant suos timentur et paucos habent." Philippe de Grève, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 1009, f. 123v; Royal MS. 8.F.13, f. 271v.

⁴ Hauréau, VI. 246. Cf. Jean de Montlhéry, MS. Merton College 237, f. 227v: "Innocens juvenis mittitur quandoque Parysius et exemplo mali socii vel forte magistri sui ita corumpitur et inficitur quod omnibus diebus vite sue non carebit illo vicio."

⁵ "Nec magistri ad utilitatem audiunt, legunt, nec disputant, sed ut vocentur Rabbi." MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 197.

⁶ MS. Lat. 16507, f. 48v.

⁷ Hauréau, VI. 124.

⁸ Philippe de Grève, *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, XXI. 2. 193; *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 431; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 452; Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, 52.

⁹ Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 362.

¹⁰ "Contra magistros qui cum aliquando sint in vinculis infirmitatis vel alicuius occupationis non possunt sustinere quod discipuli sui alium audiant licet meliorem." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15951, f. 14.

¹¹ "Magistri propter quatuor diligunt discipulos: . . . primo quia obedientes; . . . secundo quia timorosi; . . . tercio quia solitarii, non in strepitu et confabulatione cum aliis; . . . quarto quia de addiscendo solliciti." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 112v.

¹² "Mos est apud scolares quod discipuli cariores ab ipsis magistris edocentur." *Ibid.*, f. 253.

the master¹. Robert de Sorbon lays down six rules for successful study: a fixed time for each subject, concentrated attention, memorizing specific things, note-taking, conference with others, and finally prayer, "which availeth much for learning"². The good student should imitate Christ among the doctors, hearing many masters, always seeking good teachers without regard to their fame or place of birth, and listening as well as asking questions—unlike those who will not wait for the end of a question but cry out, "I know what you mean"³. Even when he goes to walk by the Seine in the evening, the good student ought to ponder or repeat his lesson⁴.

It need scarcely be said that the students of medieval Paris did not as a rule spend their time in such studious promenades; indeed if further evidence were needed to dispel the illusion that a medieval university was an institution devoted to biblical study and religious nurture, the preachers of the period would offer sufficient proof. We have already seen how the theological faculty, the only one dealing directly with religious subject-matter, was suffering from the competition of the canon law and other "lucrative" subjects, and it is on every hand apparent that the morals of at least a considerable portion of the student body were as profane as their studies⁵. Students, we are told, care nothing for sermons, and for most of them holy days are only an occasion for idleness⁶; they remain outside during mass, and like their masses short and their lectures and disputations long⁷. If their voice is in the choir, their mind is without, in the street, in bed, or at the table—as the rhyme ran⁸,

Vox in choro, mens in foro
Vel in mensa vel in thoro.

Confession they likewise neglect; instead of seeking to have his soul cleansed by confession on his arrival at Paris⁹, the student hastens

¹ Anonymous, *ibid.*, f. 118v.

² Lecoy de la Marché, *Chaire Française*, 453.

³ "Contra illos qui nolunt audire antequam respondeant sed clamant dicentes, Bene scio quid vultis dicere." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 146v.

⁴ "Sic bonus scholaris sero debet ire spaciatus ad ripam Secane, non ut ibi ludatur sed lectionem repetat vel meditetur." *Ibid.*, f. 198.

⁵ Cf. Langlois, *Questions d'Histoire et d'Enseignement*, 5; Rashdall, II. 700-702.

⁶ Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 287; *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 372.

⁷ "Contra illos qui gaudent de brevitate missarum et longitudine lectionum et disputationum et foris sunt dum cantatur missa." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 228, col. 4.

⁸ MS. Lat. 15971, f. 185.

⁹ "Scolaris quando venit Parysius statim currit ad lotricem ut lavetur, non vadit ad confessionem ut mundetur eius cor." Jean de Montlhéry, MS. Merton College 237, f.

to the laundress. Dominicans like Étienne de Bourbon attend vespers, at Notre-Dame or elsewhere¹, but a miracle or special providence is often needed in order to bring students or masters into this order², and one subprior complains that parents are more anxious to keep their sons away from the friars than from the brothel or the tavern³. "The student's heart is in the mire", says another Dominican, "fixed on prebends and things temporal and how to satisfy his desires"⁴. "He is ashamed to sin against the rules of Donatus, but not to violate the law of Christ"⁵. He is much more familiar, says Robert de Sorbon, with the text of the dice, which he recognizes at once, no matter how rapidly they are thrown, than with the text of logic—yet the gloss of the dice he forgets, which is, Swear, steal, and be hanged⁶. Many students come to Paris like the prodigal to a far country and indulge in practices they would not even think of at home, wasting in riotous living not only their own portion but the substance of their churches⁷.

What the forms of riotous living were which prevailed among students the preachers do not hesitate to specify, sometimes with more particularity than modern taste permits. Gambling is men-

228. For other relations between students and *lotrices*, cf. the following, from the sermon of an anonymous chancellor: "Sic hodie faciunt lotrices Parisius. Bene sciunt totundere fatuous clericos. Illos ergo qui in luxuria vivunt Dallida expoliât et isti tonduntur". MS. Lat. 16502, f. 86v.

¹ Ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 317, 363.

² *Ibid.*, 44, 86, 222, 345.

³ Hauréau, III. 287.

⁴ "Scolaris habet cor ad lutum, ad temporalia, ad prebendas et huiusmodi, et quomodo possit suam explere libidinem [MS. libinem]." Jean de Monthéry, Ashmolean MS. 757, in the Bodleian, f. 160v.

⁵ Quoted from St. Augustine in MS. Lat. 15959, f. 437, col. 1; MS. Lat. 15955, f. 430. Cf. Robert de Sorbon in Hauréau, V. 57.

⁶ "Hoc faciunt aleatores et ludentes cum taxillis hodie, namque multi sciunt melius textum taxillorum, id est numerum punctorum. Quamcunque cito proiciantur statim vident asardum, et huiusmodi; unde melius sciunt textum taxillorum quam textum logice veteris. Tamen glosam nesciunt. Glosa taxillorum est hec: Iurabo, furabor, suspendar. Sic accidit ista septimana prope Parisius ad duas leucas de quodam sacerdote qui forte luserat in iuventute et modo non erat oblitus. . . . Lusit .x. libras et equum suum, post suspendit se. Hic est finis taxillorum." MS. Lat. 15971, f. 68. So in the same MS., f. 117v, he says: "Ludis ad talos, ribaldus eris. Probatio: Qui studet in libris gramaticalibus gramaticus vult esse; ergo qui studet in libris ribaldorum, scilicet ludendo cum decii, ribaldus vult esse". Cf. Hauréau, "Les Propos de Maître Robert", 141.

⁷ "Sic scolares abeunt in regionem longinquam cum veniunt Parisius et expendant aliquando non solum portionem propriam sed paternam et maternam et fraternam necnon bona ecclesie." Guîard de Laon, MS. Arras 329, f. 59v; MS. Lat. 16471, f. 39. Pierre de Poitiers, in Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 27, note, and 293 (where *inde* should be read in place of the *mihi* from which Bourgain infers the chancellor's feeling of responsibility for the scholars' morals); Hauréau, VI. 256; Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 434v.

tioned¹, even on the altars of churches², and feasting and free indulgence in the wine-cup³, as well as wild carouses in the streets and the visiting of disreputable resorts⁴, which were often found in close proximity to the class-rooms⁵. Many of the students led a life that was by no means celibate⁶, and there are allusions to the darkest of monastic vices⁷.

Whatever their other virtues, the students of medieval Paris were not distinguished for their love of peace and quiet. Theirs was a rough and violent age, and what with the *prévôt's* men and the townsmen, the monks of St. Germain and the friars, there was no lack of opportunity for a brawl, in which the students were only too likely to be the aggressors. "They are so litigious and quarrelsome that there is no peace with them; wherever they go, be it Paris or Orleans, they disturb the country, their associates, even the whole university"⁸. Many of them go about the streets armed, attacking the citizens, breaking into houses, and abusing women⁹. They quar-

¹ Besides the passages from Robert de Sorbon just quoted, see Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 8; and MS. Tours 468, f. 80, printed below, p. 25, note 4. The more common offenses committed by students against ecclesiastical discipline are illustrated by a blanket form of the papal penitentiary, or letter of "Licet non credas", covering acts which may have been committed by a clerk when a student and have afterward been forgotten: "Quod olim in diversis terris, locis et studiis generalibus vel aliis fuisti, in clericos seculares, presbyteros vel alias religiosas et ecclesiasticas personas interdum causa ludi, correctionis vel alia irato animo manus temere violentas usque et citra sanguinis effusionem iniciendo absque alio excessu difficili vel enormi, arma portando, ad taxillos et alios illicitos ludos ludendo, tabernas, ortos, vineas, prata et alia loca vetita et inhonesta intrando . . . nec non doctoribus, magistris, bedellis et bacallariis salaria statutis terminis non solvendo". Formulary of Benedict XII, in the Vatican library, MS. Ottoboni 333, f. 72v. A somewhat different text is published from MS. Tours 594 by Denifle in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, IV. 207.

² *Chartularium*, I., No. 470.

³ See, for example, Pierre le Mangeur in Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 292. The best evidence on this point is of course to be found in the drinking-songs and in the records of the nations.

⁴ Prévostin, in Hauréau, III. 166; *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 303; Leçoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 460. See also the passages cited below in regard to the carrying of arms.

⁵ See on this point the well-known passage of Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis* (ed. Douai, 1597), 278; reproduced in Rashdall, II. 690; and on its interpretation, Denifle, *Universitäten*, I. 672.

⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *loc. cit.*; Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 434; Hauréau, III. 319; Étienne de Bourbon, 50, 402, 406; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 458; and the characteristic story told in MS. Auxerre 35, f. 127v.

⁷ Jacques de Vitry, *loc. cit.*; Gautier de Château-Thierry, in Hauréau, VI. 210, and *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 393; anonymous Minorite, Hauréau, VI. 257.

⁸ "Videbitis etiam aliquos sic rixosos, discolos, et litigiosos quod nullo modo potest cum eis haberi pax. Ubique sunt, Parisius vel Aurelianis, perturbant totam terram et totam societatem cum qua sunt, immo totam universitatem." Jean de Monthéry, MS. Lat. 14955, f. 140v; translated in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 437. On the litigiousness of the time cf. Philippe de Grève (MS. Avranches 132, f. 242; MS. Troyes 1099, f. 138): "Tanta increvit malicia ut laicus laicum, clericus clericum, etc., scholaris scolarem ad remotos indices trahat, non ut consequatur iusticiam sed ut adversarius redimat vexationem".

⁹ "Qui portant arma . . . qui frangunt hospicia, mulieres rapiunt, inter se aliquando

rel among themselves over dogs¹, women, or what-not, slashing off one another's fingers with their swords², or, with only knives in their hands and nothing to protect their tonsured pates, rush into conflicts from which armed knights would hold back³. Their compatriots come to their aid, and soon whole nations of students may be involved in the fray⁴. Some of these attacks are planned in advance at organized meetings of students⁵, which, according to Philippe de Grève, no impartial witness it is true, are largely given over to such matters. "In the old days," he says, "when each master taught for himself and the name of university was unknown, lectures and disputations were more frequent and there was more zeal for study. But now that you are united into a university, lectures and disputations are rare, things are hurried, and little is learned, the time taken from lectures being spent in meetings and discussions. In these assemblies, while the older heads are deliberating and legislating, the younger spend their time hatching the most abominable schemes and planning their nocturnal raids"⁶. Outsiders might also indulge in these student escapades, donning the scholar's garb in order to escape arrest by the civil authorities⁷.

se occidunt, hii sunt carnifices diaboli, non clerici." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 436, col. 4. "Hoc est contra petulantiam quorundam vitulorum, id est scolarium, non Dei sed diaboli, qui quasi vituli prosiliunt de nocte discurrentes." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 13v. Philippe de Grève, *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 430. Prévostin, in Hauréau, III. 166. On students who carry arms cf. the *Chartularium*, I., Nos. 213, 426, 470; and on quarrels with tradesmen, Jean de Garlande, *Dictionarius*, ed. Scheler, c. 35.

¹ Hauréau, VI. 250.

² "Heu hodie non precinguntur scolares hoc lintheo sed potius gladio belli. . . . Nostri clerici sero cum gladiis invicem pugnarunt et quidam ex illis digitos alterius amputant." Philippe de Grève, MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 155.

³ Remark attributed to Philip Augustus, Hauréau, VI. 250.

⁴ Anonymous Dominican, *ibid.*; Nicolas de Nonancourt, *ibid.*, IV. 157 (where, as in MS. Lat. 16252, f. 279, the last sentence should begin, "Ex certa malicia movent"). Hauréau strangely misunderstands the latter passage as referring to the nations of Europe instead of to the nations of the university. Cf. also Rutebeuf, "Li Dix de l'Université de Paris", vv. 37-39 (ed. Kressner, 51).

⁵ Eudes de Châteauroux, *Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 305. Cf., for the fourteenth century, *Chartularium*, II., No. 1072.

⁶ Translated by Hauréau in *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 430. Philip expresses his opinion of the university organization in another sermon: "Circumit scolae et invenit monstruositatem. Monstrum in uno corpore diversarum coniunctio naturarum. Quid est ergo ex diversis nationibus universitatem facere nisi monstrum creare? . . . Quattuor capita huius monstri sunt quattuor facultates, logice, phisice, canonici et divini iuris". MS. Mazarine 1009, f. 159v; MS. Lat. 15955, ff. 126v-127.

⁷ "Falsorum scolarium qui sub nomine scolarium et habitu flagitia perpetrant licentius quam scolares, quia prepositi non audent manus immittere." Philippe de Grève, MS. Mazarine 1009, f. 57v; MS. Lat. 15955, f. 96v; MS. Rouen 615, f. 53v.

The allusions of the preachers to the disturbances at Paris are seldom very specific

More interesting than these general characterizations in which the sermons abound are the incidental allusions to the ordinary life of the thirteenth-century student. The preachers take us into the very atmosphere of the Latin quarter and show us much of its varied activity. We hear the cries¹ and songs of the streets²—

Li tens s' en veit,
Et je n' ei riens fait;
Li tens revient,
Et je ne fais riens—,

the students' tambourines and guitars³, their "light and scurrilous words"⁴, their hisses⁵ and handclappings and loud shouts of applause at sermons and disputations⁶. We watch them as they mock a neighbor for her false hair⁷ or stick out their tongues and make faces at

(cf. Eudes de Châteauroux in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 230, and Hauréau, II. 119; Philippe de Grève in MS. Avranches 132, ff. 24, 263v). There are, however, various references to the disorders of 1273 (Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 85, 451; Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, I. 269); and some points of interest in regard to the dispersion of 1229 are indicated in a contemporary sermon of Philippe de Grève: "Habebant scolares tamquam apes domos exagonas Parisius, id est studio competentes, edificabant favos quibus demulcebant affectum et illuminabant intellectum . . . Sed aspersum est origanum super loca ipsorum, . . . fugerunt et florigeras regiones lustraverunt ut quietem invenirent, suspirantes nihilominus ad loca dimissa, quia spes est quod bonus et prudens paterfamilias, scilicet summus pontifex, purget amaritudinem origanni ut ad loca propria revertantur. Felix locus et felix civitas que filios dispersos pie collegit, pie dico scilicet ut eos nutriet et postmodum matri restitueret, quia signum est quod talis nutrix non diligit dispersionem. Non sic autem illa que quos nutriet sibi retinere intenderet, ut Andegavis, de qua impletur illud Jeremie [xvii. 11], Perdix fovit que non peperit. . . . Videtur inter alias Aurelianus sic quos recepit habuisse, non tamquam emula sed tamquam nutrix et gerilla, et recte quia inter alias Parisiensis civitas soror est. . . . Ruben, filius visionis, scolares, . . . terra Moabitidis civitas Andegavis. . . . Bonus paterfamilias . . . scripsit regi ut scholaribus iusticie plenitudinem exhiberet et eos in Betleem, id est domum panis que est Parisius, revocaret ac libertates eisdem a felicitis memorie rege Philippo pie indultas liberaliter et inviolabiliter conservaret". "Sermo cancellarii Parisiensis quem fecit Aurelianus ad scolares de recessu scholarium a Parisius, quem fecit in vigilia Pasche." MS. Avranches 132, f. 340v; MS. Troyes 1099, f. 160v.

* ¹ See the story in Étienne de Bourbon, 185, of the poor scholar who substituted the cries of dealers in old clothes for the words of the church service; and cf. the poem of Guillaume de la Villeneuve, "Les Crieries de Paris", in Franklin, *Les Cris de Paris* (Paris, 1887), 133.

² Hauréau, III. 341; Étienne de Bourbon, 346.

³ *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 458.

⁴ "Verba levia et scurrilia. Talia sunt verba multorum scholarium." Richard, Minorite, in MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 54. Cf. the story of the student who blasphemed against Abraham, Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 192.

⁵ "Dico de scholaribus, quia multi peccant lingua aliter quam loquendo, sicut illi clerici qui sibilant." Philippe de Grève, MS. Alençon 153, f. 58. Cf. Du Cange, under *sibillacio*.

⁶ Anonymous sermons in Hauréau, II. 108, VI. 257.

⁷ "Isabel, ceste queue n'est pas de ce veel." *Ibid.*, IV. 177; Étienne de Bourbon, 239.

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the passers-by¹. We see the student studying by his window², talking over his future with his room-mate³, receiving visits from his parents⁴, nursed by friends when he is ill⁵, singing psalms at a student's funeral⁶, or visiting a fellow-student and asking him to visit him—"I have been to see you, now come to our hospice"⁷.

All types are represented. There is the poor student, with no friend but St. Nicholas⁸, seeking such charity as he can find⁹ or earning a pittance by carrying holy water¹⁰ or copying for others—in a fair but none too accurate hand¹¹—, sometimes too poor to buy books or afford the expense of a course in theology¹², yet usually surpassing his more prosperous fellows, who have an abundance of books at which they never look¹³. There is the well-to-do student, who besides his books and desk will be sure to have a candle in his room¹⁴ and a comfortable bed with a soft mattress and luxurious coverings¹⁵, and

¹ "Idem potest dici de scolariis qui linguam protrahunt et naso subsannant et supercilium supprimunt digitum extendentes in derisione coram se transeuntium." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 135.

² Hauréau, III. 341; Étienne de Bourbon, 346.

³ MS. Tours 468, f. 78, printed above, p. 12; note 2.

⁴ See the story of the student who was ashamed to receive a visit from his father and made him eat with the servants. Munich, Cod. Lat. 23420, f. 170.

⁵ Odo of Cheriton, in Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, IV. 295.

⁶ Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 37.

⁷ "Nota quod socius quando socium visitavit, Veni ad vos, modo venite ad nostrum hospiciū." Anonymous, MS. Lat. 16505, f. 203v.

⁸ "Hinc est quod pauperes clerici qui non habent qui figant illos in ecclesia Dei, beatum Nicholaum invocent." Eudes de Châteauroux, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 48.

⁹ *Journal des Savants*, 1887, p. 122; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 462.

¹⁰ Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 47, ed. Pitra, 451; Étienne de Bourbon, 446.

¹¹ "Pauperes enim scolares manu sua propria sibi vel aliis scribunt, quod sibi fideliter, quod aliis pulcre et velociter." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15951, f. 372v.

¹² Lecoy de la Marche, *loc. cit.* On the expense of a theological course cf. AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 221.

¹³ "Sepe visum est Parisius quod clerici qui vivunt de beneficio istorum clericorum divitum multi plus proficiebant in scientia et vita quam ipsi divites de quibus vivebant et a quibus victum recipiebant, et ita probi et magni clerici fiebant quod postea ipsi divites eis serviebant. . . . Non propter hoc dico quod vir religiosus non possit plus sibi proficere si sit sollicitus circa se quam secularis, sicut videmus de clerico divite. Non dico quin plus possit proficere in scientia et virtute si velit esse sollicitus de profectu suo quam pauper possit. Nec hoc est mirum, *car il a plus d'avantages* et melius habet victum suum et libros sibi necessarios et magistros magis paratos circa se." Robert de Sorbon, Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, pp. 124-125. "Quidam habent multos et pulcros libros et bene paratos et nunquam ibi respiciunt. . . . Debent libros suos qui in eis nichil faciunt tradere pauperibus scolariis qui libenter addiscunt." *Id.*, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198.

¹⁴ "Si quis daret alicui scolari Parisius lumen per annum, multum diligeret eum." Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 461, note.

¹⁵ Étienne de Bourbon, 29. There is an *exemplum* of a Paris student who dies and leaves his mattress to his companion to be given to the poor for the repose of his soul. The companion keeps the mattress for himself, whereupon he has a vision of the former owner lying in torment upon the hard, rough cords of a wooden bed; after he gives the mattress to the poor, he sees his friend lying in comfort upon a mattress. Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 53, ed. Pitra, 452. MS. Auxerre 35, f. 80v.

will be tempted to indulge the medieval fondness for fine raiment beyond the gown and hood and simple wardrobe prescribed by the statutes¹. Then there are the idle and aimless, drifting about from master to master and from school to school and never hearing full courses or regular lectures. Some, who care only for the name of scholar and the income which they receive while attending the university, go to class but once or twice a week, choosing by preference the lectures on canon law, which do not begin till nine in the morning² and thus leave them plenty of time for sleep³. Many eat cakes in the morning when they ought to be at study⁴, or go to sleep in the class-rooms, spending the rest of their time dripping in taverns or building castles in Spain (*castella in Hispania*)⁵; and when it is time to leave Paris⁶, in order to make some show of learning such students get together huge volumes of calfskin, with wide margins and fine red bindings, and so with wise sack and empty mind they go back to their parents. "What knowledge is this", asks the preacher, "which thieves may steal, mice or moths eat up, fire or water destroy?"⁷; and he cites an instance where the student's horse fell into a river, carrying all his books with him⁷. Some never go home, but continue to enjoy in idleness the fruits of their benefices⁸. Even in vacation time, when the rich ride off with their servants⁹ and the poor trudge

On the furniture found at Paris in this period, see Jean de Garlande, *Dictionarius*, ed. Scheler, cc. 55, 56. It is not so clear as Rashdall (II. 668) supposes that c. 55 refers to student hostels.

¹ *Chartularium*, I., Nos. 20, 201, 202, 448, 501. See also the beginning of the poem "De presbytero et logico", in Hauréau, VI. 310; Wright, *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, 251. There are allusions to the cope and hood in Hauréau, IV. 51; Étienne de Bourbon, 406; Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 12. Jean de Monthéry says; "Scolaris bene custodit capam novam: pueri quandoque infingunt tibias suas in luto et dicunt se esse bene calciatos". Merton College, MS. 237, f. 227v.

² Ordinarily the first lecture of the day seems to have come at six. Rashdall, II. 652.

³ Jacques de Vitry, ed. Pitra, 363.

⁴ Hauréau, IV. 39, 248. Cf. an anonymous Minorite, MS. Lat. 15005, f. 160v: "Sunt enim solliciti in cibis delectabiles, unde libenter pastillant et huiusmodi".

⁵ Eudes de Châteauroux, in Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 463.

⁶ Cf. Robert de Sorbon (MS. Lat. 15971, f. 84): "Quando clerici diu fuerunt Parisius et volunt recedere, ipsi corrigunt libros suos quia extra Parisius non invenirent exemplaria ad corrigendum."

⁷ "Dixit quidam de quibusdam fatuis scolariis sic: In nugis sunt subtiles, in necessariis tardi et ebetes, et ne nichil fecisse videantur cum repatriaverint, de pellibus vitulinis cum latis spaciis magna componunt volumina eaque pellibus rubeis et pulcris vestiunt, et sic cum sapienti sacco sed cum insipienti animo ad parentes redeunt. Que est ista scientia quam fur subripere, mus rodere, tinea demoliri, aqua delere, ignis comburere potest?" MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198; translated in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 465.

⁸ Gautier de Château-Thierry, in Hauréau, VI. 210; translated in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 392.

⁹ "Quidam scolaris nobilis et iuvenis multum Parisius morans tempore vacationis ivit in equis suis cum magistris et familia circumquaque Parisius spaciatur et declinans ad quandam abbaciam Cisterciensis ordinis. . . ." MS. Tours 468, f. 75.

home under the burning sun¹, many idlers remain in Paris to their own and the city's harm.² Medieval Paris, we should remember, was not only the incomparable "parent of the sciences", but also a place of good cheer and good fellowship and varied delights³, a favorite resort not only of the studious but of country priests on a holiday⁴; and it would not be strange if sometimes scholars prolonged their stay unduly and lamented their departure in phrases which are something more than rhetorical commonplace.⁵

We get glimpses, too, of the troop of hangers-on who always thrive in a university town, bedels and servants and furnishers and other "emptiers of purses"⁶—like the vendors of fancy wafers (*niules*), who make a handsome profit by visiting the students at meal-times and spreading their tempting wares on the table⁷. The bedels are represented as imposing but ignorant persons, fond of good eating and drinking⁸, whose multifarious duties put them in a position of considerable influence and gave them many opportunities for acquiring money⁹. They levied toll on the scholars for good seats in the lecture-halls¹⁰, exacted a goodly purse at inceptions¹¹, and for a sufficient sum were ready to glorify ignorant masters¹². The well-to-do student might have a servant of his own, to carry his books to class¹³, etc., but ordinarily one servant seems to have sufficed for a number of students of more modest needs¹⁴. By all accounts

¹ "Quando ego veni semel de scolis in estate, pater meus vix cognovit me, ita fui denigratus in via propter solem." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 116.

² Jean de Monthéry, *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 437.

³ Cf. Hauréau, IV. 248; and the poem printed in Raynaud, *Motets Français*, I. 277.

⁴ See chapter 26 of the synodal statutes of Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris, in Migne, *Patrologia*, CCXII. 66.

⁵ See for example the lament of a Picard scholar published by Langlois, *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, XXIII. 561 ff.

⁶ Jean de Garlande, *Dictionarius*, ed. Scheler, c. 69. Cc. 19, 30, 31, 34, and 35 mention various tradesmen who had frequent dealings with the Paris students.

⁷ "Consuetudo est in aliquibus terris, ut Parisius, quod *lo neuliers* qui facit nebulas veniet ad domum clericorum vel aliorum, et si potest intrare in hora comestionis veniet et proiciet nebulas per mensam et tunc dicet quod nesciret modum et consuetudines. Dicitur de isto homine, Quam largus est! sed certe antequam recedat ipse pro illo debili encenio reportabit quod valebit in quadruplo." MS. Lat. 15971, f. 155v. Cf. Jean de Garlande, *loc. cit.*, c. 30.

⁸ "Tales . . . similes sunt bedellis qui semper sunt in scolis sine libris et nihil ad discunt nisi curias querere et bene comedere et bene bibere." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 248v.

⁹ On the duties of bedels see particularly the *Chartularium*, I., No. 369.

¹⁰ Hauréau, VI. 125.

¹¹ *Chartularium*, *loc. cit.*

¹² Hauréau, VI. 124.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 311; Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 363.

¹⁴ "Mulier est quasi serviens pluribus scholaribus qui vix potest satisfacere, sed virgo cogitat que Deo sunt." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 455v. Cf. Berger, *Régestes d'Innocent IV.*, No. 2525; and the next note.

these servants were a thieving lot, and Jacques de Vitry has a good story to tell of their skill in defrauding their masters. The servants, it appears, had a sort of chief or captain, who one day brought them together and began to question them as to their professional attainments. One after the other explained how he could make one, two, even three farthings on the penny, until the cleverest of all declared that he could pocket a penny for each farthing. "I buy", he said, "mustard from the dealer who furnishes me the vegetables, candles, and so on for my masters, and every time I get mustard I set it down at a farthing, though I get only a quarter of a farthing's worth. Then, as I am a regular customer, the dealer throws in a fifth portion, which I also reckon at a farthing, and so I gain four farthings for one"¹.

Other aspects of every-day life are illustrated in various stories of the students and their doings which the preachers have preserved. One clerk has a dog which he calls Rose and teaches to walk on its fore legs; another clerk steals it, names it Violet and teaches it to walk on its hind legs, so that it refuses to obey its former master when he claims it in the bishop's court². Certain students amuse themselves over their dice by putting one of the dice in a cat's paws; if the cat wins, they give it something to eat, if not, they kill it and sell its skin³. In another *exemplum* the students were playing for a dinner, when one of them seized a neighbor's cat which frequented the house, and said: "He eats here and never pays his reckoning. He shall play". So they made the cat throw, and when he lost they tied to his neck a bill for a quart of wine and sent him home, threatening to take his skin if the owner did not pay. The owner sent back the cat with the money, but begged them not to force him to play again, as he could not count.⁴ A student is drinking in his room with some friends, when he sees a thief under the bed. He asks them, "Did you give our brother there anything to drink?" Then they beat the thief.⁵ A companion of Étienne de Bourbon is

¹ Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 87, ed. Pitra, 456; Étienne de Bourbon, 372; Wright, *Latin Stories*, 113; translated in Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de nos Aïeux*, 186.

² MS. Auxerre 35, f. 96; printed by Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 59.

³ Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 8.

⁴ "Clerici quidam Parisius ludebant ad talos pro quadam cena, et quidam amittens [MS. admittens] accepit catum cuiusdam vicini eorum stantem iuxta eos qui frequentabat domum, et ait, Iste ludet vobiscum qui frequenter hic comedit et nunquam solvit symbolum; et ponens taxillum [MS. taxillo] intra iii^{or} pedes cati eum fecit proicere, et amisit. Et ponens cedulam ad collum eius scripsit amisisse quartam vini, quam nisi solveret pellem dimitteret, quod videns dominus eius ligavit peccuniam in collo cati, rogans ne compellerent eum ludere de cetero, *car il ne savoit compter sa chance*." *Compilatio singularis exemplorum*, MS. Tours 468, f. 80.

⁵ "Clerici scolares Parisius bibebant in camera unius sociorum, et vidit unum latronem asconditum sub lecto et ait, Dedistisne illi socio ad bibendum? quem egregie correxerunt." *Ibid.*, f. 79v.

at vespers on Christmas eve, when a thief enters his room and steals his law-books. When the student comes to use the books after the holidays, he cannot find them and seeks help from a necromancer, who accuses an innocent relative of the student. Finally the real thief is forced to take sanctuary in a church tower and confesses to the theft, giving the residence of the Jew with whom he had pawned the books¹.

The principal student festivals mentioned in the sermons are Saint Nicholas's day, Christmas, and inceptions. The feast of Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of scholars, was one of the great days in the student calendar. There was a mystery, in which clerks or maidens impersonated the saint and his miracles², and then came feasting³ and games and dancing and the rest⁴. Christmas eve was likewise made an occasion for revelry, with dicing and drinking and wild Bacchic processions⁵, so that some "committed more sins at Christmas time than during all the rest of the year"⁶. The inception celebrations also fell under the displeasure of the moralists of the pulpit, for besides the inevitable banquet there were likely to be masquerades⁷ and processions and round dances (*choreæ*)⁸ in the

¹ Étienne de Bourbon, 317; translated in Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de nos Aïeux*, 289.

² Hauréau, IV. 76.

³ See the story in Étienne de Bourbon, 51, of the barber who stole a pig for the clerks whom he was to entertain on this day.

⁴ See particularly Étienne de Besançon, in Hauréau, IV. 208. The following passage from Prévostin may be noted in this connection: "Quidam enim scolares qui student vimencie ad turbam vadunt Nicolaitarum, quam viri catholici semper oderunt, et surgunt ad vocem volucris que gallus dicitur, sed obsurdescunt in eis filie carminis". Sermon "in epiphania", British Museum, Add. MS. 18335, f. 13v. On cock-fights among scholars, cf. Hauréau, IV. 274; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 452, note. Another game, probably also among the students of the grammar-schools, is alluded to in a Lenten sermon of a chancellor (Nicolas de Nonancourt?), MS. Lat. 15952, f. 113v: "Sicut in ludo scolarium, gallice *avoir, dire, et amentir*". Cf. also MS. Lat. 15959, f. 191.

⁵ "Sed ve illis scolariis qui vigiliis bacancium et furiosorum cum tirsis et facibus candelarum ei [Deo] exhibent bachalia festa celebrantes." Guiard de Laon, sermon "in vigilia Nativitatis", MS. Lat. 15959, f. 132.

⁶ Anonymous subprior, Hauréau, III. 287-288. Cf. Eudes de Châteauroux, *ibid.*, VI. 209.

⁷ "Sed heu! modo non est disciplina Christi in clericis sed disciplina histrionum, quod patet in principiis magistrorum quando scolares diversificant se; portant enim in capite signum crucis sed in corpore portant dyabolum portando vestes histrionum." John Peckham, Library of St. Mark's at Venice, Fondo Antico, MS. 92, f. 205.

⁸ "Sicut Deus habet suam processionem in qua portantur cerei flores et crux et vexilla, ita dyabolus suas habet processiones, scilicet choreas et circuitus per vicos etiam de nocte. Fiunt enim choree cum cantilenis et floribus rosarum et violarum in capellis capitis et in manibus. Item circuitus fiunt per vicos cum cereis maxime a scolariis in principiis et a laicis in nuptiis." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 98, col. 3. Pierre de Bar sur-Aube, in Hauréau, VI. 243. Cf. Jacques de Vitry, in Étienne de Bourbon, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 162, note.

streets and squares—the last-named form of amusement being in such disfavor with the church¹ and with the university authorities that candidates were obliged to swear that they would permit no *choreæ* about their houses nor suffer anything improper at their inception².

The account of Paris student life which has been thus put together from the sermons is not of course a rounded picture. There is much truth in Mark Pattison's aphorism that "history cannot be written from manuscripts", and in presenting the material contained in a single class of sources many aspects of university life must necessarily be neglected. To the preachers the university and its members are primarily a theme for moralizing, and they emphasize what best points their moral³. It is not their business to tell of the orderly working of university institutions, the eager enthusiasm for learning, the wholesome routine of academic life; they give only what suits their purpose, and we must be thankful for that. Furthermore, much of what the sermons contain on university matters is interesting as showing the state of mind of their authors rather than as yielding specific information, and allowance must of course be made for the official position of some of the preachers as well as for the pulpit equation in general. What the preachers set out to say is usually of less historical importance than what they tell us unintentionally and incidentally. Still, when all deductions have been made, there remains a substantial residuum of fact which adds materially to our knowledge of academic conditions in the thirteenth century and to our sympathetic understanding of the human background of a great medieval university.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

¹ See the stories of demons afflicting the dancers, in Étienne de Bourbon, 161, 226, 232, 397 ff.; and Hauréau, IV. 161.

² *Chartularium*, I., Nos. 202, 501.

³ Cf. the observations of Langlois in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, III. 2. 354.

ENGLISH POETRY AND ENGLISH HISTORY

My subject is not English poetry or the history of English poetry, but the connection of English poetry with English history. What is poetry? Besides reason, of which the highest manifestation is science, man has sentiment, distinct from reason though bound to keep terms with it on pain of becoming nonsense, as it not very seldom does. Sentiment seems to imply a craving for something beyond our present state. Its supreme expression is verse, music of the mind connected with the music of the voice and ear. There is sentiment without verse, as in writers of fiction and orators; as there is verse without sentiment, in didactic poetry, for example, which Lucretius redeems from prose and sweetens, as he says himself, to the taste by the interspersions of sentimental passages. Sentiment finds its fittest expression in verse. The expression in its origin is natural and spontaneous. Then poetry becomes an art looking out for subjects to express, and sometimes looking rather far afield. So painting and sculpture, in their origin spontaneous imitation, become arts looking for conceptions to embody. We are here tracing the indications of English sentiment and character at successive epochs of the national history finding their expression in poetry.

Chaucer is the first English poet. He was preceded at least only by some faint awakenings of poetic life. It was in Anglo-Saxon that the Englishman before the Conquest chanted his song of battle with the Dane. It was in French that the troubadour or the trouvère relieved the dulness, when there was no fighting or hunting, in the lonely Norman hold. French was the language of the Plantagenets, even of Edward I, that truly English king. At last the English language rose from its serfdom shattered, adulterated, deprived of its inflections, its cognates, and its power of forming compound words, unsuited for philosophy or science, the terms for which it has to borrow from the Greek, but rich, apt for general literature, for eloquence, for song. Chaucer is the most joyous of poets. His strain is glad as that of the skylark which soars from the dewy mead to pour forth its joyance in the fresh morning air. He is at the same time thoroughly redolent of his age. In the Knight of the "Prologue" and in the tale of "Palamon and Arcite" we have that fantastic outburst of a posthumous and artificial chivalry of which Froissart is the chronicler, which gave birth to the Order of

the Garter and a number of similar fraternities with fanciful names and rules, and after playing strange and too often sanguinary pranks, as in the wicked wars with France, found its immortal satirist in the author of *Don Quixote*. In the sporting Monk, the sensual and knavish Friar, the corrupt *Sompnour*, the Pardoner with his pig's bones shown for relics, we have the Catholic church of the middle ages with its once ascetic priesthood and orders, its spiritual character lost, sunk in worldliness, sensuality, and covetousness, calling aloud for Wycliffe. At the same time in the beautiful portrait of the Good Parson we have a picture of genuine religion and an earnest of reform. Here Chaucer holds out a hand to Piers Ploughman, the poet-preacher of reform, social and religious, if poet he can be called who is the roughest of metrical pamphleteers. Chaucer's Good Parson is a figure in itself and in its connection with the history of opinion not unlike Rousseau's "Vicaire Savoyard". Close at hand is Wycliffe, and behind Wycliffe come John Ball and the terrible insurrection of the serfs. Chaucer's debt to Boccaccio and the Italian Renaissance is manifest; yet he is English and a perfect mirror of the England of his time.

There was at the same time an exuberance of national life which gave birth to ballad poetry. The English ballads as a class are no doubt inferior to the Scotch. Yet there is at least one English ballad of surpassing beauty. How can any collection of English poetry be thought complete without the ballad of "The Nut-Brown Maid?"

There follows an age unpropitious to poetry and all gentle arts. The glorious filibustering of Edward III and afterward of Henry V in France brings its punishment in a general prevalence at home of the spirit of violence, cruelty, and rapine. This, combined with aristocratic ambition and faction, plunges the country into the Wars of the Roses. At last the Tudor despotism brings calm after its kind. Helm and hauberk are changed by the court nobility for the weeds of peace, and toward the close of the reign of Henry VIII we have the twin poets Wyatt and Surrey; Surrey, the last of the tyrant's victims, produces poetry which makes him worthy to rank as a harbinger of the Elizabethan era.

The times of the Protectorate and of the Marian Reaction were dark and troublous, uncongenial to poetry. But clear enough is the connection between the springtide of national life in the Elizabethan era, and the outburst of intellectual activity, of poetry generally and especially of the drama. The worst of the storms were over. The government was firm; the religious question had been

settled after a fashion; the energies which had been ill-spent in civil war or marauding on France were turned to maritime adventure of the most romantic kind, or if to war, to a war of national defense combined with championship of European freedom. There was everything to excite and stimulate without any feeling of insecurity.

The next great poem after Chaucer is Spenser's "*Faërie Queene*", and it is intimately connected with English history. It presents in allegory the struggle of Protestantism, headed by England, with Catholicism, and embodies that new Protestant chivalry which arose in place of the chivalry of the middle ages, of which Sir Philip Sydney was the model knight, and of which perhaps we see the lingering trace in Fairfax, the general of the Commonwealth, a kinsman of the Fairfax who translated Tasso. The leading characters of the struggle, Elizabeth, the Pope, Mary Queen of Scots, and Philip of Spain, under thin disguises, are all there. Artegal, the Knight of Justice, and Spenser's model of righteousness in its conflict with evil, is the Puritan Lord Grey of Wilton, the stern, ruthless Lord Deputy of Ireland, whose policy was extermination. Spenser was Lord Grey's secretary and no doubt accompanied him to the scene of his merciless government. There Spenser would come into contact with Catholicism in its lowest and coarsest as well as in its most intensely hostile form. Afterward a grantee of an estate in land conquered from the Irish insurgents, he was brought into personal conflict with the Blatant Beast. He was intimate with Raleigh and other militant and buccaneering heroes of the Protestantism of the day. In "*The Shepherd's Calendar*" he shows by his avowal of sympathy with old Archbishop Grindal, under the faint disguise of "*Old Allgrind*", who was in disgrace for countenancing the Puritans, that he belonged to the Puritan section of the divided Anglican church. Fulsome and mendacious flattery of the woman who has been allowed to give her name to this glorious age is an unpleasant feature of Spenser's work, as it is of the other works and was of the court society of that time. It is perhaps pardonable, if in any case, in that of a poet who would not be taken or expect to be taken at his word.

In the drama we expect to find rather gratification of the general love of action and excitement, and of curiosity about the doings of the great, prevalent among the people, than anything more distinctly connected with the events and politics of the day.

Shakespeare himself is too thoroughly dramatic to reflect the controversies of his time. Like all those about him he is Royalist, conforms to court sentiment, and pays his homage to the Virgin

Queen. Probably he pays it also to her learned successor under the name of Prospero in "The Tempest". Raleigh treats the Great Charter as a democratic aggression on the rights of royalty. Shakespeare in "King John" does not allude to the Great Charter or to anything connected with it. In "Coriolanus" and in "Troilus and Cressida" there is strong antidemocratic sentiment, dramatic no doubt, but also with a personal ring. It is notable that Shakespeare nowhere alludes to the great struggle with Spain. But here again he is probably in unison with the court, which though forced into the conflict, was not heartily anti-Spanish and certainly not anti-despotic. In religion Shakespeare was a Conformist. He quizzes Nonconformists, both Papist and Puritan; but probably he did no more than conform. When he touches on the mystery of existence and on the other world, as in the soliloquy in "Hamlet" and in "Measure for Measure", it is hardly in a tone of orthodox belief. In the flower-market at Rome, not very far from the shrine of Ignatius Loyola, now stands the statue of Giordano Bruno, with an inscription saying that on the spot where Bruno was burned this statue was erected to him by the age which he foresaw. Bruno visited England in Shakespeare's time, and was there the center of an intellectual circle which sat with closed doors. Was Shakespeare perchance one of that circle?

Though not political in any party sense, Shakespeare is full of the national and patriotic spirit evoked by the circumstances of his time. He shows this in the battle scene of "Henry V". He shows it in the speech of the Bastard of Falconbridge in "King John", which is at the same time a complete confutation of the theory that Shakespeare was a Catholic, for no dramatic motive could have sufficed to call forth or excuse such an affront to his own church.

No person of sense, it may be presumed, doubts that Shakespeare wrote his own plays. Greene and Ben Jonson and Charles I and Milton thought he did. But, say the Baconians, how came a yeoman's son, brought up among bumpkins, and educated at a country grammar-school, to acquire that imperial knowledge of human nature in all its varieties and ranks? This is the one strong point in their case. But Shakespeare, in London, got into an intellectual set. Several of his brother playwrights were university men. The subject of the "Sonnets" was evidently not vulgar. But much may be explained by sheer genius. Among poets, two are preëminent; one lived in the meridian light and amidst the abounding culture of the Elizabethan era; the other in the very dawn of civilization, as some think before the invention of writing, sang, a wandering minstrel, in rude Æolian or Ionian halls, and the influence of Homer on the

world's imagination, though less deep, has been wider than that of Shakespeare. Shakespeare, though peerless, was not alone; perhaps he would not even have been peerless had Marlowe lived and worked, for in the last scenes of "Faust" and "Edward II" Marlowe rises to the Shakespearian height. The thoroughly national and popular character of the English drama is emphasized by contrast with the court drama of France. Unfortunately, it also shows itself in occasional adaptations to coarse tastes from which the divine Shakespeare is not free.

The remarkable connection of literary and poetic life with the life of action and adventure which marks the Elizabethan era is seen especially in the works of Sydney and Raleigh. The close of the era is pathetically marked by the death song of Raleigh. The Laudian reaction has its religious poets, George Herbert, Vaughan, and Wither; the best of whom in every sense was George Herbert, his quaint and mystical style notwithstanding. George Herbert was the poetic ancestor of the author of "The Christian Year". One who spent a day with Keble in his Hampshire vicarage might feel that he had been in the society of George Herbert. In its general character and productions the Catholic reaction in the Anglican church at the present day is as nearly as possible a repetition of that of the seventeenth century, and its ultimate tendency is the same. The only differences are that the poetry of the present movement has not the quaintness or the conceits of that of the Laudian bards and that its architecture is a revival of the medieval Gothic, whereas that of the Laudians was Palladian.

The political side of the reaction also produced its poetry, very unlike that of the religious side, poetry written by Cavaliers—

"Our careless heads with roses bound
Our hearts with loyal flames."

Of this school Lovelace was the best, though it was Montrose that wrote the famous lines

"I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Lov'd I not honour more."

On the Puritan side comes one greater than all the Laudians and Cavaliers. Nothing else in poetry equals the sublimity of the first six books of "Paradise Lost". Their weak point is theological, not poetic. The hero of the piece and the object of our involuntary admiration and sympathy is the undaunted and all-daring majesty of evil. In Milton classic fancy, the culture of the Renaissance, and

even a touch of medieval romance were blended with the spiritual aspiration of the Puritan.

"But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloysters pale,
And love the high embowered roof,
With antic pillars massy proof
And storied windows richly dight
Casting a dim religious light."

The most classic things in our language are the "Comus" and the "Samson Agonistes"; but "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained" are also cast in a classical mold.

A noble monument of the Puritan movement, though of its political rather than of its religious element, is Marvell's ode to Cromwell. Again we see the influence of the classics, which was not only literary but political and entered henceforth deeply into the political character of England.

The counterblast of Royalism to "Paradise Lost" was Butler's "Hudibras", the delight of Charles II and his courtiers, whose mental elevation may be measured thereby. It is a very poor travesty in verse of *Don Quixote*, with a Presbyterian Roundhead in place of the Don. Its principal if not its sole merits are the smart sayings of which it is a mine and its ingenious rhymes. There follows the riotous reaction of the flesh after the reign of the too-high soaring spirit under "our most religious and gracious King Charles II", as the Act of Parliament styles him. The poetry and drama native to that era are in keeping with the social life of the time and congenial to the seraglio of Whitehall. The poetry was in fact largely the work of the court set of debauchees. Dryden and Waller were originally the offspring of the bygone era and craftsmen of a higher and purer art. Both of them had written eulogies on the Protector. But if spiritual life was at a low ebb, the tide of political life was running high. It presently took the shape of a fierce and in the end sanguinary conflict between the two parties known afterward as Whigs and Tories. Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel" is the offspring of that conflict. It is about the best political satire ever written, and its excellence depends largely on its dignity and moderation; for while Shaftesbury is politically the object of attack, his judicial merits are recognized, in fact greatly overrated, and the portraiture is true. The next episode in English politics, the attempt of James II to make himself absolute and force his religion on the nation, is likewise mirrored in Dryden's verse. The poet became a sudden convert, let us hope not wholly from mercenary motives, to the court religion, and we have a singular monument of his con-

version in "The Hind and the Panther", wherein one beast strives by a long argument in verse to persuade another beast to rest its religious faith on a pope and council. Hallam, however, is right in remarking that Dryden's special gift is the power of reasoning in verse.

We have now come to a period in which poetry most distinctly wears the character of an art. It is the period between the English Revolution and the premonitory rumblings of the great social and political earthquake which shook Europe at the end of the eighteenth century; a period of comparative calm and, generally speaking, of spiritual torpor, the Church of England dozing comfortably over her pluralities and tithes. Dryden, Pope, and Addison are not the first poets of this class; before them had been Waller, Denham, and others of whom it might clearly be said that, feeling in themselves a certain poetic faculty, they cultivated it for its own sake and for the praise or emolument which it brought them. Their characteristic is skill in composition rather than height of aspiration or intensity of emotion. The greatest of them are Dryden and Pope, though Dryden was a child of the Puritan era. The most consummate artificer of all is Pope. Nothing in its way excels "The Rape of the Lock", or indeed in its way the translation of the *Iliad*, little Homeric as the translation is. In the "Essay on Man" however and "The Universal Prayer", which is the hymn of a free-thinker, we meet with the sceptical philosophy which was undermining the foundations of religious faith and preparing the way for the great political revolution. The inspiration is that of Pope's friend and philosophic mentor, the Voltairean Bolingbroke. Pope reflects the fashionable sentiment of the time, which in English or in Parisian salons was a light scepticism, as Horace Walpole's writings show. In a more marked and truly astounding form does the growing scepticism present itself in that tremendous poem, Swift's "Day of Judgement". How must Voltaire have chuckled when he got into his hands lines written by a dignitary of the Anglican establishment and making the Creator of the Universe proclaim to his expectant creatures that all was a delusion and a farce! It is needless to say that Swift's works generally, including his verses, poems they can hardly be called, speak of the irreligious priest and the coming of a sceptical age.

Few now look into the minor poets of those times or read Johnson's criticism of them, the robust criticism of an unsentimental and unromantic school. Yet there is a certain pleasure in the feeling of restfulness produced by the total absence of strain. Their poetry marks the same era which is marked by Paley's theology and philoso-

phy, an era of calm before a great convulsion. In Gray and Collins we feel the growing influence of sentiment, which is one, though the mildest, of the premonitory signs of change. In Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" the social sentiment is mildly democratic.

The stream of European history is now approaching the great cataract. In England, notwithstanding Wilkes and Barré, there is no serious tendency toward political revolution. The movement there rather takes the form of religious revival, Methodism, evangelicism, social reform, and philanthropic effort. But if England had any counterpart to Rousseau, it was in Cowper, through whose "Table-Talk" with its companion essays in verse there runs a mild vein of social revolution. Nor did Cowper look with dismay or horror on the early stages of the Revolution in France. He speaks very calmly of the storming of the Bastile. He showed a distant sympathy with Burns, whose democratic sentiment

"A man's a man for a' that"

has been not the least of the sources of his immense popularity, though by his own confession he was willing to go to the West Indies as a slave-driver. We may recognize Burns as one of the foremost in the second class of poets, unsurpassed in his own line, without allowing ourselves to have his character thrust upon our sympathy. The union of high-poetic sensibility with what is low in character has been seen not in Burns only, but in Byron, in Edgar Poe, and in many others. If we are to pay homage to such a character as that of Burns because he was a great Scotch poet, why should we pay it to that paragon of pure-minded and noble-hearted gentlemen, Walter Scott?

The European crisis prepared by the teachings of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists, combined with the decay of institutions and the accumulation of political abuses and ecclesiastical insincerities, had now come. It came unfortunately in an eminently excitable and impulsive nation, full of the vanity which Talleyrand notes as predominant in the Revolution. For some time, in spite of the weakness of the king, the meddlesome folly of the queen, and the demagogic eloquence of Mirabeau, fatally repelling the indispensable coöperation of the court with the Assembly, matters went pretty well. But at last, through a series of disastrous accidents and blunders, the Revolution fell into the hands of the vile mob of Paris and its Terrorist chiefs. Nobody could be blamed for being hopeful and sympathetic at first or despondent and dispirited after the September massacres.

Poetic natures, such as those of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, at first were naturally fired with enthusiasm and hope.

"O pleasant exercise of hope and joy!
 For mighty were the auxiliars which then stood
 Upon our side, we who were strong in love!
 Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
 But to be young was very heaven! — O times
 In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
 Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
 The attraction of a country in romance!
 When Reason seemed the most to assert her rights,
 When most intent on making of herself
 A prime Enchantress — to assist the work,
 Which then was going forward in her name."

In Coleridge, the great Pantisocrat, rather curiously, the recoil seems to have come first. Before Wordsworth and Southey, he had discovered that

"The Sensual and the Dark rebel in vain,
 Slaves by their own compulsion! In mad game
 They burst their manacles and wear the name
 Of Freedom, graven on a heavier chain!"

He presently became a most philosophic hierophant of orthodox politics and of the doctrine of the established church. In his peculiar way, in fact, he may be said to be about the greatest of Anglican divines. Wordsworth, it is needless to say, presently shared the recoil. The spirit of his poetry, whenever he touches on institutions, civil or religious, is thoroughly conservative. On the other hand, neither of these two men can be said to have turned Tory. They simply fell back on attachment to the national polity and principles. The French Revolution had ended naturally by giving birth to a military despot and conqueror, the struggle against whom was a struggle for the liberty of all nations. Southey became more decidedly Tory, and though he was one of the best and most amiable of men, drew upon himself Whig hatred and abuse. He lives chiefly by his *Life of Nelson*. Yet he is no mean poet. "The Curse of Kehama" is a splendid piece, full of the gorgeous imagery and the fantastic mythology of the East. Kehama, the impious rajah, whose career of insatiable ambition, after conquering earth and storming heaven, ends in his plucking on himself a miserable doom, is evidently Napoleon, whom as the arch-enemy of his kind, Southey regarded with the intense and righteous detestation, vented in the spirited ode on the negotiations with Bonaparte.

On the other side, we have in different lines Byron, Shelley, and Tom Moore. Keats may perhaps be regarded as one of the circle, though he wrote nothing distinctly in that sense. Byron is perhaps

more European than English. He left England at an early age, and though he revisited it did not settle, but spent the rest of his life mainly in Italy. Still more was he idiosyncratic. The self-presentation and self-worship which fill his poems are unparalleled, and considering the character of the man who thus pours out upon us his lacerated feelings and sentimental woes, one finds it difficult now to read the first cantos at all events of "*Childe Harold*" with much respect or pleasure. But the novelty of Byronism, its attractions for weak egotism, and the poetic dress which the writer's unquestionable genius gave it, helped perhaps in some measure by his rank and his personal beauty, made it the rage of the hour. As an Englishman, Byron was not a political revolutionist; in fact he always remained an aristocrat; but he was a social iconoclast. His great work, as his admirers probably say with truth, is "*Don Juan*", with its affected cynicism and unaffected lubricity. Macaulay sneers at British morality for its condemnation of Byron. British morality may be prudish, fitful, and sometimes hollow. But it has guarded the family and all that depends thereon, as Byron had good reason to know. Italian morality, however poetic, did not.

The connection of Shelley is rather with European history than with the history of England, though he could not shake himself free from the influences, attractive and repulsive, of his birthplace. His interest in the French Revolution is proclaimed in the opening of "*The Revolt of Islam*" and makes itself felt generally through the poem. A revolutionist Shelley was with a vengeance in every line, religious, political, social, moral, matrimonial, and even dietetic, wanting us to be vegetarians and marry our sisters. He was in fact an anarchist, though as far as possible from being a dynamiter; resembling the gentle Kropotkin of our day, who believes that we should all be good and happy if we would only do away with the police. It is curious to see the story of Prometheus, the great rebel against the tyrant of the universe, half written by Æschylus and finished in the same spirit, after the lapse of all those centuries, by Shelley. An Anglican college could not in those days help expelling a rampant propagator of atheism, though it has now adopted his memory and built him a strange and incongruous shrine within its courts. Nor could Eldon, as the legal guardian of the interests of Shelley's children, have left them in the hands of a father who would have brought them up to social ruin. Shelley, however, like Rousseau, was cosmopolitan. He withdrew from English citizenship to spend the rest of his days in Italy. Moreover, he was a being as intensely poetic and as little allied to earth in any way as his own skylark. He is not the first of poets in mental power, but he is, it

seems to me, the most purely and intensely poetic. What could lead my friend Matthew Arnold to disrate Shelley's poetry and put it below his letters, I never could understand. "A beautiful but ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain"; such was Arnold's description of Shelley, and true it is that so far as any practical results of his poetic preaching were concerned, the angel did beat his wings in vain; but if he was luminous and beautiful, he fulfilled the idea of a poet.

Tom Moore clearly belongs to the history of his age. He is the bard of the Whigs in their fight with the Tory government, and of his native Ireland, then struggling for emancipation. He is a thorough Irishman with all the lightness and brilliancy of his race, with all its fun and with all its pathos. The pathos we have in "Paradise and the Peri", as well as in "Irish Melodies". The fun takes largely the form of political satire. Very good the satire is, though like almost all satire and caricature, it loses a part of its pungency by lapse of time. To enjoy it thoroughly you must have lived at least near to the days of the Regency, Eldon, Castlereagh, and Sidmouth.

On the other side we have Walter Scott. When he is named we think of the incomparable writer of fiction rather than of the poet. Yet surely the writer of "Marmion", of the introduction to "Marmion", and of the lyrical pieces interspersed in the tales, deserves a place, and a high place, among poets. Is not "Marmion" a noble piece and the most truly epic thing in our language, besides being most interesting as a tale? Scott is claimed politically and ecclesiastically by the party of reaction. It is said that he turned the eyes of his generation back from the sceptical and revolutionary present to the reverent and chivalrous past. He has even been cited as the harbinger of Ritualism. The romance, of which he was the wizard, certainly instils love of the past. So far he did belong to the reaction. But his motive was never political or ecclesiastical. Of ecclesiasticism there was nothing about him. He delighted in ruined abbeys, but a boon companion was to him "worth all the Bernardan brood who ever wore frock or hood". A Tory, and an ardent Tory, he was. An intense patriot he was in the struggle with revolutionary France and her emperor. A worshiper of monarchy he was, devout enough to adore George IV, but he was above all things a great artist, perfectly impartial in his choice of subjects for his art. Welcome alike to him were Tory and Whig, Cavalier and Roundhead, Jacobite and Covenanter, if they could furnish him with character. Happily for his readers, he never preaches, as some novelists do; yet we learn from him historical toleration and breadth of view, while we are

always imbibing the sentiments of a genial, high-minded, and altogether noble gentleman.

We must not forget Crabbe, who though as far as possible from being revolutionary, perhaps instils a slightly democratic sentiment by cultivating our social interest in the poor. Ebenezer Elliott, the author of the "Corn-Law Rhymes" and no mean poet, is a bard of the liberal movement and especially of free trade. Unless he was greatly mistaken, there can be no doubt about the source of industrial misery in his day.

Tennyson has been called a great teacher. The name is inappropriate, as any one who had known the man would feel. He was one of the greatest of poets, almost unrivaled in beauty of language and in melody. But he had nothing definite to teach. With fixed opinions he could not have been so perfectly as he was the mirror of intellectual society in his age. "There is more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds." "There's something in this world amiss will be unriddled by and by." That was his mental attitude, and it was perfectly characteristic of a time in which old beliefs were passing away and new beliefs had not yet been formed; an age of vague spiritual hopes and yearnings, such as glimmer in "In Memoriam" and wherever Tennyson touches the subjects of God and religion and the mystery of being. In this sense his poetry is a chapter in the general history of the English mind. We see at the same time in his poems the advance of science, to which with consummate art he lends a poetic form. The revolt of woman is playfully treated in "The Princess". Reaction against the prevalent commercialism and materialism finds expression in the chivalrous "Idylls of the King". Tennyson is intensely patriotic and even militarist, though a man could not be imagined less likely to be found on a field of battle. In this also he represents an eddy in the current of national sentiment. In the well-known passage in "Maud" welcoming the Crimean War he thoroughly identified himself with English history, though he lived, like Lord Salisbury, to find that he had laid his money on the wrong horse.

The names of Aubrey de Vere and Frederick Taber on one side, those of Swinburne and Mrs. Barrett Browning on the other, show that English poetry has been lending its lyre to the expression of all the different sentiments, ecclesiastical, political, and social, of an age full of life and conflict. But the connection is rather with European than with English history. Matthew Arnold is the arch-connoisseur and general censor, appreciating all varieties and regulating them by his taste rather than connecting himself with anything national or special, unless it be the spirit of free thought which was consuming

England in his day. His poetry is simply high art. Of Browning I fear to speak. His characteristic poems do not give me pleasure of that sort which it is supposed to be the special function of poetry to give. He is a philosopher in verse with Browning societies to interpret his philosophy. He, again, symbolizes the general tendencies of an age, rather than any special period or phase of English history.

We seem now to have come to a break in the life of poetry in England and elsewhere; let us hope not to its close. There are good writers, Mr. Watson, for example. Swinburne with his revolutionary fervor is still with us. Edwin Arnold with his singular command of luscious language has only just left us. But neither in England nor anywhere else does there appear to be a great poet. Imagination has taken refuge in the novels, of which there is a deluge, though among them, George Eliot in her peculiar line excepted, there is not the rival of Miss Austen, Walter Scott, Thackeray, or Dickens. The phenomenon appears to be common to Europe in general. Is science killing poetic feeling? Darwin owns that he had entirely lost all taste for poetry, and not only for poetry but for anything esthetic. Yet Tennyson seems to have shown that science itself has a sentiment of its own and one capable of poetic presentation. Ours is manifestly an age of transition. Of what it is the precursor an old man is not likely to see.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE NAMING OF AMERICA

THE voyages of the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci belong rather to the literary than to the geographical history of the New World. An acute observer of things new and strange and a clever writer, he became, through the publication of his letters in the countries beyond the Pyrenees, the principal source of information about the western Indies. In these narratives he made himself the central personality; in not one of them did he mention the name of the commander under whom he sailed, and consequently the impression easily gained ground that he was a discoverer. His place in the history of the discoveries is the most remarkable illustration of eternal celebrity won through a happy combination of the literary gift and self-advertisement, with the coöperation of the printing-press.

Amerigo Vespucci, generally known to the English world under a Latinized form of his name, Americus Vespucius, was born in Florence March 9, 1452, where he lived until some forty years of age.¹ He entered business life, became connected with the mercantile house of the Medici, and in 1492 went to Seville, in Spain, as its foreign agent. He first appears in the Spanish documents as employed in carrying out the contracts of an Italian merchant, Berardi, engaged in equipping vessels for the government for the service to the Indies. He apparently continued in this business as a contractor till 1499,² when the vicissitudes of business life finally led him to desire something more "stable and praiseworthy". He then resolved to "see . . . the world", and availed himself of the opportunity to join an expedition of four ships which was going out to discover new lands toward the west.³

It is at this point that the first puzzle in Vespucci's career or his character is met with. He says explicitly that the expedition sailed from Cadiz May 10, 1497; but there is no record, official or unofficial, outside of his letter, of such a voyage in 1497. Further, Columbus's monopoly privileges were solemnly renewed April 23 of this year, and the earlier authorization of independent voyages was officially

¹ Luigi Hugues, in the *Raccolta Colombiana* (6 parts in 14 vols., Rome, 1892-1896), Part V, vol. 2, 115.

² *Ibid.*, 117.

³ Vespucci's letter to Soderini, C. R. Markham, *Letters of Amerigo Vespucci* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1894), 3.

revoked June 2.¹ That these formal recognitions of Columbus's privileges should be flagrantly violated by the crown while the admiral was in Spain is hardly conceivable. It is, then, the accepted conclusion of very nearly all competent scholars that Vespucci's first voyage was made in 1499 with Hojeda. We have Hojeda's own statement under oath, in the Diego Columbus suit for his privileges, that Vespucci was with him,² and we also have sworn statements that Hojeda's was the first exploration of the northern coast of South America, which was the region visited by Vespucci in his first voyage.³ Vespucci's narrative harmonizes in a number of minor details with what we know of the voyage of Hojeda.

The attempt was made by the Brazilian scholar Varnhagen, whose views are familiar to English readers from John Fiske's enthusiastic adoption of them,⁴ to show that Vespucci's voyage was really directed to the coast of Honduras and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. In the Latin translation of the Soderini letter describing the four voyages, the first is said to have been along the coast of Parias, the region where Columbus approached the continent of South America on his third voyage in 1498; while in the original Italian the name "Lariab" is given to the region, a name not elsewhere found. This is ordinarily explained as a misprint, but Varnhagen argued that it was correct and that it meant Honduras. This conjecture he based on the statements of the historians Gomara and Oviedo, who, writing, one a generation, the other two generations later, asserted that Vicente Yañez Pinzon discovered Honduras before the fourth voyage of Columbus.⁵ The most probable year for this voyage of Pinzon Varnhagen thought to be 1497, which would harmonize then with Vespucci's narrative of an expedition in that year. But the historian Herrera states that Pinzon's voyage to Honduras was in 1506.⁶ This assertion Mr. Fiske tried to break down by characterizing it as "the single unsupported statement of Antonio de Herrera, whose great work was published in 1601". Unfortunately for this argument, Herrera copied this assertion from Las Casas, who was a contemporary and who was living in the

¹ Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos* (5 vols., Madrid, 1825-1837), II, 214, 219.

² *Ibid.*, III, 544; in English, in Markham, *Letters*, 30.

³ Hojeda's testimony is in note 5; see also Navarrete, III, 558, 586, 590. The testimony on 558 is in Markham, *Letters*, 109.

⁴ Varnhagen's view is also presented by Thacher, *The Continent of America* (New York, 1896), and by Gaffarel, *Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique* (2 vols., Paris, 1892), II, 163.

⁵ See Fiske, *Discovery of America*, II, 70.

⁶ *Historia*, dec. I, lib. vi, ch. xvii; the passage is given in Fiske, II, 66.

Indies at the time. Las Casas does not give the year, but explicitly asserts that Pinzon's voyage was undertaken when the news came of what Columbus had discovered on his fourth voyage.¹ Not less explicit is the assertion of Ferdinand Columbus that the voyage of Pinzon and Solis took place in 1508.² Still again, Peter Martyr dates the voyage the year before that of Nicuesa (1509).³

In view, then, of the restoration of Columbus's monopoly privileges, of the absence of any recorded voyage in 1497, and of the evidence that the Pinzon-Solis voyage occurred later than 1504, the conclusion is well-nigh as positive and confident as it is almost universally accepted to-day that Vespucci made no voyage in 1497 such as he ascribes to himself, and that consequently he was not the first discoverer of the mainland of South America as he appeared to be from the widely circulated Latin edition of the Soderini letter, nor of the coast of Honduras as was first suggested by Varnhagen not forty years ago.

Vespucci's first voyage, then, was made in 1499 under Hojeda. His second, so far as can be ascertained, was made immediately upon his return from the first (it being supposed that he did not tarry in Española, as did Hojeda) with Diego de Lepe in 1500, when the westward trend of the coast of South America below eight degrees south latitude was discovered.⁴ Vespucci's third voyage was made with a Portuguese captain in 1501, who was despatched to explore the lands just discovered by Cabral. This expedition ran down the coast of Brazil to the thirty-second degree parallel, then veered off through the south Atlantic until the fifty-second degree was reached, the highest southern latitude attained up to this time.⁵ After a fierce storm, land was discovered, which is identified with the island of South Georgia. Vespucci's fourth voyage in 1503 was undertaken with "the intention of discovering an island in the East called Melaccha, of which it was reported that it was very rich, and that it was the mart of all the ships that navigate the Gangetic and Indian Seas".⁶ This project of the king of Portugal was based on the reports brought back by Cabral from Calicut in 1501. It was, therefore, a renewed effort to carry out the original design of Columbus, which was not destined to be actually accomplished until the time of Magellan. The details of the history of this expedition corre-

¹ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (5 vols., Madrid, 1875-1876), III, 200, 201.

² *Historie*, 290 (ch. 89 in original edition).

³ *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe*, dec. II, ch. vii (p. 181 of the edition of 1574).

⁴ Hugues, *Cronologia delle Scoperte e delle Esplorazioni Geografiche* (Milan, 1903), 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶ Markham, *Letters*, 52-53.

spond to what the historian Goes tells us of the voyage of Coelho, who went over in part the same ground as that of 1501, without however, going beyond sixteen degrees south latitude.¹

Of neither of these voyages was Vespucci the initiator, but according to his own account the first expedition on the return was intrusted to his command and in the second he was a captain. His name, however, is not to be found in the contemporary Portuguese histories nor in the vast mass of documents in the archives of Portugal relating to the discoveries.² If his two private letters to friends had not been published in Latin, instead of having the New World called after him, his name would have been known to us only as that of a map-maker and as the official examiner of pilots in Spain.³

Turning now to the products of his pen which wrought the seeming miracle, those whose authenticity is accepted consist first of a letter written to Lorenzo Piero Francesco de' Medici from Lisbon, in March or April, 1503, describing his third voyage, 1501, and a longer letter written also from Lisbon, in September, 1504, to his old school friend Pietro Soderini, of Florence, at that time gonfaloniere of the republic. This letter describes all four of the voyages. The original of the first or Medici letter is lost, but it was translated into Latin and published late in 1503 or early in 1504 under the title "*Mundus Novus*".⁴ The longer letter to Soderini was published at Florence in 1505. It dropped out of sight, and only five copies are known to be extant. A French version of it, prepared for René II, duke of Lorraine, was translated into Latin and published in 1507 as an appendix to the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller, a professor of geography in the College of Saint Dié, in Lorraine.

These letters are full of details of the strange aspects of nature and of man in the new regions. They have a confidential and personal note, perhaps not unnatural in a private correspondence, which at times rises from self-importance to self-exaltation. In variety of matter they surpass Columbus's letters about his first voyage and relate of course to a different field of exploration. In considering their extraordinary popularity, it is to be remembered that Columbus's own account of his third voyage, when he discovered the mainland of South America, was not printed till the nineteenth century; nor was any description of it printed until 1504 when one appeared in the little Venetian collection of voyages entitled *Libretto de Tutta*

¹ Hugues, *Cronologia*, 12. Yet cf. Markham, *Letters*, introduction, xliii.

² Santarem, in Navarrete, III, 310; also Santarem, *Researches* (Boston, 1850), 13.

³ Cf. the documents. Navarrete, *Viages*, III, 291-309.

⁴ Quaritch, *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci* (London, 1893), v.

la Navigazione de Re de Spagna de le Isole et Terreni Novamente Trovati, translated from the manuscript of Peter Martyr's unpublished *Oceani Decas*. The matter in this Libretto was taken over into the *Paesi Novamente Retrovati*, a larger collection published in 1507, and Peter Martyr published his *Oceani Decas* (Decade of the Ocean) in 1511.

If it is now remembered that Vespucci dated his first voyage 1497, and that his account of it was presented to the Latin-reading world in 1507, while Peter Martyr's brief account of Columbus's voyage of 1498 did not get before the Latin-reading world till 1508, in the Latin translation of the *Paesi Novamente Retrovati*, it is perfectly clear why the fame of Vespucci as the discoverer of continental South America eclipsed that of Columbus. Nor must it be forgotten that the Latin translation of the Medici letter descriptive of equatorial South America was being read all over Europe from 1503 on, for it is to this narrative more than to the other that the greatness of Vespucci's reputation was owing. An enumeration of the number of editions which were published within the next few years will illustrate this fact. There appeared in rapid succession fifteen editions of the Latin translation, seven editions in German, and one in Flemish.¹ Down to 1550 forty editions of this Medici letter have been recorded.² Less numerous were the Latin editions of the Soderini letter describing all four voyages, yet as they were appended to small treatises or text-books on geography their influence on the rising generation was most marked.

Outside of Spain Vespucci decidedly eclipsed Columbus. In the peninsula the case was different. The people among whom he lived and on whose ships he sailed knew little or nothing of him. No Portuguese translation of his letters was published until 1812 and no Spanish one until 1829. Peter Martyr just mentions his Brazilian voyages; Oviedo knows him not. Las Casas regards him as an impostor and his view is echoed by Herrera. Hardly less severe are the moderns Muñoz and Navarrete. In Portugal, Goes, Barros, and Osorio pass him in silence, and in the nineteenth century Santarem devoted a book to exposing his pretensions.

The enormous circulation of the Medici letter under the title *Novus Mundus*, etc., familiarized the European public outside of Spain with the association of Vespucci's name with the New World. Impressive, too, was his apparently clear conviction that it was a new part of the world and not simply the East Indies that had been

¹ See Fumagalli's bibliography in Uzielli's edition of Bandini, *Vita di Amerigo Vespucci* (Florence, 1898).

² Hugues, in *Raccolta Colombiana*, Part V, vol. 2, 139.

found. In the very first lines he says the regions which "we found and which may be called a new world (*novus mundus*), since our ancestors had no knowledge of them, and the matter is most novel to all who hear of it. For it goes beyond the ideas of our ancients, most of whom said there was no continent below the equator and toward the south, or if any of them said there was one they declared it must be uninhabited for many reasons. But that this opinion is false and altogether contrary to the truth this last voyage of mine has made clear."¹ Here was a positive, clean-cut declaration of the most striking character, very different from Columbus's enthusiastic but not altogether convincing identifications in his first letter of Cipango and Cathay.

Yet that it was really in any sense original with Vespucci may be questioned. In the first place, the Portuguese had proved, thirty odd years earlier, that equatorial Africa was both habitable and inhabited.² Secondly, the letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing his third voyage, on which he discovered the mainland of South America, was shown to Hojeda and inspired his voyage of 1499,³ on which he was accompanied by Vespucci. That Vespucci was also familiar with the contents of the letter is altogether probable, particularly if he went on the voyage, as is supposed, as a government agent. In this letter Columbus said of the mainland: "Of this half part [of the world] Ptolemy had no knowledge"⁴; "if this river does not flow from the earthly paradise it comes and flows from a boundless land to the south of which hitherto there has been no knowledge"⁵; "now when your highnesses have here [*i. e.*, across the Atlantic] another world (*otro mundo*)". In the letter to the nurse of Prince Juan, Columbus wrote of his third voyage: "I undertook a new voyage to the new heaven and new world (*nuevo cielo é mundo*), which up to that time was concealed"⁷; and again, "where by the divine will I have put under the dominion of the king and queen, our lords, another world".⁸

¹ Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci* (Lima, 1865), 13; Markham, *Letters*, 42.

² Opposite d'Ailly's assertion in his *Imago Mundi* that the torrid zone "is uninhabitable on account of excessive heat", Columbus had written in the margin at least a dozen years before: "It is not uninhabitable, because the Portuguese sail through it nowadays, and it is, indeed, very thickly inhabited; and under the equator is the king of Portugal's Castle of Mine, which we have seen." *Raccolta Colombiana*, Part II, vol. 2, 375.

³ *Supra*, p. 42.

⁴ R. H. Major, *Select Letters of Columbus* (2d ed., London, Hakluyt Society, 1870), 136.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

Further indication that this use of the name *Novus Mundus* did not originate with Vespucci is afforded by one of the sketch-maps prepared by Bartholomew Columbus in 1503, when on the fourth voyage, in which the land south of the *Mar de Caribi* is called "*Mondo Novo*".¹

Some additional illustrations of the use and meaning of the terms "new world", "other world", "West Indies" may be given here in order to clear away in some measure the confusion in which the subject has been involved.² The name West Indies was originated by Columbus himself and was used by him for the first time in document xliii, article iv, of his *Book of Privileges*, written before 1502, in which he refers to "*la calidad de las dichas Yndias occidentales a todo el mundo innotas*" ("the character of the said West Indies unknown to all the world").³

As for the term New World, in one or another of its Latin equivalents it was used from the beginning by Peter Martyr to describe Columbus's discoveries. In reality it did not mean a region detached at all points from the hitherto known world, but a new part of the globe not hitherto within the range of European knowledge. The use of it, therefore, implies of necessity nothing as to the physical connection or disconnection with Asia, but simply the fact of situation outside the bounds of previous knowledge, just as we say figuratively of a man in unfamiliar surroundings, "he found himself in a new world". Thus the Venetian Cada Mosto, writing of his voyages down the hitherto unexplored coast of Africa in 1455 and 1456, says the regions he saw in comparison with Europe might well be called "*un altro Mondo*" ("another world").⁴ Similarly, after the name had become familiar as applied to South America, Francis Serrão, in writing to Magellan of the Moluccas, refers to them as farther than the antipodes and as being "another new world" ("*outro novo mundo*").⁵

Peter Martyr uses the phrase "western antipodes" in his letter of May 14, 1493; "new hemisphere of the earth" in that of September 13, 1493; he calls Columbus "that discoverer of new world" ("*ille novi orbis repertor*") November 1, 1493; he writes of more wonders from the "New World" ("*orbe novo*") October 20, 1494;

¹ Carlo Errera, *L'epoca della grandi scoperte geografiche* (Milan, 1902), 297. This map is reproduced in Channing, *Students' History of the United States* (New York, 1898), 32.

² E. g., in Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 444, note, and 515; II, *passim*.

³ Spotorno, *Codice Diplomatico Colombo-Americano* (Genoa, 1823), 286; *Memorials of Columbus*, (London, 1823), 215; Thacher, *Columbus*, II, 530.

⁴ Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen* (3 vols., Berlin, 1836-1852), III, 130, note.

⁵ Barros, *Da Asia* (24 vols., Lisbon, 1778-1788), dec. III, liv. v, ch. viii.

and in December of the same year he uses the phrase "Western Hemisphere" ("ab occidente hemisperio").¹ The Florentine Simone del Verde, in January, 1499, in a letter from Cadiz, remarks that the admiral had had great courage and genius in having discovered the other world opposite our own ("l'altro mondo'opposito al nostro").² That Vespucci's letters first gave wide publicity to the discovery of a continental region south of the West Indies islands is undeniable, but that he was the first to recognize this discovery as such is not true. In fact, his conviction may have been simply the fruit of the seed planted by Columbus.

That Columbus believed at the same time that he had found islands lying off the eastern coast of Asia, and also a mainland to the south of these islands unknown to the ancients, presents no difficulty, but rather offers a solution of old-standing perplexities. Many writers have insisted that Columbus died in ignorance of his real achievement, believing that he had discovered the islands off the coast of Asia and part of the mainland of that continent. Others with equal confidence maintain that he realized that he had discovered a new world. His own language supports both views, and his position and that of his contemporaries becomes intelligible enough in the light of the interpretation given above of the phrase "new world", if we once realize the striking analogy between the relation of Australia to the Malay peninsula and that of South America to the parts of North America that Columbus visited. To take an illustration from a map published after Columbus's death and after the publication of Vespucci's voyages, in Ruysch's map in the *Ptolemy* of 1508 Florida occupies the position of Borneo, Española that of New Guinea, and Mundus Novus that of Australia.³ In other words, if America and the Pacific had not existed and Columbus had done just exactly what he supposed he did, he would have discovered Borneo, New Guinea, and Australia, and these regions would have been called "another world", and Australia, *par excellence*, "Mundus Novus". It was only after Magellan's voyage across the Pacific that antagonism appears between Columbus's different descriptions. He did not and could not, nor could any one else, divine that vast expanse of waters.

Returning now to the history of the narrative of Vespucci's voy-

¹ All these will be found in Thacher's extracts from Peter Martyr, *Opus Epistolarum*, in his *Christopher Columbus*, I, 53 ff.

² Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb* (2 vols., Paris, 1884-1885), II, 97; Thacher, I, 63.

³ Sketches of Ruysch's map are given in Fiske, II, 114; Winsor, *Columbus*, 532, and *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 115. A comparison by means of any Mercator projection will make clear the points made in the text.

ages, with its widely-published announcement of a hitherto unknown southern continental region, we come to the first suggestion to attach the Florentine's name to this "Mundus Novus". Martin Waldseemüller, the young professor of geography at the college in Saint Dié, who published the Soderini letter or narrative of the four voyages as an appendix to his *Cosmographia Introductio*, 1507, when he enumerated the different parts of the world, wrote: "In sexto climate Antarcticum versus, et pars extrema Africæ nuper reperta, et Zamzibar, Java minor et Seula insulæ, et quarta orbis pars (quam quia Americus invenit Amerigen, quasi Americi terram, sive Americam nuncupare licet) sitæ sunt." ("In the sixth climate toward the south pole are situated both the farthest part of Africa recently discovered, and Zanzibar, the islands of lesser Java and Ceylon, and the fourth part of the globe which since Americus discovered it may be called Amerige—i. e., Americ's land or America.")¹

A little further on, when ready to take up the parts of the world unknown to the ancients, he opens his account: "Nunc vero et hæ partes sunt latius lustratæ et alia quarta pars per Americum Vesputium (ut in sequentibus audietur) inventa est, quam non video cur quis jure vetet ab Americo inventore, sagacis ingenii viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram, sive Americam dicendam: cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina." ("Now, indeed, as these regions are more widely explored, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius, as may be learned from the following letters, I do not see why any one may justly forbid it to be named Amerige—that is, Americ's Land, from Americus, the discoverer, a man of sagacious mind, or America, since both Europe and Asia derived their names from women.")²

It will be noted that this young scholar, who in the prevailing fashion of the Renaissance had dignified his cumbrous family name of Waldseemüller into the Greco-Latin compound Hylacomylus (Gr. ὕλη, a wood; Lat. *lacus*, lake; Gr. μύλος, mill), which effectually concealed his identity in later days until it was revealed by Humboldt, pursued a similar process in devising the first of the two names which he proposed for the New World. Amerige is made up of Ameri(ci) and *ge*, the Greek γῆ, land. As an alternative the feminine of Americus is suggested by analogy with Asia, Europa, and Africa. As between Amerige and America euphony soon gave the palm to America, and only a writer here and there adopted the

¹ Fol. 3b., cited from Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerika's* (Berlin, 1892), 364.

² Fol. 15b., cited from Kretschmer, 364.

former.¹ The same advantage and the apt analogy in form to Asia and Africa, effectively and indispensably seconded by the rapid multiplication of geographies and maps in Germany, soon gave America the lead over all its competitors, in spite of the recurring sense of the injustice done to the memory of Columbus.

From the time of Schöner, who first made the charge in his *Opusculum Geographicum*, 1533, to the time of Humboldt, who completely refuted it, the belief was not uncommon that Vespucci had a hand in giving his own name to the New World. An interesting side-light on this point is thrown by the fact that his nephew Giovanni Vespucci did not adopt the name in the map he made in 1523.² Waldseemüller himself, when he became more thoroughly acquainted with the real history of the first discoveries, quietly dropped the name, and on his map of 1513 substituted for it on the mainland of South America "Terra Incognita", with the inscription, "This land, with the adjacent islands, was discovered by Columbus, a Genoese, under the authority of the King of Castile."³

The name America, notwithstanding the activity of the German press, made little or no headway in the Spanish peninsula, where "The Indies" was the prevalent official name and the one used by historians like Oviedo, Las Casas, and Herrera. The first Spanish maps to contain the name America were those in the *Atlas* of Lopez, Madrid, 1758.⁴ Muñoz, in 1793, entitled his work, which was the first really critical history according to modern ideas, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Among the other names suggested some may be noted. "Atlantis" was proposed by the French geographer Postel, 1561, and his example was followed among others by Sanson, 1689.⁵ Ortelius (Oertel), in 1571, desiring to do equal honor to Columbus and Vespucci, proposed to call North America "Columbana" and the southern continent "America". On Mercator's globe of 1541 the

¹ E. g., Nicolini de Sabio, in his edition of the *Cosmographia Introductio* (Venice, 1535); Marcou, *Nouvelles Recherches* (Paris, 1888), 44. The true derivation of the name *Amerige* was first explicitly given by the present writer in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1893 (VIII, 166). Schöner did not recognize it, for he takes the accusative case *Amerigem* for the name, *Luculentissima Descriptio*, 1515, c. xi, fol. 60. Curiously enough, even Kretschmer does the same in his *Entdeckung Amerika's*, 364. Marcou thought it a variant of Amerigo, *Nouvelles Recherches*, 44. *Amerigem* is also found in Stobnicza's *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam* (Cracow, 1512, Fumagalli's bibliography, No. 46, in Uzielli's edition of Bandini, *Vita*). America, too, puzzled some writers, being taken for an adjective, so that the full name would be *America Terra*. Letter of Aucuparius to Frisius (Fumagalli, No. 64), or *America Provincia*, as Apian's map of 1520 (Kretschmer, 366; Hugues, *Le Vicende del Nome "America"* (Turin, 1898), 26.

² Hugues, *ibid.*, 29.

³ *Ibid.*, 18. See *Atlas zu Kretschmer, Entdeckung Amerika's*, plate 12.

⁴ Hugues, *op. cit.*, 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

name America is stretched over the hemisphere, "Ame" being inscribed on the northern and "rica" on the southern continent. The names North America and South America first appear on the maps early in the seventeenth century, in Magini's *Ptolemy* and Hondius's *Atlas*, 1609.¹

The first indignant protest against the injustice done to Columbus in the application of another's name to the New World which he discovered was that of the celebrated Michael Servetus in that edition of *Ptolemy* (1535) whose unfortunate disagreement with the books of Moses as to the fertility of Palestine was one of the charges the stern Calvin brought against his victim.² Servetus declared that those were entirely mistaken who claimed that this continent should be called America, for Americus went thither much later than Columbus.³ The case was taken up vigorously by Las Casas, who, as a friend and admirer of the admiral, felt deeply on the subject.⁴ Curiously enough, there is no reference to the matter in Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father, which was written before 1539, and probably after the protest of Servetus. It would seem as if he died in ignorance of the eclipse of his father's fame by that of Vespucci in Europe outside of Spain.

The four discoverers—Columbus, John and Sebastian Cabot, and Amerigo Vespucci—have fared variously at the hands of modern historical criticism. John Cabot has been raised from almost complete obscurity to become a conspicuous but still shadowy figure. Sebastian Cabot has been pulled down from the lofty pedestal which he apparently erected for himself, his veracity is impugned, his scientific attainments disputed, and his lack of filial piety exposed to a glaring light. Around Vespucci the storms of controversy have raged for three centuries and a half, and he has suffered from them like Sebastian Cabot. His claims for himself have not stood the test. While he has been cleared of complicity in having his name attached to the New World, it is generally accepted that he antedated his first voyage to secure a distinction which did not belong to him and that his narratives unduly exalt himself at the expense of others equally entitled to honor. The position of Columbus alone has not been materially affected by the modern scrutiny into his career. Opinion has differed about his character, but the record of his achievements has been unshaken and the estimate of its significance has risen rather than fallen.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

² Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, 323.

³ The passage is quoted in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 176, note 10.

⁴ Las Casas's extensive criticism of Vespucci's narratives is given in English in Markham, *Letters*, 68-108.

NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW ENGLAND DURING THE REVOLUTION

At the beginning of the American Revolution it was not a foregone conclusion that Nova Scotia would continue loyal to the crown of England and that the other British colonies on the continent would all become independent. Yet writers dealing with the period frequently assume that Nova Scotia was from the first in a class altogether distinct from that of the revolting colonies, and therefore do not think her exceptional course of action worthy of remark. For instance, Green¹ says that all the colonies "adopted the cause of Massachusetts; and all their Legislatures, save that of Georgia, sent delegates to a Congress which assembled on the 4th of September at Philadelphia". In this statement Nova Scotia is altogether ignored. But, had this province made a fourteenth state in the Union, there is little doubt that the difficulty of England's holding Canada, especially during the season when the St. Lawrence was frozen, would have been enormously increased; and it is probable that England, like her rival France, would have been driven out of America. The attitude of Nova Scotia during the contest has therefore more than a merely local interest.

At first sight it is difficult to understand why Nova Scotia did not follow the lead of New England. The character of the population did not promise any high degree of loyalty. It was composed largely of emigrants from New England, who had only recently, at the time of the Stamp Act agitation, left their old homes; and there was another element of danger to the British connection in the presence of a number of Acadians who had escaped the intended doom of exile or had contrived to return to the province. In April, 1761, Belcher reported that there were 1,540 Acadians who had not yet submitted and who were fitting out armed vessels to prey on the trading ships. The hostility of the Acadians usually involved that of the Indians, who were still much under French influence. They

¹ *A Short History of the English People*, New York, 1877, 741.

² Belcher, chief-justice of Nova Scotia, to Lords of Trade, April 14, 1761, Manuscript Volume 37, no. 6, in Provincial Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Copies of this despatch and of most of those cited below are in the above-named library, which contains a valuable collection of documents relating to the early history of the province. Some of these are originals; others are transcripts from papers in the British Museum, the Massachusetts Public Records, etc.

numbered in 1764 about six hundred fighting men, a formidable force in a country of small and scattered settlements.¹

It had been part of Lawrence's plan to settle some of the New England troops upon the fertile lands from which they had been employed to drive the Acadians, but these troops had not chosen to remain,² and it was not till the reduction of Louisburg in 1758 that the resettlement of the "vacated" French lands really began, for as long as the Acadians and Indians received encouragement from Cape Breton, new settlers entered the country with their lives in their hands. But within three months after the fall of the fortress Lawrence issued a proclamation³ (with a description attached), inviting applications as well for the "lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable Province". He described in detail the unique advantages of the lands at his disposal—extensive forests, rich farms, already cleared, and navigable rivers falling into the Bay of Fundy. With special enthusiasm he dwelt on the fact that the new-comers would find their way prepared by the exiled Acadians, and that they might at once go in and possess fruitful orchards, fields stocked with English grass, and "interval plough-lands", upon which for a century the crops had never been known to fail. In another proclamation,⁴ he promised liberty of conscience to all Protestant dissenters, assured them that they would not be required to give any support to the Church of England, and explained that the government and system of justice in Nova Scotia resembled that of Massachusetts.

The people of New England showed themselves very ready to go in and possess the lands of the unfortunate Acadians. Before the close of 1759, one hundred seven Massachusetts men had received grants in the township of Annapolis; nearly three hundred others of the same province had "signed" for lands in the townships of East Passage, Shoreham (on Mahone Bay), and Liverpool; and the township of Yarmouth had been allotted to a number of applicants, of whom nine or ten came from Philadelphia, and over a hundred from different parts of New England. This by no means ex-

¹ Wilmot, governor of Nova Scotia, to Lords of Trade, June 24, 1764, MS. Volume 39, no. 9. See also Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 255.

² Lords of Trade to Lieutenant-governor Lawrence, July 8, 1756; see *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 210. In a few cases, as above, when I have not had access to the document in question, I have made use of the abstracts, in many instances very full, in the above report.

³ Council Book, III, MS. Volume 211, 27, 28. This is a copy of the minutes of the meetings of the governor of Nova Scotia and his council. The original minutes are in the Provincial Library at Halifax, but the references here are always to the copy.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵ Papers connected with Settlement of old Townships, Nova Scotia Provincial Library, MS. Volume 359.

hausts the list of immigrants. In September of this year, Lawrence stated¹ that the total number of families to be settled before the close of 1762 was 2,550, or about 12,250 souls. But it appears that, in a number of cases, the grantees never actually took possession of their lands, for in 1766,² counting the former inhabitants with the newcomers, there were in Nova Scotia only 2,375 families, or 9,789 persons, including what is now the province of New Brunswick. If we may assume the correctness of Chief-justice Belcher's estimate of 3,000 as the number of English inhabitants in Nova Scotia in 1755, it will be seen that the increase was by no means inconsiderable; and had Lawrence been permitted to manage matters as he thought best, it might have been much greater than it was.⁴

The glimpses we obtain of the New England settlers give the impression of an energetic, self-reliant people, jealous, like their compatriots, of any encroachment on their liberty. In June, 1760, the first settlers arrived at Liverpool, N. S., with live stock and thirteen fishing-schooners. Some of the party immediately betook themselves to the Banks to fish, while the rest set up three sawmills, and began to build houses for their families. Both Lawrence⁵ and Belcher reported that the settlements at Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth were prospering, but by the end of 1761 Belcher complained of the exorbitant price demanded by the New-Englanders for their labor.⁶ He said that, while the Irish were willing to work "in common labour" for two shillings per day, the New-Englanders would not work for less than four.

Of all the new settlers, the people of Liverpool⁷ seem to have been most imbued with the spirit of their Boston brethren. In the

¹ Lawrence to Lords of Trade, September 20, 1759 (enclosure), *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 218.

² Abstract of number of inhabitants, etc., December 31, 1766, MS. Volume 43, paper 15.

³ Belcher's opinion on removal of Acadians, of July 28, 1755, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 206.

⁴ He was informed by a letter from the Lords of Trade, dated August 1, 1759, that his duty with respect to the lands was simply to receive and transmit proposals. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 218; Council Book, III, MS. Volume 211, 95, 96. About this same time there were extensive schemes on foot to bring colonists from the other American colonies and from Ireland, but complaints were made that difficulties were thrown in the way of those bringing out settlers. See Memorial of Colonel Alexander McNutt, April 17, 1766, MS. Volume 31, no. 53. Several hundred from the north of Ireland were in fact brought over. See Lords of Trade to King, April 8, 1762, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 232.

⁵ Lawrence to Lords of Trade, June 16, 1760, MS. Volume 36, no. 48. See also *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 221.

⁶ Belcher to Lords of Trade, November 3, 1761, MS. Volume 37, no. 11; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 228.

⁷ Council Book, III, MS. Volume 211, 250.

minutes of the council of Nova Scotia, under date of July 24, 1762, is a remarkable document drawn up by the inhabitants of this little sea-coast town, which could then count scarcely more than two years from the day of its first settlement, insisting in no measured terms on their right to local self-government:

We, your memorialists, proprietors of the township of Liverpool, look upon ourselves to be freemen, and under the same constitution as the rest of His Majesty King George's other subjects, not only by His Majesty's Proclamation, but because we were born in a country of Liberty, in a land that belongs to the Crown of England, therefore we conceive we have right and authority invested in ourselves (or at least we pray we may) to nominate and appoint men among us to be our Committee and to do other offices that the Town may want. His present Excellency . . . and the Council of Halifax have thought proper to disrobe and deprive us of the above privilege, which we first enjoyed. This we imagine is encroaching on our Freedom and liberty and depriving us of a privilege that belongs to no body of people but ourselves, and whether the alteration and choice of the Men you have chosen to be our Committee is for the best or not we can't think so, and it has made great uneasiness among the people insomuch that some families have left the place and hindered others from coming, and we know some of the Committee is not hearty for the settlement of this place.

The petitioners complained that the said committee discouraged fishermen by saying that "they want farmers and that the township is full", but "we say, 'Encourage both'". "Therefore we pray", continued the memorial, "that we may have the privilege to chose our own Committee and other officers, as it will greatly pacify us and the rest of the people of the township, and what we must insist on as it belongs to us alone to rule ourselves as we think ourselves capable".

Liverpool was the only place in Nova Scotia to show "public marks of discontent" on the imposition of the stamp-duty.¹ Again, a little later,² this town was the scene of a riotous resistance to the law, as represented in the persons of the sheriff and deputy-sheriff of the county of Lunenburg. These officers had come to Liverpool in pursuit of a schooner that had been seized at New Dublin for some breach of the revenue laws and had escaped. Not seeing her in the harbor, they went into the town to make inquiries, but on the following night a mob of fifty men, armed with sticks and cutlasses, threatened the sheriff's life and forced him to sign a bond for 300l. "not to pursue the schooner any further".

Such manifestations of sympathy with persons engaged in illicit trade were a marked feature of the times in all the American colonies.

¹ Wilmut to Lords of Trade, November 19, 1765, MS. Volume 37, no. 46. See also *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 265.

² Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 45.

With regard to restrictions on trade, Nova Scotia was of course in much the same position as New England. For instance, in the royal commission¹ to Governor Wilmot there is a clause forbidding him, on account of the complaints of London merchants, to assent to any bill by which the inhabitants of Nova Scotia would be put, in her own trade, on a more advantageous footing than those of England. Neither might he assent to bills laying duties on British shipping, products, or manufactures. The tender solicitude for British interests, to the exclusion of all others, went so far that the governor was forbidden to assent to the laying of import or export duties on negroes, which might tend to discourage British trade with Africa; nor might the province protect herself against undesirable immigration by laying any duty on the importation of felons from Great Britain. Wilmot was indeed commanded to suppress the "engrossing of commodities, as tending to the prejudice of that freedom, which Trade and Commerce ought to have, and to use his best endeavours in the improvement of the trade of those parts by settling such orders and regulations therein . . . as may be most acceptable to the generality of the inhabitants". But in the same clause the governor was forbidden, on pain of the king's highest displeasure, to "assent to any bill for setting up manufactures or carrying on trades", which might prove "hurtful and prejudicial" to England. Legge's commission,² dated 1773, is in many clauses identical with that of Wilmot. The clause concerning the slave-trade, and another requiring the governor to do his utmost to facilitate the conversion to Christianity of Indians and negroes, is the same.

In Nova Scotia there was, however, comparatively little reason for popular discontent with the navigation laws. There was practically no manufacturing in the province.³ Two distillers of rum; a sugar baker, and two hatters constituted the list of manufacturers⁴. A little linen was sold by the Irish settlers, but there was good ground for hoping that such an objectionable practice would disappear when the people were more fully employed in the agricultural pursuits which became them. Lord William Campbell went so far as to ask permission to open and use the coal-mines of Cape Breton, and even ventured to issue licenses for the digging of coals. But though he said that the colliery could never interfere with England, his action

¹ Royal instructions, March 16, 1764, MS. Volume 349.

² MS. Volume 349.

³ Michael Francklin to Shelburne, November 21, 1766, MS. Volume 42, no. 6.

⁴ See also Francklin to Hillsborough, July 11, 1768, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 287.

⁵ Campbell to Shelburne, February 27, 1767, MS. Volume 43, no. 1. See also *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 276.

was condemned as irregular and the renewal of the licenses was forbidden.¹ Beyond the simple articles with which in a certain stage of social development every family supplies itself, there was little demand for manufactured goods. This being the case, Nova Scotia offered few attractions to any one whose bent was mechanical or commercial. Farmers might hope to reap abundant crops from the "vacated French lands". Fishermen might be drawn to the province by the number of "ports of safety",² and "the inexhaustible mines of fish", at the entrance to its harbors; but, as we have seen, for the would-be manufacturer there was nothing but discouragement, and as late as 1774³ Governor Legge was able to report, "there is no other kind of business carried on in this colony than fishing and farming".

When the stamp-duties were under discussion, there was not a town in the province deserving of the name. In 1762⁴ even Halifax had a population of only 2,500. Country people are proverbially slower to move and more difficult to rouse than the dwellers in towns, and the disaffected of Nova Scotia seem to have had no leader of any great power or influence. In Cumberland county and on the St. John river there were several men who appear to have had considerable local influence, which was exerted to the utmost on the side of the revolted colonies, but at Halifax, though from time to time persons were arrested on suspicion of holding correspondence with the rebels or for saying that they "thought the Americans were much in the right of it"⁵ no one was charged with any serious attempt to organize resistance to government.

The interests of Halifax itself were indeed all on the side of the established order of things. Then as now it was the chief seaport, the seat of government for the province, and a British naval and military station, and in those days its prosperity, its importance, its very existence, depended on these conditions. Such specie as circulated was introduced into the country by the army and navy⁶

On the other hand, Halifax depended⁷ upon New England for its

¹ Hillsborough to Franklin, February 26, 1768, MS. Volume 31, no. 69; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 283.

² Campbell to Shelburne, February 27, 1767, MS. Volume 43, no. 1; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 276.

³ Legge to Dartmouth, July 6, 1774, MS. Volume 44, no. 37; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 319.

⁴ Account of settlements enclosed with a letter of Belcher to Lords of Trade, January 11, 1762, MS. Volume 37, no. 13½; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 230.

⁵ Papers relating to Crown Prosecutions, MS. Volume 342, paper 77.

⁶ Campbell to Shelburne, September 7, 1767, MS. Volume 42, 20.

⁷ Wilmot to Lords of Trade, June 24, 1764, MS. Volume 39, no. 9; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 255.

supplies of all fresh provisions except fish, and so, in the earlier years of the Revolution, was in constant communication with Boston, the chief center of disaffection. In Governor Lawrence's time even hay was brought from New England,¹ and in 1762 there was not in the town or its neighborhood one family that gained a living by husbandry. The only improved land consisted of a few garden lots and grass fields,² and the lack of roads prevented the country people from bringing in their produce. Campbell complained that it was frequently bought by New-Englanders, who sold it again to the people of Halifax.³ From the first therefore the citizens were fully informed of all that went on in the colonies to the south.

To Nova Scotia, as to the other colonies, came the notice of the intended imposition of stamp-duties "towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America".⁴ The familiar story of the way in which this proposal was received does not need retelling. Nova Scotia alone, of all the colonies on the seaboard, submitted without "opposition or objection" to the laying on of the stamp-duties. In her settlements there were no riots, no non-importation agreements, and apparently, except from Liverpool,⁵ no murmurs. The British ministers, however, saw no reason for greater confidence in the loyalty of Nova Scotia than in that of the more southern colonies; and, on hearing of the disturbances in Boston and other places, they instructed⁶ Wilmot "if this evil should spread to the government of Nova Scotia", to use leniency and persuasion at first, but in the case of "acts of outrage and violence", to apply for assistance to the naval and military commanders.

Wilmot reported, however, that "the sentiments of a decent and dutiful acquiescence" prevailed "very powerfully" in Nova Scotia,⁷ and in due time there came by express command of the king a letter⁸ signifying "his highest approbation of the dutiful, loyal and discreet conduct, observed" in Nova Scotia "during the late unjustifiable transactions in other parts of America".

¹ Account of settlements with letter of Belcher, January 11, 1762, MS. Volume 37, no. 13½. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 230.

² *Ibid.*

³ Campbell to Shelburne, May 21, 1767, MS. Volume 42, 15; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 277.

⁴ Lord Halifax to Wilmot, August 11, 1764, MS. Volume 31, no. 38.

⁵ Wilmot to Lords of Trade, November 19, 1765, MS. Volume 37, no. 46. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 265.

⁶ Conway to Wilmot, October 24, 1765, MS. Volume 31, no. 50.

⁷ Wilmot to Conway, February 17, 1766, MS. Volume 42, 5. See same to same, February 9, in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 266.

⁸ Richmond to Governor of Nova Scotia, June 12, 1766, MS. Volume 31, no. 57.

The Stamp Act was soon repealed, but the mischief it had done did not quickly pass away. It had provoked both the friends and the foes of America to investigate the status of the colonies in relation to the mother-country. Lord Mansfield on the one side, James Otis on the other, agreed in insisting that the distinction between port-duties and internal taxes was without foundation. This idea spread, and trade restrictions soon began to be regarded as worse than arbitrary taxation—"the more slavish thing of the two".

But the ministers were by no means prepared to give up the contest. At the moment of repealing the Stamp Act they took care to assert their rights over the colonies by "an Act for Securing the just Dependency of the Colonies on the Mother Country"; and the very announcement of the repeal of the measure that had proved so obnoxious was couched in language of irritating condescension.¹ One blunder followed another. Relief to the trade interests of America was promised, but little was given. The year 1767 saw another attempt of the British ministers to raise in America a revenue for military purposes by the imposition of taxes on tea and certain other articles. In many of the colonies this was met by a revival of the non-importation associations, and in February, 1768, the legislature of Massachusetts passed resolutions protesting against the new taxes, and adopted a circular letter to send to the other assemblies of North America.

This letter is interesting as an expression of the political creed of Massachusetts at that time, but its contents are too well-known to need repetition. We are concerned with it chiefly as an attempt to bring about concerted action on the part of the colonies, a matter which former experience had shown to be of extraordinary difficulty. The representatives of Massachusetts evidently dreaded giving offense to the assemblies of the sister colonies, and eagerly disclaimed any ambition of dictating to them or taking the lead. But they assumed throughout that these other assemblies were at one with them on the main points in dispute. They did not doubt apparently that even Nova Scotia would join in their protest. On the other hand, the

¹ Conway to Wilmot, March 31, 1766, MS. Volume 31, no. 52: "You will think it scarce possible, I imagine, that the paternal care of his Majesty for his colonies or the lenity and indulgence of the parliament should go further than I have already mentioned—yet so full of true magnanimity are the sentiments of both, and so free from the smallest colour of passion or prejudice that they seem disposed not only to forgive but to forget those most unjustifiable marks of an undutiful disposition, too frequent in the late transactions of the colonies. . . . A revision of the late American trade laws is going to be the immediate object of Parliament nor will the late transactions there, however provoking, prevent I dare say, the full operation of that kind indulgent disposition prevailing both in his Majesty and his Parliament to give to the trade interests of America, every relief which the true state of their circumstances demands or admits."

rulers of that province, from Hillsborough,¹ secretary of state, to Francklin,² the lieutenant-governor, expressed much confidence in the loyalty of Nova Scotia. At the same time they declared that the proceedings of Massachusetts were "of a most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds" of the king's "good subjects in the colonies, to promote an unwarrantable combination, and to excite and encourage an open opposition to and denial of the authority of Parliament, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution".

Their faith in the "most noble and submissive obedience"³ of Nova Scotia did not altogether allay their anxieties concerning the possible effect of the Massachusetts circular letter, even on that exemplary province; and Francklin was directed to prorogue or dissolve the assembly, if it betrayed any inclination to giving countenance to "this seditious paper". When the assembly of Nova Scotia met in the following June, however, Francklin⁴ was able to report that the Massachusetts letter had not even been read, and that there would have been no difficulty in obtaining a strong vote of disapprobation, had it been thought necessary. "The people of this province", he repeats, "have the highest reverence and respect for all acts of the British legislature."

After the appearance of the circular letter, two regiments and four ships of war were ordered from Halifax to Boston. Campbell, who had just returned from a visit to England, wrote⁵ to Hillsborough, urging that the troops might be sent back to Nova Scotia as quickly as possible, on account of the poverty of the people, "whose chief dependence was the circulating cash spent by the troops", and because of danger from Indians. The removal of the fifty-ninth regiment from Louisburg, he declares, will cause "a total

¹ Hillsborough to Governor of Nova Scotia, April 21, 1768, MS. Volume 31, no. 71: "The repeated proofs which have been given by the assembly of Nova Scotia, of their reverence and respect for the laws, and of their faithful attachment to the constitution leave little room in His Majesty's breast to doubt of their showing a proper resentment of this unjustifiable attempt to revive those distractions which have operated so fatally to the prejudice of this kingdom and the colonies."

² Francklin to Shelburne, March 29, 1768, MS. Volume 43, no. 25. *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1884, 284. "No temptation, however great", he asserted, "will lead the inhabitants of this province to show the least inclination to oppose Acts of the British Parliament."

³ Hillsborough to Governor of Nova Scotia, April 21, 1768, MS. Volume 31, no. 71.

⁴ Campbell to Shelburne, February 27, 1767, MS. Volume 43, no. 1; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 276.

⁵ Francklin to Hillsborough, July 10, 1768, MS. Volume 43, no. 34; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 287.

⁶ Campbell to Hillsborough, September 12, 1768, MS. Volume 43, no. 49; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 290.

desertion" of the inhabitants; and the coal-mines, "peculiarly recommended from home not to be touched, may uninterruptedly be worked by any people who think proper to go there". Since the peace Louisbourg had been "the receptacle of adventurers in the Fishery"; so long as the troops were there the civil power could be enforced, but now there was reason to fear "total anarchy". The defense of Halifax, where a royal dockyard had lately been established, added to his anxieties. In case of war it would certainly be one of "the first objects of destruction",¹ for it might² "now be looked on as the northern key of His Majesty's American dominions".

Considering that he regarded the situation in Nova Scotia as so perilous, it is somewhat remarkable that Campbell permitted the publication of the inflammatory matter that appeared in the earlier numbers of *The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*. Its first number appeared in January, 1769, and it kept its readers supplied with the "freshest advices" concerning the progress of events in the colonies to the south. Articles favorable to the king and his ministers occasionally found a place in its columns, but the general trend of the paper was, at this time, rather in favor of the champions of colonial rights. The question of war and of the separation of the colonies from Great Britain were freely discussed six years before the first shot was fired at Lexington, and the people were informed that great numbers of Englishmen looked "on America as in rebellion".³

Nova Scotia still refrained from joining in the loud protests of the New England colonies against taxation by the British Parliament, but even in that province were faint stirrings of the desire for larger liberty, and some of the townships ventured to call meetings⁴ for debating questions relating to the laws and government. This alarmed the governor, and the attorney-general was instructed to threaten the offenders with prosecution. When the general assem-

¹ Campbell to Hillsborough, October 25, 1768, MS. Volume 43, no. 56; *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894*, 292.

² Same to same, January 13, 1769, MS. Volume 43, no. 67; *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894*, 294.

³ The issue for July 11-18 contains a long protest from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, addressed "To the Writers against America", prophesying that if war should occur, "the consequence must be alike fatal to Britain, whether England or America is victorious". And the quarrel is "for what?" "For less than a shadow." In the issue for August 22-29, 1769, appeared an "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman of distinction in London to his Friend in Boston", approving of the proceedings of that town: "I have learnt with pleasure from the papers that the Bostonians are firm and steady, not to be intimidated by the presence of a military power, and not afraid of enumerating their grievances."

⁴ Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 136.

bly met in June, however, Campbell was able to report¹ that he "did not discover in them any of that licentious principle with which the neighboring colonies are so highly infected".

In October, 1773, Lieutenant-colonel Legge became governor of Nova Scotia. He was at Halifax for about two years and a half, and he made himself so unpopular that his councilors complained of him to the authorities at home, the principal inhabitants of Nova Scotia petitioned for his recall, and Francklin described him as utterly unsuitable for the position of governor from "his capacity, temper, and disposition". Legge represented the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, including even the government officials, as disloyal. Francklin² asserted that the accusations were untrue, but that Legge's conduct had been "too oppressive, vindictive and ungracious"; and that he had "lost the confidence and affection of the King's best subjects". In fact the number of the disaffected had "been greatly augmented by his arbitrary and impolitic conduct". Legge's opinion that there was a considerable amount of disaffection in the province receives some corroboration from other sources. The provost marshal, Fenton,³ complained that many of the members of the assembly were "emigrants from New England, who have brought the same principles as exist there, and are determined", being in the majority, "to give the Governor and all the officers under him all the uneasiness in their power".

To the resolutions of the Congress at Philadelphia, declaring for non-intercourse with colonies that did not accept its measures, Nova Scotia paid no attention.⁴ But as a matter of fact the trade of Halifax was by this time seriously affected, and communication even with England was rendered difficult. In the winter of 1774-1775, when the harbor of Boston was closed by the Port Bill, only one small vessel which was accustomed to make two voyages in the year came from Great Britain to trade at Halifax.⁵ Legge sapiently suggested⁶ that the way to help the loyal colonies was to place fresh restrictions on commerce, and thus force the industrious New Eng-

¹ Campbell to Hillsborough, June 13, 1770, MS. Volume 43, no. 100.

² Francklin to Dartmouth, January 2, 1776, MS. Volume 45, no. 3; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 344. See also Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 316, and Francklin to John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade and Plantations, May 4, 1776, MS. Volume 45; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 349.

³ See Extract from Fenton's letter of November 18, 1774, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 326.

⁴ Legge to Dartmouth, March 6, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 59. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 328.

⁵ Same to same, July 6, 1774, MS. Volume 44, no. 38; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 319.

⁶ Same to same, March 6, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 59.

land fisherman to abandon smuggling and come to the coast of Nova Scotia to seek his living from the sea. Of the bill for restricting the fishermen of New England he had great hopes.¹

At the beginning of the war there appears to have been some danger of Nova Scotia's being lost to England. The Americans made more than one attempt at invasion, though these were so feeble that they have no place in the shorter and more general accounts of the struggle.² Open invasion, however, was not their most dangerous mode of attack. They labored to stir up the Indians and persuade the settlers from New England to revolt, and they let loose a swarm of privateers to harry the coasts and destroy the fishing-boats and trading-vessels of the province. To make matters worse, reinforcements were sent to Gage, and Halifax was left almost defenseless.³ To supplement his meager force, Legge set himself to raise a thousand men in Nova Scotia. With this number under his command, he said,⁴ he could answer for the preservation of the province, though "the colonies to a man" were "prepossessed with great prejudice" against it. But he could place no reliance on the enthusiastic loyalty of the people. The Nova Scotians were not so eager as he expected to enlist in the "Royal Fencible Americans", as the regiment was to be called, and Legge soon decided that the militia were not to be depended on in the event of an attack from the eastern part of New England, as many of them came from there. There were moreover other evidences of disaffection. A quantity of hay purchased for the horses in Boston was burned, and a fire was discovered in the navy-yard. The two men, however, who were thought to be guilty of the act were declared by a resolution of the assembly to be "dutiful and loyal subjects of King George".⁵

Suspected disloyalty and the lack of troops were not the only alarming circumstances of which Legge had to take account in estimating his chances of defending Halifax in case of attack. The fortifications were in a dilapidated state; the batteries were dismantled, the gun-carriages decayed, the guns on the ground. In fact

¹ Legge to Dartmouth, April 24, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 61; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 329.

² See Bourinot *Story of Canada* (London, 1898); Edward Eggleston, *A History of the United States and its People* (New York, 1888); Goldwin Smith, *The United States* (New York, 1893).

³ Legge to Dartmouth, July 31, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 71. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 334, 335. Lengthy extracts from this letter and many others are printed in Beamish Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1866). See II, 550, 551.

⁴ See advertisement in *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, June 20, 1775. See also Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, II, 539.

⁵ *Ibid.*

there were no defenses round the town, and it lay "open to the country on every side".¹ Provisions were scarce, partly through the effort to supply the royal troops at Boston, and partly through "the defection of the southern colonies",² upon which Halifax had been accustomed to depend for supplies. It was also difficult to obtain fuel, owing in a measure at least to the fact that persons bringing fuel to market were frequently pressed for the navy. The same cause interfered with the "provision of fish". In addition to his other duties he was now called on to care for the New England refugees, provide them with land, and furnish food to those in need.³ Gage believed that some of these refugees from New England were tainted with disloyalty.

To meet this danger, all persons, "not settled inhabitants", who came into town were required to give notice to the magistrate on pain of being treated as spies, and all innkeepers were to give notice of the arrival of strangers, "on pain of the like penalty". It was also decided⁴ that persons coming from the rebellious colonies, besides taking the ordinary oath of allegiance, must declare their submission to the king and the parliament, and their detestation of the proceedings of the rebels. The magistrates had by a proclamation been required "to apprehend all disloyal persons stirring up or making disturbances", and there seems to have been occasionally some harshness in the performance of this duty. For instance,⁵ in June, 1775, the magistrates of Annapolis county "apprehended Mr. Howard, the dissenting teacher", though "he had not been guilty of any misdemeanour since his arrival in this Province, but had behaved himself discreetly, and as became a good subject". He was nevertheless brought to "town in the custody of the Provost Marshal" and was informed that "information had been given against him, from New England that he had at several times held forth seditious discourses tending to alienate the minds of the King's subjects". The governor had therefore thought it necessary that he should be warned against such behavior, "as he would avoid a commitment to prison and a prosecution at law", but on promising "a dutiful, loyal behaviour", he was allowed to depart.

During the latter part of this year, the rumors of an intended

¹ Legge to Dartmouth, August 19, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 76; *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894*, 336.

² See Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 268.

³ Dartmouth to Legge, July 1, 1775, MS. Volume 32, no. 31. See *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894*, 332.

⁴ Legge to Dartmouth, December 22, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 86. See *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894*, 342.

⁵ Council Book IV, MS. Volume 212, 254.

invasion of Nova Scotia kept the governor and his councilors in a condition of constant excitement and alarm. But in spite of their anxiety they found time for frequent quarrels among themselves and with the assembly. The governor wished to make certain changes in the constitution of that body.¹ The assembly hotly resented his proposals, telling him with characteristic freedom of language that "dictatorial powers may be necessary to quell insurrections, or to rule a disaffected people, but where no such principles exist, the exertions of such powers will create them". The councilors in their turn declared that the assertions of the assembly were "illiberal, groundless", and could not be supported. All parties besieged the unfortunate secretary of state with charges and countercharges, and in due time came a message from the king that he was displeased with "the dissensions of the Provincial Governments over trivial matters".²

During these early years of the war, Halifax feared attack. There were rumors of expeditions against it that were disquieting,³ for the place was quite without proper defenses, and to make them was a matter of difficulty. Men did not readily volunteer, and the measures adopted to fill the ranks were not successful.⁴ There was moreover opposition to the taxes imposed for the support of the troops. The people were poor, and here, as in the other colonies, taxes were an unwelcome reminder of authority. A petition from Cumberland county shows that considerable democratic spirit was latent there:⁵

We must beg leave to say that it appears to ocular demonstration that those who voted for the said Bills were utterly unacquainted with the state of the Province. The law being intended for the safety of the inhabitants . . . they should have been consulted thereon. . . . The dispute arising between Great Britain and the colonies has no way reached this quarter, nor can we find any grounds of complaint, wherein any acts of violence have been committed or hostilities commenced in any part of this province, except the destroying the fort at St John's River, which appeared rather an act of inconsideration than otherwise, nor are we anyways apprehensive of any danger from them, except this Militia Bill is enforced. Those of us who belong to New England, being invited into the Province by Governor Lawrence's proclamation, it must be the greatest piece of cruelty and imposition for them to be subjected to march into different parts in arms against their friends and relations.

¹ See Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 256-259.

² Suffolk to Legge, October 16, 1775; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 339.

³ Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 253, 272, 273, 280.

⁴ Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 287, 296, 301. See also "Transcripts relating to the American Revolution from the Massachusetts Public Records", MS. Volume 364, paper 6.

⁵ MS. Volume 364, paper 8.

. . . The impossibility of supporting troops in our present exigencies must be obvious to every judicious and impartial eye that beholds us. No medium of trade—not £ 150 cash circulating among us and that at the command of a few persons, no way to pay our debts, but in the way of barter, no commerce carried on with other parts, must consequently render it most calamitous and wretched, nay, it is a matter not to be doubted that the inhabitants cannot do it. [In conclusion they requested the governor] . . . to suspend putting the said Militia and tax Bill into execution, till a further deliberation . . . and to dissolve the present house of Assembly and issue precepts for a new choice.

Meanwhile there were other indications that the New England settlers in the province were far from being satisfied and that an effort to gather the militia might precipitate a conflict.¹ It is difficult to say how much reliance is to be placed on the testimony to this effect, but it seems to have determined the governor not to summon the militia,² and he was evidently unwilling to attempt disarming the disaffected. The attempt could not however have precipitated a very bloody struggle, since the disaffected were without ammunition³ and the loyalists almost as destitute. But besides those suspected of downright disloyalty, there were some who were half-hearted in their support of the governor's authority, and desired to "remain neuter" in case of an attack on the province, which, throughout the winter of 1775⁴ seemed a very real danger.

In the meantime the royal army had been forced to evacuate Boston, and had arrived at Halifax. This was of course a heavy blow to the king's cause, but the coming of the troops, and of the large number of loyalists who accompanied them, increased the strength of Nova Scotia relatively to that of the disaffected colonies. This, however, was not the beginning of the influx of refugees. During the previous year many loyalists had removed to Nova Scotia, and their coming had been encouraged, as has already been mentioned, by grants of land, and, in some cases, of provisions. The authorities appear to have been actuated by something like a settled policy of making Nova Scotia a center and stronghold of loyalty. Upon receiving Dartmouth's despatch respecting the treatment of refugees, Legge issued a proclamation to those likely to seek an asylum in Nova Scotia. This he endeavored to "spread on the Continent",⁵

¹ Captain Stanton to Legge, December 4, 1775; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 341.

² Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 302; Legge to Dartmouth, January 11, 1776, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 345.

³ Legge to Dartmouth, December 22, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 86; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 342.

⁴ See Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 300.

⁵ Legge to Dartmouth, October 17, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 78. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 339.

though, owing to the scarcity of provisions, he found great difficulty in supplying the promised rations. He entreated¹ that flour and pork and butter should be sent from the British Isles. In the meantime he proposed to make the loyalists an allowance in cash, so that they might supply themselves as best they could at the markets, where, however, the price of all food was doubled. In the spring of 1776, Legge reported² that the rebels were trying to prevent the loyalists from leaving New England for Nova Scotia, but stated in the same letter that he had been informed by Howe that two hundred families, many of them poor, would soon arrive at Halifax. In less than a month there came fifty transports³ crowded with people from Boston who had remained faithful to their old allegiance. Their coming strained to the utmost the resources of the little town, though the governor and council did their utmost to prevent distress, issuing numerous regulations and proclamations.⁴ They fixed the price of fresh meat at one shilling per pound (Halifax currency), of butter at one shilling six pence per pound, and of milk at six pence per quart. They also decreed that no one must charge more than double the ordinary rent for rooms or houses, and declared that the laws against regrating and forestalling would be strictly enforced. But, in spite of all regulations, the price of beef speedily rose⁵ to two shillings and six pence per pound and that of butter to five shillings per pound, while people had to cook in the streets in cabooses from the ships. When Howe sailed with his army from Halifax on June 10, a vast number of women and children were left behind, to be provided for as cheaply as possible by General Massey, then in command of the garrison. With this object he hired a schooner, which he named the *Charity*, to supply the refugees and the invalids with fish. Before winter a number of the refugees, "frightened at the cold and the high price of provisions",⁶ left Halifax, but many remained in the province. As we have seen, Legge had been impressed by the difficulties of his administration and had written constantly of disaffection and danger, which, no doubt, his own lack of judgment tended to increase. For his fears there

¹ Legge to Dartmouth, November 27, 1775, MS. Volume 44, no. 82. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 341.

² Legge to Dartmouth, March 18, 1776, MS. Volume 45, no. 9. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 348.

³ Legge to Germain, April 10, 1776, MS. Volume 45, no. 10. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 349.

⁴ Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 315.

⁵ See *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, I (1878), 53, 54.

⁶ Massey to Germain, June 27, 1776, MS. Volume 365, no. 13. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 351. See also Massey to Germain, October 6, 1776. *Ibid.*, 354.

appear to have been some reasons; for, though his successor, Lieutenant-governor Arbutnot, announced that all were "in perfect good humour" in the colony,¹ he also described the New-Englanders and Acadians as "bitter bad subjects". On the other hand, early in 1776 as many as five hundred men, including some from the free-spoken people of Cumberland county,² were enrolled in the militia, and the assembly that met in June voted a loyal address consecrating their lives and fortunes to the service of the king.

Of the threatened attacks upon Nova Scotia little need be said. Massachusetts was interested in attempts at invasion, but they were altogether unsuccessful. Throughout the war the authorities at Halifax were suspicious of the intentions of the New-Englanders on their borders, the more so, as there was difficulty in obtaining information of their movements. In the summer of 1779 a counter attack was made. An expedition swooped down from Halifax on Penobscot and took possession of the peninsula where Castine now is.³ An effort to recover it was unsuccessful, and that region remained in the possession of the British till the end of the war.

Perhaps the Indians were the chief source of danger to the province, for effort was made by the agents both of New England and of Nova Scotia to gain or retain the friendship of the Micmacs and the St. John River Indians.

John Allan of Cumberland county, appointed in 1777 Indian agent for Massachusetts,⁴ sought to win the friendship of the red men for the cause of the revolting colonies, but he met with little success. Governor Francklin succeeded in persuading the St. John Indians to give up to him a treaty that they had made with Massachusetts, in which they had promised to send six hundred men to join Washington's army, and he also induced them to swear "on the Holy Scriptures" to hold no communication with Machias, to follow their hunting and fishing quietly, and to warn the English of designs against their garrisons.⁵ It was always Francklin's great object to keep the Indians quiet, for he feared that, once thoroughly roused, they might turn their arms against the English, and an Indian war, vigorously carried on, would cause the utmost confusion and dis-

¹ Arbutnot to Germain, undated, MS. Volume 45, no. 21; see also same to same, December 31, 1776, MS. Volume 45, no. 32, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 358.

² Francklin to Pownall, May 4, 1776, MS. Volume 45, no. 15. See also *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 348.

³ Hughes to Haldimand, June 20, 1779, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1888, 567.

⁴ Hughes to Germain, September 2, 1779, MS. Volume 45, no. 75; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 383.

⁵ Journal of Allan, January 16, 1777, in MS. Volume 364, paper 96.

⁶ Copy of oath taken by Indians September 24, 1778, and January 19, 1779, *Dorchester Papers*, Volume I, MS. Volume 368, 83.

treasure. He was especially apprehensive of this when there were rumors that a French fleet was hovering on the coasts, for the attachment of the Indians to the French was still strong.¹

But if upon the whole the interests of the province were safe on land, the little commerce it possessed was far from safe at sea. As early as November 30, 1775, it was reported that two New England schooners had captured twenty-two ships, and six months later the judges of the Supreme Court actually represented that it would be unsafe to hold the regular courts² in Cumberland, Annapolis, and King's counties because of the danger from "pirates" in the Bay of Fundy. The ground of this judicial timidity is not altogether clear, and it was eventually decided to hold the courts; but, though the seamen did not so far forget their trade as to attack the courts, nothing afloat seemed to be secure. "Rebel pirates", wrote the governor, "have entered our defenceless harbours indiscriminately from Cape Sable to very near this port, landed to the great terror of the well-affected people; cut out several vessels, and done much mischief".³ At a later time it was reported by Hughes, the successor of Arbuthnot, that the "pirates" had stations to the east and west of Halifax, knew what ships came to the harbor, and lay on the watch for them.⁴ Naturally the New-Englanders did not have everything their own way, for privateers were fitted out in Nova Scotia to prey upon such of the commerce of the enemy as might be found.⁵

This kind of warfare provoked much bitter feeling; and other causes were at work to diminish the sympathy that at first existed between Nova Scotia and New England. Chief among these was a kind of natural selection, which at once impelled the warmest advocates of colonial rights to leave a province where they were in the minority, and inclined the loyalists to seek a refuge where their political principles were still held in respect. When at last Great Britain gave up the contest, it was to Nova Scotia that thousands of the vanquished party turned in the hope of building up a new country under the flag and traditions of their forefathers. General Sir Guy Carleton was besieged with memorials and petitions from the loyalists, to which he seems⁶ to have attended with patience and kindness.

¹ Franklin to Clinton, August 2, 1779, Dorchester Papers, Volume I, MS. Volume 368, 84-89.

² Council Book, IV, MS. Volume 212, 318.

³ Arbuthnot to Germain, October 8, 1776, MS. Volume 45; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 354.

⁴ Hughes to Germain, *ibid.*, undated, MS. Volume 45, 70.

⁵ See Council Book, IV, October 14, 1779, MS. Volume 212, 372.

⁶ See numerous letters and memorials in Dorchester Military Papers, II, MS. Volume 369.

Most of the refugees that went to Nova Scotia had collected at New York under the protection of the British army, but they came originally from all the different colonies. They were of all classes, from lawyers, clergymen, and merchants down to slaves. Usually a number of families and single men grouped themselves together in one party, and made application for lands, etc., through one or two men, acting as agents for the rest. In most cases the refugees were conveyed to Nova Scotia and were supplied with rations, tools, and other necessities at the expense of the British government.¹ In spite of this assistance, they suffered many and severe privations. At the close of the war, different parts of Nova Scotia and Canada saw a repetition of the scenes which had occurred at Halifax on the arrival of Howe's army. For instance, it is recorded² that in October, 1782, nine transports, escorted by two men-of-war, arrived at Annapolis with five hundred refugees. Others soon followed. Several hundred were stowed in the church, a building only sixty by forty feet, and the rent of small unfurnished rooms went up to three dollars per week. A little later there arrived at Halifax five hundred loyalists from Charleston, South Carolina, who, being ill-provided with both clothing and shelter, suffered pitifully from the cold.³ Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely. By the summer of 1784, it was estimated⁴ that 30,000 loyalists had settled in Nova Scotia. Their settlement was not effected without a good deal of friction and dissatisfaction,⁵ but the letters of those in authority give the impression of an earnest desire to assist all who had suffered on account of their adherence to the royal cause, and by the end of 1784, Governor Parr was happily able to report⁶ that the refugees were contented and getting on well.

Efforts had been made, both in Nova Scotia and in Canada, to settle them along the international boundary, so as to strengthen the British hold on the country in the event of difficulty with the

¹ North to the Governor of Nova Scotia, May 5, 1783, Dorchester Papers, II, MS. Volume 369, paper 181.

² See *Halifax Herald*, May 8, 1897, for an article quoting the "Journal of Jacob Bailey", which is now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See also Parr to Townshend, October 26, 1782, MS. Volume 45, no. 116; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 401.

³ Same to same, December 7, 1782, MS. Volume 45, no. 119. See also Parr to Nepean, January 22, 1782, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 402.

⁴ Parr to Sydney, August 13, 1784, MS. Volume 47, no. 27; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 423.

⁵ Parr to Sydney, April 10, 1784, MS. Volume 47, no. 23; also letters quoted in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 417-419.

⁶ Parr to Sydney, December 27, 1784, and Parr to Nepean, January 2, 1785, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1894, 430.

new republic— a contingency which by the War of 1812 was unfortunately proved to merit consideration. But, apart from questions of defense, the importance to the British provinces of the settlement of the loyalists can hardly be overestimated. In fact, it may be doubted whether the present Dominion of Canada does not owe its very existence to these refugees. The necessity for keeping faith with those Americans who had fought and suffered for the royal cause probably prevented the British ministers from throwing away, at the close of the war, the despised remnants of England's dominion in America, till that time so extensive. Moreover, had they retained the French colony of Canada, then hardly resigned to British rule, and the one British colony of Nova Scotia, with its meager population of 14,000 souls, these provinces, without the loyalists, would not long have been able to resist absorption by the young nation to the south. But the coming of the refugees trebled the population of British descent, and the loyalists carried to their new homes sentiments and traditions of passionate attachment to monarchical institutions and to the British connection, which have borne fruit in the deep-rooted though less demonstrative loyalty of the modern Canadian.

EMILY P. WEAVER.

• See Morse's return, quoted in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894, 412.*

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

It is but a truism that the greatest value of history lies in the lesson, intellectual and moral, to be learned therefrom; and in all history there is perhaps no movement which is more profoundly instructive in both these aspects than the annexation of Texas. No clash of opposing political and social forces, no *mêlée* of antagonistic human impulses, within the record has given better opportunity to distinguish the wisdom of the ages from the imperious conviction of the moment. But it is unsafe to consider any historical question primarily from the didactic standpoint. In such case, as experience has shown, insight is too often dulled by belief, and investigation misled by prejudice. The first concern, therefore, of every student of history should be the fact; from that alone can the true lesson be obtained. In accordance with this principle, I shall give attention, within the limits assigned me, mainly to the actual happenings of the annexation movement, only now and then touching upon their deep significance.

The subject of this paper is best approached by a brief summary of the events which led to the movement under consideration. This movement was begun by Texas¹ and was, it seems to me, a natural result of the Anglo-American occupation of that country and of the revolution which separated it from Mexico.

The Anglo-American influx into Texas began while the western boundary of the expanding United States yet rested on the Mississippi. The Louisiana purchase made this line coterminous on the southwest with the northeastern limit of Mexico, but the common boundary was not determined till 1819, when, for the sake of Florida, whatever claims the United States may have had to Texas were definitely given up. The intruders, however, continued to cross the Sabine without permission until the eve of the revolution which made Mexico independent of Spain. From that time forward the movement changed its nature and took on a colonizing aspect. The Anglo-Americans were allowed to enter freely as immigrants, and inducements to come were offered them in the shape of liberal allotments of land. By 1830 the Mexican government had become uneasy concerning the growth of an essentially alien population in

¹ Of course the suggestion is much older than the movement. I have not undertaken to trace the beginnings of the idea.

Texas and issued a decree forbidding further immigration from the United States. Nevertheless the immigrants continued to come, in considerable numbers at least. Finally in 1835 occurred the inevitable clash, which resulted in the expulsion of the Mexicans in 1836 and the independence of Texas.¹

The Texas revolution passed, in its development, through two states. In its first phase it was a struggle for the Mexican Constitution of 1824, in which Texas alone held out against the centralizing policy of Santa Anna after a similar resistance on the part of Zacatecas and Coahuila had been crushed by force. But after the colonists had definitely refused, in November, 1835, to claim independence, and after they had captured Cos's army at San Antonio and had cleared their soil of Mexican troops, it became evident that there was no hope of coöperation from the Liberals in Mexico, and that Texas must either submit or abandon the confederation. These alternatives had made themselves clear by January 1, 1836, and from that time forward the aim of the struggle was for independence.

Meanwhile a commission consisting of Stephen F. Austin, William H. Wharton, and Branch T. Archer had been sent to the United States to do Texas such service as it could. The principal work of the commissioners lay in stirring up public sentiment on behalf of the Texans and securing aid for them in men and money; but their letters indicate that they considered themselves instructed to negotiate for the recognition of the new republic, and, under certain contingencies, also for its annexation to the United States.

While the commissioners were in New Orleans in January, 1836, they prepared a design for a Texas flag, which was peculiarly suggestive of the importance they attached to the relations connected with the idea of annexation. It had—or was meant to have—the thirteen stripes of the United States flag, with the red changed to blue, and in the upper left-hand corner, instead of the stars, was the British union with red stripes on a white field. On the fly was a sun encircled by the motto *Lux Libertatis*, and on the face of the sun was the head of Washington, underneath which were the words, "In his example there is safety". The whole would undoubtedly have taken the first prize for complication at any world's fair ever held. The meaning of it is partly explained in Austin's own words:

¹ The assertion made by John Quincy Adams in Congress, December 12, 1837, based on statements in Mayo's *Political Sketches of Eight Years in Washington* (*Niles' Register*, LIII, 266), to the effect that the revolutionizing of Texas was the result of a conspiracy planned by Sam Houston, was incorrect. Von Holst apparently credits the story (*Constitutional History of the United States*, II, 562), and Schouler definitely accepts it (*History of the United States*, IV, 251); but the Texan revolution cannot be explained in this way. See *The Nation* for August 13, 1903, 133-134.

"The shape of the English jack indicates the origin of the North American people. The stripes indicate the immediate descent of the most of the Texans".¹ It would seem that the design was intended especially as an appeal for recognition both by the United States and by England, but it was doubtless intended to suggest annexation as well.

Annexation, in fact, appears to have been the irresistible conclusion of the Texan logic from the moment that the colonists determined to break away from Mexico. The independence that necessity had forced them to assert was not desired for its own sake. It involved many problems that they were ill prepared to face, and from which admission to the United States would be a happy escape. Nearly all of them had been born and reared in that country,² and they were much attached to it and desirous, to the point of eagerness, to renew their citizenship therein. It is evident that they did not appreciate the difficulties connected with annexation. If they themselves were willing freely to offer the rich gift of Texas to the American Union, how could it, in any rational spirit, be declined? To them the idea was one not easily comprehended. Even the commissioners did not discover the strength of the anti-Texas feeling in the United States. They wrote home from Washington, April 6, 1836, while Houston was still retreating before the Mexican army, and while the outlook for Texas—though the commissioners did not then know it—was darkest, that they thought the United States government was ready to recognize Texas and, if it so desired, to admit it into the Union on liberal terms. The want, however, of official news from their government and of proper credentials for themselves prevented them from giving their judgment any test.

The commissioners already named were replaced in March, 1836, by Messrs. George C. Childress and Robert Hamilton; and these two, in June following, by James. Collinsworth and P. W. Grayson. Meanwhile the Mexicans had been utterly defeated and driven from Texas, leaving their general, Santa Anna, and several hundred of his men prisoners. In September the permanent government of Texas was organized by a general election at which the question of annexation was submitted to the people, and a practically unanimous vote was cast in favor of the measure.³ At this election Sam Hous-

¹ *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, III, 172. The design did not commend itself to the Texas authorities; but their objection, I think it can be shown, was not to its significance.

² See the address of the General Council of Texas to the Citizens of the United States, October 26, 1835. *Niles' Register*, XLIX, 234-235.

³ There were 3,277 for, and 91 against it.

ton was chosen president. He appointed Stephen F. Austin secretary of state, and William H. Wharton minister to the United States. A little later Memucan Hunt was sent to act in conjunction with Wharton, and Fairfax Catlett was appointed secretary of legation with the authority of *chargé* when the ministers should be absent from Washington.

The negotiations that went on between the two governments from the expulsion of the Mexicans up to the end of the Jackson administration, March 4, 1837, referred primarily to the question of recognition; but the subject was always considered with that of annexation, to which recognition was prerequisite, more or less in view. Recognition came at length in the closing days of that administration by legislative action that was virtually final. It is impossible to detail here the whole course of the negotiation, but it may be worth while to note some features of the correspondence relating more directly to annexation, because of the light it affords as to the situation on both sides.

In regard to the attitude of the United States authorities, the letters of the Texan commissioners to their government serve to indicate that they were, on the whole, assured of sympathy. To President Burnet, Austin wrote from New Orleans, June 10, 1836, that he believed that if he had been furnished with the necessary official documents, he could have secured recognition before leaving Washington. The feeling there was decidedly ardent in favor of Texas. On July 16 Collinsworth and Grayson wrote President Burnet that they had had two interviews with Secretary Forsyth and had found him uncommunicative; but he had stated that he knew the annexation of Texas was a favorite measure—when it could be accomplished with propriety—of President Jackson's.¹ Again, August 11, Grayson wrote W. H. Jack, then secretary of state under Houston, as follows: "As I have said before, there is in my mind no doubt that the present Administration, *can carry the measure of Annexation*,—General Jackson feels the utmost solicitude for it and we know how much that will count."² November 13, Collinsworth wrote that he had secured an interview with President Jackson and had been informed that nothing could be done until after a report from the United States agent that had been sent to Texas; and he added that, without pretending to have official infor-

¹ Diplomatic, Consular, and Domestic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, file 295. This collection, of which the full title is given in this instance, will be cited hereafter simply as Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas.

² *Ibid.*, file 618.

mation, he thought it safe to hazard the opinion that Jackson was in favor of the measures contained in their instructions.¹

Now and then a note of doubt brings discord into this cheerful song of diplomacy. For example, Fairfax Catlett writes to Austin from Mobile, January 11, 1837, after having read Jackson's message of December 21:

You have doubtless by this time received President Jackson's message in relation to Texas affairs. I cannot express the regret, with which I gradually awoke to the unwelcome truth, that *he* is opposed to the immediate recognition of Texian independence. I did not anticipate so cold-blooded a policy from him.

Such fears and depressing speculations, however, are only for a moment. So long as Jackson is President, the general tone of the correspondence is sometimes impatient, but almost invariably hopeful. Catlett himself continues in the same letter as follows:

There is something within me however, that whispers that the message was a message of expediency not intended to sway the Congress from a just and generous measure, but to lull the jealousy of foreign powers, and gull the national vanity of miserable Mexico, while the work goes not the less surely on, and approaches the culmination of all that you most desire; — not only recognition but annexation likewise.

On the Texas side appears a strong and practically unanimous desire for annexation, and confidence that it will not be long delayed. In his letter of September 12, 1836, from Velasco, Henry M. Morfit, the agent whom Jackson had sent to Texas, informed Forsyth, after summarizing the conditions on which Burnet's cabinet had agreed to offer the new-born republic to the United States, that

the desire of the people to be admitted into our confederacy is so prevailing, that any conditions will be acceptable which will include the guaranty of a republican form of government, and will not impair the obligations of contracts. The old settlers are composed, for the most part, of industrious farmers, who are tired of the toils of war, and are anxious to raise up their families under the auspices of good laws, and leave them the inheritance of a safe and free government.²

Austin's instructions to Wharton, which are dated November 18, 1836, advise him that he is to make every effort to accomplish the second great object of his mission—annexation, and they give a lengthy and moderate discussion of the subject in almost every aspect.³ December 10, Austin wrote Wharton⁴:

¹ *Ibid.*, file 279.

² House Ex. Doc. 35, Vol. 2, 24 Cong., 2 sess., 26–27.

³ *Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas*, file 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, file 58.

Public anxiety is unabated on the subject of annexation to the U. S. The opinion in favor of that measure is much more decisive, if possible, than when you left. It is therefore expected that you will press that matter with as much earnestness as prudence will permit.

Nor did the Texans appear to be over-solicitous about the conditions on which annexation was to be secured. Morfit's expression on this point has been quoted already. The instructions to Wharton state, in general terms, that he must guard the right of Texas to become a state without delay on an equal footing with the others; to subdivide its territory into other states as might suit itself, the limit of the number being fixed; to retain possession of the public domain, unless the United States assumed the Texas debt; to have the acts of its government held valid; to be free from restrictions on slavery not imposed on the other slaveholding states; etc. One of the most interesting features of the instructions is that which authorizes the minister, in case the Rio Grande is seriously objected to as the boundary line with Mexico, to agree to a line much farther north, which, had it been adopted, would have left in possession of that country all the Mexican settlements over which Texas had not fully established jurisdiction. Another despatch dated December 10,¹ and apparently written subsequent to the one for that day already mentioned, adds the following:

It is certainly desirable that Texas should enter the American Union at once, and undivided; but should you discover that this condition, if positively insisted upon, is likely materially to affect the main object, which is annexation; I am directed by the President to say, that you are at liberty to waive it, and agree to a territorial Government, with the necessary guarantees as to a state Govt., as soon as it is petitioned for. This Govt. has too much confidence in the just and liberal principles by which the United States are governed, to doubt that full and ample justice will not be done us in every respect.

The additional instructions given at the time of Hunt's appointment, which are dated December 31, 1836, and signed by J. P. Henderson, acting secretary of state, inform him that the second main object of his mission is:

The annexation of this Country to the United States either as a separate State to be on equal footing with the other States of the Union or as a Territory with the right to admission into the Union as a State when she can number a sufficient amount of population to entitle her to admission according to the Laws of the United States².

It is easy to see that the complications of the affair, which were serious enough at the outset, but which grew rapidly as the negotia-

¹ *Ibid.*, file 58.

² *Ibid.*, file 701.

tions progressed, were such as to invite diplomatic chess play, and it soon began. If the mother-country of Texas would not cultivate sufficiently cordial relations with her runaway children, England and France might; and if the guards of the treaty portal refused to open at their request, some other entrance to the old home might be found. It may have been that the Texas diplomatists were not as smooth and wary as Van Buren and Forsyth, but they soon showed themselves to be resourceful. In the instructions by Acting Secretary of State Henderson to Minister Hunt, quoted in the last paragraph, the argument is suggested to Mr. Hunt that

in the event of [the refusal of (?)] that Government to receive this country into the Union either as a State or as a Territory it may become necessary for Texas to form a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with England or some other European power which would forever and entirely preclude the people of the United States from enjoying any of the benefits resulting to Texas from the richness of her soil, commerce, etc etc These reasons may be very forcibly impressed particularly upon the Representatives of the Northern States from whom we may expect to meet the greatest opposition, because should Texas be attached to the United States the immense consumption of those articles principally manufactured in the Northern States will more than compensate for the additional strength which its annexation will add to the political influence of the south.

A little further along in the same document Henderson advises Hunt as follows:

In the event that there should be doubts entertained whether a treaty made with this Government for its annexation to the United States would be ratified by a constitutional majority of the Senate of the United States you are instructed to call the attention of the authorities of that Government to the propriety and the practicability of passing a law by both houses (in which it would require a bare majority) taking in this Country as a part of her Territory, this¹ law could be passed, (provided Congress has the power to do so) based upon the vote of the people of Texas at the last election but in framing such an act great care should be used in order to secure all of the rights of Texas and its citizens as fully as you are instructed to have them attended to in any treaty which may be made, if¹ such an act is passed you can give that Government the fullest assurance that it will be approved by this Government and people. But inasmuch as this is rather a novel position you will speak of it with great prudence and caution.

This is the first definite suggestion which I have been able to find of the expedient made so familiar by its later use in securing annexation when the method by treaty had failed. The instructions of Austin to Wharton, November 18, 1836, indicate the possibility of a second available string for the annexation bow, but it is only

¹ So in the original, but this word should have begun a new sentence.

by a somewhat uncertain implication. Wharton is to use his "discretion as to the proper mode of bringing . . . [the subject] before the executive or Congress". It may be that the use of the word "Congress" is inadvertent, and that the meaning is that Wharton shall simply use his discretion in seeking to secure favorable action by the United States Senate. This construction, however, appears improbable. It is more likely that the alternative form of Austin's expression reflects the idea of a real alternative in the method by which annexation may be obtained. His statement implies that the subject may be laid either before the executive or before Congress, and in either case Wharton is to use his discretion as to the way in which he shall proceed. It is true that whenever Austin, in the same instructions and in other documents, mentions the contemplated contract of annexation, he calls it a "treaty", and in one place he even says that annexation "must be effected by a formal treaty which must be ratified by the Senate of Texas, in conformity with the Constitution"; but it seems likely that in most cases he is using the word "treaty" rather in the general sense of an international agreement than in its technical significance in the United States or the Republic of Texas.

The idea of annexation by act of Congress is found also in another document originating in a quarter far distant from Texas, and so nearly contemporaneous with Austin's letter to Wharton as to preclude the likelihood of any direct connection between them. This is the message of Governor McDuffie of South Carolina to the legislature of that state on his retirement from office in 1836.¹ He said:

You are doubtless aware that the people of Texas, by an almost unanimous vote, have expressed their desire to be admitted into our confederacy, and application will probably be made to congress for that purpose. In my opinion, congress ought not even to entertain such a proposition, in the present state of the controversy.

The report made by the Senate Committee² on Federal Relations, to which this part of the message was referred, expresses the conviction that when Texas has established a *de facto* government clothed with all the attributes of sovereignty and independence, the questions of recognition and of annexation may safely be confided to Congress.

The recognition of the independence of Texas cleared the way for the direct effort to secure annexation; but the struggle involved had shown the Texans how many and how great were the difficulties to

¹ *Niles' Register*, LI, 229-230.

² *Ibid.*, 277. The House report is *ibid.*, 242.

be overcome. Their desire was unchanged; but enthusiasm was giving way to circumspection, and they were learning to curb their eagerness. Five months were suffered to elapse before Hunt, who was now sole minister of Texas at Washington,¹ took up the matter officially with the United States government. But, before this phase of the movement can be considered, it becomes necessary to explain the difficulties I have mentioned; and the most serious of them, I need hardly say, arose from the growing opposition of the North to slavery.

Up to the time of the Texan revolution, the influence of slavery in the political and social development of Texas had been of some importance, but it had not had the effect which historians have usually represented. The colonization of Texas was but another wave of the same tide of expansion that had already carried Anglo-American civilization westward over the Alleghenies and across the Mississippi. The causes of it had little connection with slavery. The friction with Mexico brought about by the antislavery legislation of the Mexican government served for one or two brief periods to retard the growth of the colonies, but it disappeared before 1830 and played no appreciable part in bringing on the revolution. Neither was the material help given Texas from the United States in the course of the revolution the result, in my opinion, of any systematic thought for the expansion of slavery. The principal motive that carried "volunteer immigrants", as they were called, to Texas during the latter part of 1835 and the first part of the following year is well illustrated by an anecdote published in the *Texas Almanac* for 1861 (p. 75) and attributed to General H. D. McLeod. It is to the effect that when Ward's battalion, which had been raised in Georgia, was passing through Montgomery, Alabama, on its way to Texas in the winter of 1835, it paraded for recruiting purposes. A flag at the head of the column bore the motto "Texas and Liberty"; but, as the battalion marched along the street, a wit among the bystanders suggested that the words be changed to "Texas, Liberty, and Land". This joke puts the matter in a nutshell. I am aware that some will differ from me in the opinion just stated; and, while my aims are expository and not polemic, I regret that the limits of this paper forbid any defense of my position. It is my intention to publish ere long a statement of the evidence by which it is determined; but the subject is too large for adequate treatment here and must therefore be passed over for the present.

The struggle for annexation, however, centers about the slavery issue; but here again the point of view of our historians, it seems

¹ Wharton had left the United States soon after recognition was secured.

to me, has often been incorrect. Slavery is not to be charged with the success of the movement. On the contrary, it alone roused an opposition which came perilously near preventing, for a period that no one can estimate, the acquisition of Texas and leaving it a barrier to the westward extension of the United States, an agency for the promotion of foreign interests, and a menace to our national unity. That the slaveholding interest alone could not have accomplished annexation goes without saying. The states it controlled did not have votes enough for that in either house of Congress. The result can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as a triumph of the impulse toward expansion which has so often manifested itself in our history and against which the brave energy of John Quincy Adams and the matchless eloquence of Clay and Webster were arrayed in vain. Had there been no slavery in Texas, the triumph would have been achieved with less than half the struggle. Had there been none in either country, there would have been no struggle at all. If the application of Texas had but come a few years earlier, it is probable that recognition and annexation would have been secured in quick succession and with comparative ease. The slavery issue would not then have so complicated the process; nor is it to be supposed that the risk of war with Mexico would have proved to be any effectual hindrance. The recent Panama episode is teaching us a great deal about ourselves, and I cannot believe that in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century we were essentially different.

As the hands pointed, however, on the clock of destiny, the annexation movement was ill-timed. While the quarrel of Texas with Mexico was passing from difference and recrimination to defiance and the rude arbitrament of war, the genius of Occidental civilization had girded itself for mighty work on both sides of the Atlantic. A broadening conception of the rights of man had begun to threaten privilege in every quarter. The rising of the American demos had overthrown the political aristocrats of the seaboard and seated in the presidential chair the king of the western commonalty. The July revolution had brought France a faint reminder of the days of '89, and, as it spread, had given the throne of continental Europe a warning shake. In England Parliamentary reform had relieved the abuses of five hundred years, and the new philanthropy had abolished slavery in all the colonies of Great Britain, and had paid the bill. Finally, just at the time when Texas was engaged in its desperate struggle against the Mexican invaders, the trumpet-call to the "irrepressible conflict" was sounded by both sides on the floor of the American Congress, where issue was joined concerning

the right of petition relative to slavery. The personality of Adams and Calhoun, the two great leaders who stood over against each other in this opening fight,¹ is a sufficient guaranty of the honesty and strength of the convictions that clashed. It is, in fact, devotion to their faith, religious, political, and social, that has given the Teutonic stock world-wide supremacy. Though it has often inspired the determined champions of error, in the long run it has always made for truth and right.

The issue of annexation was thus involved from the outset with that of the nationalization and expansion of slavery. The occasion brought the most extensive use of the right that had been challenged—so far as it applied to this distinctive Southern institution—that our history has ever witnessed; and when the stream of petitions relative to Texas began to pour in upon Congress, it mingled with a similar stream of those praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Along with the petitions came legislative resolutions from various states relating to the same subjects. The people were becoming profoundly stirred; and this sudden manifestation of unfamiliar forces threw most of the political leaders into a state of absolute terror. Even Jackson adopted an attitude of caution entirely foreign to his nature, while Van Buren studied the situation and trimmed, and Clay, "thinking too precisely on the event", was driven to fatal irresolution.

Those who have gathered their knowledge of the relations of the Republic of Texas with the United States from the standard histories rather than from the sources will probably have the impression that a harmonious outcry for recognition and annexation went up from the slaveholding states as soon as the question was presented. There was, however, one notable exception. In his message to the South Carolina legislature near the end of the year 1836,² the retiring governor, George McDuffie, protested strongly against any action on behalf of Texas. After a ringing argument in favor of guarding the domestic institutions of the state against outside interference, he went on to extend the doctrine to the case of Texas. The expressions in his message most in point are as follows:

I have looked with very deep concern, not unmingled with regret, upon the occurrences which have taken place during the present year, in various parts of the United States, relative to the civil war which is still in progress, between the republic of Mexico and one of her revolted

¹ I have not forgotten the Missouri Compromise, but I am inclined to think students of American history will agree that the real beginning of the "irrepressible conflict" was in the struggle over the right of petition with reference to slavery.

² *Niles' Register*, LI, 229-230.

provinces. It is true that no country can be responsible for the sympathies of its citizens ; but I am nevertheless utterly at a loss to perceive what title either of the parties to this controversy can have to the sympathies of the American people. If it be alleged that the insurgents of Texas are emigrants from the United States, it is obvious to reply that, by their voluntary expatriation, under whatever circumstances of adventure, of speculation, of honor, or of infamy, they have forfeited all claim to our fraternal regard. . . . There is but too much reason to believe that many of them have gone as mere adventurers, speculating upon the chances of establishing an independent government in Texas, and of seizing that immense and fertile domain by the title of the sword. But be this as it may, when they became citizens of Mexico, they became subject to the constitution and laws of that country ; and whatever changes the Mexican people may have since made in that constitution and those laws, they are matters with which foreign states can have no concern, and of which they have no right to take cognizance. I trust, therefore, that the state of South Carolina will give no countenance, direct or indirect, open or concealed, to any acts which may compromit the neutrality of the United States, or bring into question their plighted faith. . . . If we admit Texas into our union, while Mexico is still waging war against that province, with a view to re-establish her supremacy over it, we shall, *by the very act itself*, make ourselves a party to the war. Nor can we take this step, without incurring this heavy responsibility, until Mexico herself shall recognize the independence of her revolted province.

The part of the message relative to Texas was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations in both the House and the Senate. The House committee brought in a favorable report, which was adopted,¹ and the nature of which is sufficiently indicated by the following extract :

The committee fully agree with his excellency on the propriety and sound policy of the government of the United States maintaining a strict neutrality with all foreign nations, and especially with Mexico in her contest with Texas ; and that we are the last people who should set an example of impertinent interference with the internal concerns of other states. . . . South Carolina cannot consent, under a supposed idea of self-interest, to violate the sanctity of the law of nations, or that neutrality which should always be guarded by the United States towards a foreign nation engaged in an internal struggle. Under the present circumstances, to acknowledge the independence of Texas and receive her into this union, could be no less than a declaration of war against Mexico, and of doubtful policy to the older slave-holding states.

These documents have been referred to thus at length because, among other reasons, of the exceptional nature of the argument as coming from Calhoun's own state, the very citadel of the slavery interest, and especially from such a champion of that interest as

¹ *Niles' Register*, LI, 242, 273.

George McDuffie.¹ To those who believe that annexation was due to slavery alone, it should be profoundly instructive.

The Senate committee made an unfavorable report, which was adopted "by nearly a unanimous vote"². The report was presented by Ex-governor James Hamilton, who soon became identified with Texas; but it contains nothing that stands out sufficiently for reproduction here.

In the interval between the act of recognition and the proffer of annexation, the Texas minister at Washington, like Van Buren, studied the situation, and made voluminous reports. These are of great interest and value in following the tortuous course of the administration as it sought to make up its mind. April 15, 1837, Hunt wrote to Henderson from Vicksburg, Mississippi³, that he thought a secret agent should be sent to England to purchase a treaty there with valuable commercial concessions. Recognition by England, he thought, would guarantee annexation. The South was so ardent therefor that failure would dissolve the Union, and the Northern politicians would yield before going to that extremity. He went on to say that nothing had so increased the zeal of Southern politicians for Texas as the question of John Quincy Adams in the House whether it would be in order to present a petition from slaves. By this act one of their worst enemies had helped them more than "the most studied movements" of their best friends. Open negotiations with Great Britain would probably prevent annexation by provoking a paper issue with the Abolitionists, and action should be taken in a way that would cause as little excitement as possible; for fanaticism would temporarily overrule the wisest measures. But the Northerners were a law-abiding people; and if a treaty of annexation could be secured, the trouble would all be over. He added, by the way, that, having secured recognition, and not expecting favorable action as to annexation for the time, he thought it might be best for him to visit Thomas H. Benton, who could do Texas more service in that respect perhaps than any one else in the United States.

¹ McDuffie afterward became an ardent annexationist. As senator from South Carolina, he voted for the joint resolution in 1845 and made one of the strongest arguments in its favor that the occasion called forth. Relative to this, Daniel Webster remarked, in the course of a controversial tilt with McDuffie in the Senate, July 28, 1846: "I think the most powerful argument ever addressed to the people of the United States against the annexation of Texas was from the Governor of South Carolina; and I think the greatest speech in favor of it was made by the Senator from South Carolina—*idem personem [sic]*!" See *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 1154.

² *Niles Register*, LI, 277.

³ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 714.

Two much more interesting letters than this were written by Catlett to Henderson during Hunt's absence from Washington in the spring of 1837. The first is dated April 29¹. In it Catlett tells a curious tale of how he had been suddenly summoned to the office of the Secretary of State and informed by the chief clerk—by direction, of course, of the Secretary himself—that the department had just received some important information from the United States consul in the City of Mexico. It was to the effect that a resolution to sell Texas, "and as far south as might be deemed expedient", to the British government at twenty-five cents an acre had been introduced at a secret session of the Mexican congress and would certainly be adopted. A question as to whether the consul's letter indicated that the British government had offered to make the purchase, or would agree to it, was answered in the negative. Extracts from the letter including the most essential parts were requested and obtained. They showed that the sale was proposed in order to pay off the debt of sixty-eight million dollars due from Mexico to English subjects. These extracts were despatched in a lengthy communication dated May 7², and containing matter of peculiar interest. Catlett sent a copy of a letter which he had written to Forsyth on May 2, and which serves to show that he had not neglected his opportunity for an important move in the diplomatic game. He thanked the Secretary very heartily for the information that had been given, and said that this regard for the welfare of Texas would "doubtless strengthen the filial feeling which it has always cherished for its parent commonwealth". He then inquired whether the United States government thought Mexico's offer to Great Britain would be accepted, and whether it would take any steps to prevent such an undesirable consummation. He went on to suggest the danger that the British government might have made secret overtures to Mexico and that, in spite of the apparent unreasonableness of the thing, it might be really seeking to possess itself of Texas. He excused himself for asking such questions as the letter contained by setting forth the deep solicitude the government of Texas would naturally feel concerning the subject, and the impossibility of its obtaining any direct information. In a paragraph following the copy of this letter Catlett explained to Henderson that he wrote the letter to call the attention of Forsyth to the fact that the subject was as important to the United States as to Texas, and that their interests in respect to it were identical. He wished also, of course, to elicit such information as he could.

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 284.

² *Ibid.*, file 285.

Forsyth was doubtless sorry that he had allowed the cat to peep at all from the bag he was holding, and the letter of the Texas *chargé* must have cost the Secretary of State at least one sleepless night. Catlett went on to recount, in his despatch of May 7 detailing the course of the affair, that the next day (May 3) he had a note from the chief clerk of the Department of State asking him to call at his convenience, and that he presented himself at the office the same morning. As he entered, Mr. Forsyth, who was just leaving the room, saw him and invited him to an interview, which had evidently not been intended for that morning, and a very interesting colloquy ensued. Forsyth said he thought Catlett had better take back his letter; that some expressions in it, though their use was justified, might lead to future misunderstanding. He referred especially to "Parent Commonwealth". Catlett replied that the expression was not meant to indicate that Texas owed its origin to the United States government, but was intended only in compliment, since the Texans were nearly all natives of the United States, and since they had adopted the same form of government and the same institutions as those of that country. But Forsyth "said that it was an expression which would still be made use of by the enemies of the administration and by all such as were inimical to the United States and to Texas;—that all correspondence in relation to Texas would probably be called for next winter by congress, and that, while the best feeling and wishes for the prosperity of Texas were cherished, it behooved him to be careful to make no admissions, which might be interpreted as showing an undue interest in the success of our revolutionary struggle". To this Catlett answered that he knew "the situation of the United States was a delicate and embarrassing one, and that it was by no means . . . [his] desire to render it more so, but that the identity of interests between the countries was so striking and apparent, and pointed so clearly to the United States preventing Great Britain from negotiating for the purchase of Texas, that . . . [he] could not but encourage the hope, that some assurance would be given to . . . [his] Government, that if any negotiations were opened between Great Britain and Mexico, the United States would immediately interfere". "In what way could we interfere?", asked Forsyth. "By distinctly intimating", replied Catlett, "to the British Govt that the United States could never consent to Great Britain's obtaining possession of Texas". Forsyth suggested, "Great Britain in return might say the same to us"; the answer to which was, "If she did, it would be easy to reply that the United States would make no such attempt, that she had already

acknowledged the separate existence of Texas as an Independent Republic, but that if it were the unequivocal desire of the people of Texas to be admitted into this Union, that their wishes would be properly respected and listened to". At this point the exchange of argument ended, and Forsyth went on to say that, while the subject was one of common interest, he had no idea that Great Britain would accept the Mexican offer or that any overtures for the purchase of Texas had come from that country; that he would cheerfully communicate all information he could give that might be of interest to Texas, but he could express no opinion as to the policy that would be pursued by the United States; "that notwithstanding the numerous ties by which the people of the two countries were virtually bound together, it was necessary that the intercourse between their Governments should be carried on as if there was no peculiar relationship between them;—that some of the expressions in . . . [Catlett's] letter might be referred to on some future occasion as showing that an undue interest had been taken by the Government of the United States in the affairs of Texas and that he would prefer returning it to . . . [him]". Catlett then took back the letter, because, as he explained, its purpose had been accomplished. He assured Forsyth, with a refreshing assumption of innocence, that inexperience alone had prompted the writing, and the conference was at an end. In his letter to Henderson Catlett added that he had obtained information from Mr. Crallé, on which he relied as correct, that Great Britain had been approached by Mexico some time before on the subject of purchasing Texas and had given a decided refusal.

Another communication from Catlett to Henderson, written May 25 and 30¹, reported that he thought the administration would use every exertion to keep down the question of annexation, but that a strong effort would be made by the South to have the matter decided by the ensuing Congress. He said Forsyth had told him that if Congress had not tied the hands of the executive, Mexico would already have been taught to respect the rights of American commerce. The despatch closed with the statement that, while many persons in the United States regarded the issue as doubtful, it was clear "to the sagacious and intelligent" that the government of that country had so far compromised itself by the act of recognition as to have made common cause with Texas; that only the imprudence of Texas could prevent the ties between them from increasing "in strength and holiness"; and that it was impossible that the deportment of Texas "should be regulated by too scrupulous an adherence to the established principles of international law".

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 306.

As to the delay in proposing annexation, the correspondence goes to show that it was due to the refusal of the United States authorities to entertain the proposition so long as Mexico persisted in attempting to reconquer Texas. A despatch from Hunt to Henderson, dated Vicksburg, May 30, 1837¹, states that Forsyth had distinctly so described the attitude of the administration. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that the refusal was due still more to the fear of a divided and uncertain public sentiment in the United States.

On July 11, Hunt reported from Washington² that he had been accorded an interview with President Van Buren, and had expressed to him the hope of nearer relations between the United States and Texas than mere diplomatic intercourse. The President had replied warmly, with dignity, and at length, but the letter reveals in what he said only "glittering . . . generalities". Hunt remarked that, in accordance with his instructions from the government of Texas, he would commit himself to no treaty stipulations until he was advised further.

In the same communication Hunt said that, while he had first urged a secret mission to Great Britain, he had finally become convinced that the appointment of a minister was wise.³ The mere announcement had so aroused the Southern states to the danger of losing Texas that they would present an unbroken line of resistance to any anti-Texas administration. He thought the people south of the Potomac would prefer the dissolution of the Union to the loss of Texas. They and the people of Texas had common interests, origin, and history, and "in this age of fanaticism on the subject of slavery" they would force their government to adopt the Texans, or would create a new order of things. He was sanguine that the administration would be compelled to make annexation a "leading issue".

Hunt then proceeded to define the attitude of certain prominent men and to describe, in general terms, the whole situation. Webster had entered the field for the presidency. He and his friends were expected to be decidedly hostile to Texas. He had raised the cry of Southern preponderance in the councils of the Union. His influence was in the northern and middle states, but was dominant only in Massachusetts and Vermont; his opposition had solidified the South warmly for Texas. The Cabinet was said to be sectionally divided on the question of annexation, but Hunt had it on good authority that Woodbury would support the views of the President, which would give Texas a majority of one. Clamor about financial

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 718.

² *Ibid.*, file 719.

³ Henderson had been appointed.

troubles had been weakening the Jackson party, and in New York and Pennsylvania, where the President was considered invincible, recent events seemed ominous of defeat. In the south everything depended on his course as to slavery, and nothing else would help him there so much as hearty support of annexation. Hunt had thought it not unwise to encourage the idea that Texas would stand by the administration under whose auspices it entered the Union. He suggested also the propriety of his being duly authorized, if the subject of annexation should come before the next Congress, "to employ some efficient and able person, *having influence* with the members of the non-slaveholding states, to counteract the intrigues of Mr. Webster and the enemies of Texas". He repeated that "a well paid, efficient, and if you please, secret agent, acting under my direction and having influence with the members of the non-slaveholding States, would be a most important enablement unto the success of our cause". He advised against an attempt at conciliation of the party "known . . . as Northern fanatics"; for that might impair "that firm, devoted and enthusiastic unanimity of the South, which is, indeed, our main support".

August 4, 1837,¹ came the long-delayed proposal of annexation in a formal communication from Hunt to Forsyth. The Texas minister sketched the history of that country and said that it sought annexation because of its kinship in blood, language, and institutions with the United States. He gave its estimated area and population, and a brief statement of its resources. Texas, he said, neither feared reconquest by Mexico, nor sought protection against European interference. It offered a market for all agricultural products of the United States except sugar and cotton. Delay might be fatal to annexation, for Texas was establishing relations with foreign powers that might develop insurmountable obstacles; and it might, by means of commercial treaties having special relation to the two states mentioned, and because of its better adapted soil, rival the United States in the production of both and drain away the population from that country. If Texas remained independent, the very similarity between the two countries would bring about a conflict of interests. Annexation would insure the United States control of the Gulf of Mexico, and might contribute to peace with the Indians on the frontier of the two countries. The question was asked "in the name of national honor, humanity, and justice" if a nation whose career had been marked by constant violation of treaty obligations, by licentious revolutions, and by shameful mistreatment of its people

¹ House Ex. Doc. 40, 25 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2-11.

had not "thereby forfeited all claims to the respect of the Governments of civilized nations".

A letter from Hunt to R. A. Irion¹ written the same day reported this formal opening of negotiations to the government of Texas. The minister said that he still hoped for annexation, but the course of the official newspaper (the *Globe*) had not been encouraging. Hunt's friend and relative, John C. Jones of North Carolina, who was intimate with the editor, Mr. Blair, had sought to influence him to support annexation, but had failed. Blair's private opinions were in favor of it, but the President had instructed him to be neutral for a time. Van Buren would favor the most popular course as soon as he ascertained what it was.

August 10, Hunt wrote Irion² concerning the proposal made six days before: "I thought it best to say nothing of the slave question, which as you know is more important than any other connected with the subject of annexation". The President of the United States seemed anxious to suppress the desire which Hunt had shown to push on the movement; and one of Van Buren's intimate friends had urged the deferring of the project so strongly that a show of resentment had been required in order to get rid of him. This gentleman was told by Hunt that, if annexation failed, the President and his advisers would be responsible for the result, which might be fatal to the Union. The Texas minister remarked in passing that he himself was ardently attached to the Union, and that he thought annexation would prolong, if not perpetuate it. His fears concerning Van Buren's attitude led him to suggest that Irion should address a proposal for annexation to some member of Congress to be presented to that body. The name was to be left blank for Hunt to fill in when the occasion came for the use of the document. A postscript dated August 11 said that Hunt had just ascertained Forsyth to be violently opposed to annexation.

Not till August 25, did Forsyth reply to the proposal of annexation. His answer³ disclaimed at the outset any unfriendly spirit toward Texas. This was followed up by declining to look into the historical facts recited by Hunt and by expressing the hope that the act of recognition would lead Texas to cherish close relations with the United States and abstain from connections detrimental to that country. The proposed acquisition of territory would be different

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 726. Irion had succeeded J. P. Henderson as secretary of state.

² *Ibid.*, file 728.

³ House Ex. Doc. 40, 25 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 11-13. The refusal of the proposition, while perfectly clear, was not in direct terms, but only by implication.

from any the United States had ever made, inasmuch as it involved the absorption of an independent sovereignty. It involved also a question of a war with Mexico, to which country the United States was under treaty obligations that precluded even reserving the proposal for future consideration.

The rejoinder of Hunt,¹ which was dated September 12, argued that the negotiations for the purchase of Texas from Mexico before Mexican independence had been acknowledged by Spain involved as great a breach of treaty obligations, if the principle on which the United States claimed to act could be allowed, as the acceptance of the proffered annexation. Undeniably, he thought, a sovereign power had as much right to dispose of the whole of itself to another as to dispose of a part. Texas did not feel under obligations to follow any special foreign policy because it had been recognized first by the United States; and if its relations should become such as seriously to affect the interests of that country, he thought complaint would be unreasonable after the offer of all it had to give had been declined. But he assured the Secretary of State, and through him the President of the United States, that the prompt and decisive rejection of the proposal would not be charged to unfriendliness. Six days later Hunt wrote Irion² that he hoped a resolution would be introduced in one of the houses of Congress at the approaching regular session that would request the Texas minister to state the terms on which Texas sought admission into the Union, and that a motion to accept the terms would be adopted by both houses. The President would add his approval.

For about a year from this time forward the despatches tell a tale of daily alternating hopes and fears, with the prospect of annexation gradually on the decline. October 20, 1837, Hunt wrote Irion³ that the state of the question was "delicate and precarious". Success seemed to depend on war between the United States and Mexico. The friends of the measure, taking their cue from the President and the Cabinet, were begging for time to save the party in the north, while Hunt himself was urging the danger of alienating the South by delay. He had threatened, in conversation with an influential friend of Van Buren's, to ask the Texas government for a recall; but a communication so hedged about with secrecy that he could not even state its substance in the despatch induced him to remain. On the next day, October 21, P. W. Grayson, who had just come from Texas to the assistance of Hunt, wrote President Houston a sup-

¹ House Ex. Doc. 40, 25 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 14-18.

² Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 732.

³ *Ibid.*, file 736.

plementary note, in which he said that the annexationists were then depending much on Clay to lead the fight for the measure if the Cabinet continued its equivocal course; and he made the interesting observation by the way that Hunt's letters would show "that even the old fanatic J. Q. Adams is committed *for the acquisition of Texas*". Hunt, in a letter of November 15 to Irion,¹ represents Forsyth as being then "a warm advocate for the measure of annexation and for having it accomplished as early as possible". The friends of the measure were increasing very fast in the west. Hunt was informed that there was not a single dissentient in the Illinois delegation. Senator Allen of Ohio favored the measure. So did both the senators from Michigan personally, and they promised to do so officially if their constituents could be reconciled to it. But December 7, Grayson reports to Houston that "*there is no solid foundation on which to build a hope that the measure can now be carried . . . both parties here are afraid to move in the matter for fear of losing popularity in the North*".

On January 4, 1838, was initiated the attempt, so often suggested in the letters of Hunt and Grayson, to accomplish annexation by Congressional action. Naturally the work began in the Senate. There were found the most determined and aggressive champions of the measure; and initiative by that body would not seem too great a departure from the well-trodden paths of diplomacy. It should be observed, in fact, that the plan does not seem, for the time, to have contemplated action by the legislative independently of the treaty-making power, but only such a step as would force the hand of the unwilling executive and push him into negotiations. On the day named, Preston of South Carolina introduced in the Senate a resolution sounding the now famous political war-cry of "reannexation" and asserting the desirability and expediency of resuming possession of Texas, which was declared to have been "surrendered" in 1819. Three months later he spoke for two hours in support of his resolution. The paralyzing effect of the subject is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that, though the Senate has never been famous for "dumb sittings", when he sat down there seemed to be no one else that wished to say a word. Walker, however, was not present. June 14, the resolution was taken up again and tabled by the decisive vote of 24 to 14.² How the question of annexation was raised during the same session in the House, and how it was dealt with will appear further on.

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 735.

² *Niles' Register*, LIV, 255.

By the end of January, 1838, Hunt began to consider the outlook for annexation hopeless. On the thirty-first of that month he sent Irion a long communication¹ describing the contemporaneous aspect of the movement in detail. He was confident that he had fully ascertained the views of the administration and the general feeling in Congress, and he wrote, "I can no longer repel the conviction that the measure is utterly impracticable under existing circumstances". His despatch is a confidentially frank, searching, and faithful review of the situation. After remarking that the acquisition of Texas had been the settled policy of the United States for twelve years, as the instructions of Secretaries of State Clay, Van Buren, McLane, and Forsyth to ministers in Mexico showed clearly, and after stating that the President and several of the Cabinet still wished it, he continues:

But hampered as they are by their party trammels on the one hand, and their treaty obligations with Mexico on the other, by the furious opposition of all the free States, by the fear of incurring the charge of false dealing and injustice, and of involving this country in a war in which they are now doubtful whether they would even be supported by a majority of their own citizens, and which would be at once branded by their enemies at home and abroad as an unjust war, instigated for the very purpose of gaining possession of Texas and for no other, they dare not and will not come out openly for the measure, so long as the relative position of the three parties continues the same as it is at present.

Hunt then goes on to say that he had relied for success on a declaration of war by the United States against Mexico, which had finally become altogether improbable. "If the United States desire Texas", he says, "the proposition should now come from them. Our true policy now, in every aspect of view, is to appear indifferent upon the subject, and leave it for this government to solicit of us the consummation of a measure which, I am well assured will be the more desired by them, the less solicitous we appear about it ourselves." Describing the situation in Congress, he expresses the fear that Preston's resolutions will be tabled, and then adds:

In the course of a confidential conversation, which I had with Mr. Clay, a few days since, he assured me that he was friendly to the annexation of Texas, but that in his opinion, the time had not yet arrived when the question could be taken up in congress with any probability of success. Petitions upon petitions still continue daily pouring in against us from the North and East.

Finally, some lines written later say that the hopes of the annexationists have just been revived by a report of prospective changes in the Cabinet and the recently developed uneasiness of the adminis-

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 743.

tration over the probability of a treaty between Texas and Great Britain.

Early in February Hunt writes again,¹ this time in a most hopeful strain. He has been led to believe that the United States government is on the point of taking active steps toward annexation. In a strictly confidential interview with Calhoun, saving the privilege of communication with the Texas government, he has learned that the administration is considering the policy of despatching a private mission to Mexico to secure the acquiescence of that country in the annexation movement. Calhoun has just received a note from a member of the Cabinet which leaves little doubt that the mission would result favorably, as information lately obtained would prove. Hunt is of the opinion that the unusual energy of the government is due mainly to the fact that he has informed Forsyth of his intention to ask to be recalled.

But the prospect of a revival of the movement was not realized. In March Hunt wrote² that he was gratified to receive instructions from President Lamar to show no further solicitude for annexation, and a few days later he reported³ that several members of Congress from the south had expressed their intention, if Texas was not annexed to the Union, to "advocate its annexation to the slave holding states". March 12, he wrote⁴ that, in his opinion and "that of many distinguished gentlemen from the South", unless Texas was annexed, the Union would soon be dissolved because of Northern interference with slavery in the south, which annexation would prevent by giving the South preponderance in the Senate. "Domestic slavery", he said, "in the United States and Texas, must, from various circumstances, stand or fall together." The failure of annexation would be at the risk of civil war in the Union, "for the fanatical spirit of abolition is unquestionably on the increase"; but the success of the measure would so check that spirit as to give the slaveholding states "perfect security".

Meanwhile the House was engaged in a vain struggle to keep back the question, which was seeking entry by the door of petition. This door to legislative consideration it had been sought practically to close against whatever might serve to promote the agitation of the slavery issue, but this could not be effectually done with men like John Quincy Adams in the House. The recognition of the independence of Texas in March, 1837, had brought the subject of

¹ February 3, Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas, file 744.

² March 3, *ibid.*, file 745.

³ March 9, *ibid.*, file 746.

⁴ *Ibid.*, file 747.

annexation, hitherto in the background, now openly to the front. The proposal made in August and its prompt rejection have been referred to already, and the claim of the conservatives and the peace makers now was that the question had been disposed of; but Adams refused to believe it. During the special session of the Twenty-fifth Congress, which met in September, 1837, and the regular session following, memorials and petitions against the annexation of Texas signed by multiplied thousands poured in and grew upon the table of the House into a mass that Howard of Maryland, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, said might be measured by cubic feet. They seem to have come mainly from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. A few counter-petitions from the South came in, but they were evidently intended to bring that method of dealing with the subject into contempt; for the Southern members of Congress had set their faces sternly against it. But Carter of Tennessee, who doubted the expediency of annexation, stated in the House on July 13, 1838, that it had been difficult to restrain the masses in the south from petitioning Congress in its favor. The House, on December 12, 1837, had by a vote of 127 to 68 laid the whole subject of annexation, with the papers relating to it, on the table without reference; but through an inadvertence, as was afterward claimed, the petitions on the subject had been subsequently allowed to go to the Committee on Foreign Relations. On June 13, 1838, a resolution was reported in the House from that committee discharging it from further consideration of the subject. The next day Waddy Thompson, from South Carolina, offered an amendment directing the President to take the proper steps for the annexation of Texas as soon as it could be done "consistently with the treaty stipulations of this government". On the fifteenth Adams moved to recommit the report with instructions to bring in a resolution containing the declaration "That any attempt by act of congress or by treaty to annex the republic of Texas to this union would be a usurpation of power, unlawful and void, and which it would be the right and the duty of the free people of the union to resist and annul". On the sixteenth he took the floor in support of his motion and consumed the morning hour from then till July 7, the last working-day of the session but one. This made any action on the matter, and any answer to his argument, meanwhile alike impossible.¹

By this time the ardor of Texas itself was abating. President Houston instructed Anson Jones, who took the place of Hunt as minister to the United States in the summer of 1838, formally to with-

¹ *Niles' Register*, LIV, 256, 332, *passim*.

DOCUMENTS

I. Alexander Hamilton's Notes in the Federal Convention of 1787.

IN the Hamilton Papers, now in the Library of Congress, I found some folio sheets containing rough notes in Hamilton's writing, but without date, place, or descriptive heading. A penciled note on one of the sheets, evidently written at a later day, led me to believe that the lines might be some notes of debates in the Convention of 1787 for framing the Constitution, and a little study enabled me to find a corresponding note in the Madison notes. It was then a simple matter to spell out the Hamilton matter by date and speaker, and the result is now published. Fragmentary as the notes are, they add something to the known record of the debates, and possess a general as well as an individual value.

The general interest lies in this: that they outline speeches not recorded by Madison, such as Madison's own remarks on June 6; and they add to the notes made by Madison in a number of instances. Further, they offer a test of the accuracy of Madison's pen, and in only one instance do they seem to point to an error. In reporting Gerry's remarks on June 8, Madison made him say the "New States too having separate views from the old States will never come into the Union". The statement would seem to be too strong to express Gerry's meaning, for the legislation on the Northwest Territory and experiences with the western country would modify if not negative the remark. The version given by Hamilton is more correct: "New States will arise which cannot be controuled".

The personal interest is greater. Few men were better equipped than Madison to take notes, for he had long been a careful student of government, and in his closet and his experience in state and Continental legislature had recognized the great evils of the old Confederation and the crying need of a surrender by the states of some of their powers, at least sufficient to create a self-supporting central government. The notes of his researches on federative systems long passed as Washington's, because a copy in Washington's manuscript happened to be found before the Madison original came to light. Yet Madison's studies had produced almost a colorless attitude of mind, in which his learning threatened to neutralize his energy in urging definite reforms for definite evils. His influence in the Convention was small, in spite of the many times he took part in

the debates; and it was exerted rather through others than through himself. This attitude made him the best possible recorder of the debates, as he was in a receptive frame of mind, not tied fast to one or a small number of propositions, but ready to study what others had to propose. The result is to be seen in his "notes", which could only be surpassed in merit by a full record of the proceedings.

Hamilton's experience had been different. His service at headquarters during the most trying years of the Revolution had given him a grasp of the inherent weakness of the Confederation that was improved by his service in the Continental Congress. He approached the question of reform from a more practical side than that of Madison, and this made him the more intent upon a special reform to meet the difficulties he had felt in field and in Congress. Hence his leaning to monarchy, a position that could not be acceptable to the Convention any more than it could be to the people of the United States. His notes were taken on the days when the central government was under discussion, and he has added "notes" and "remarks" that clearly indicate his own ideas, something that a really good reporter, like Madison, would not have done. The personal element is therefore stronger in these few notes than in the whole of Madison's record.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

I. NOTES FOR JUNE 1, 1787.

[HAMILTON.]

[MADISON.¹]

1 — The way to prevent a majority from having an interest to oppress the minority is to enlarge the sphere.

Madison

2 — Elective Monarchies turbulent and unhappy —

If [Executive Power] large, we shall have the Evils of Elective Monarchies (Charles R. King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, I, 588.)

Men unwilling to admit so decided a superiority of merit in an individual as to accede to his appointment to so preeminent a station —

If several are admitted as there will be many competitors of equal merit they may be all included — contention prevented — and the republican genius consulted —

Randolph —

I Situation of this Country peculiar —

¹ With the exception of the first, these excerpts are from *The Writings of James Madison*, edited by Gaillard Hunt, Volume III.

II Taught the people an evasion to Monarchy —

III All their constitutions opposed to it —

IV — Fixed character of the people opposed to it —

V — If proposed twill prevent a fair discussion of the plan.

View [or Voice] of America.
Safety to liberty
the great object —

VI — Why cannot three execute?

— Great exertions only requisite on particular occasions

— Legislature may appoint a dictator when necessary —

— Seeds of destruction — Slaves

— [former Continental army struck out] might be safely enlisted —

— May appoint men devoted to them — and even bribe the legislature by offices —

— Chief Magistrate must be free from impeachment

Wilson —

extent — manners —

Confederated republic unites advantages and banishes disadvantages of other kinds of governments —

rendering the executive ineligible an infringement of the right of election —

Bedford —

peculiar talents requisite for executive, therefore ought to be opportunity of ascertaining his talents — therefore frequent change —

Princ 1 The further men are from the ultimate point of importance the readier they will be [to] concur in a change —

2 Civilization approximates the different species of governments —

3 — Vigour is the result of several principles — Activity wisdom — confidence —

4 — Extent of limits will occasion the non attendance of remote members and tend to throw the government into the hands of the Country near the seat of government — a reason for strengthening the upper branch and multiplying the Inducements to attendance —

Mr Bedford was strongly opposed to so long a term as seven years. He begged the Committee to consider what the situation of the Country would be, in case the first magistrate should be saddled on it for such a period and it should be found on trial that he did not possess the qualifications ascribed to him, or should lose them after his appointment. (*Madison*, III, 63-64.)

II. NOTES FOR JUNE 6, 7, AND 8, 1787.

Sent :

A free government to be preferred to an absolute monarchy not because of the occasional violations of *liberty* or *property* but because of the tendency of the Free Government to interest the passions of the community in its favour beget public spirit and public confidence —

Re : When public mind is prepared to adopt the present plan they will outgo our proposition — They will never part with Sovereignty of the state till they are tired [?] of the state governments —

M^r Pinkney. If Legislatures do not partake in the appointment of they will be more jealous

Pinckney — Elections by the state legislatures will be better than those by the people —

Principle — Danger that the Executive by too frequent communication with the judicial may corrupt it — They may learn to enter into his passions —

Note — At the period which terminates the duration of the Executive there will be always an awful crisis — in the National situation.

Note. The arguments to prove that a negative would not be used would go so far as to prove that the revisionary power would not be exercised.

M^r Mason — The purse and sword will be in the hands of the [*executive* struck out] — legislature.

1 One great defect of our Governments are that they do not present objects sufficiently interesting to the human mind.

1 — A reason for leaving little or nothing to the state legislatures

The State Legislatures also he said would be more jealous, and more ready to thwart the National Gov^t, if excluded from a participation in it. (P. 107.)

He differed from gentlemen who thought that a choice by the people w^d be a better guard ag^t bad measures, than by the Legislatures. (*Ibid.*)

The purse and the sword ought never to get into the same hands whether Legislative or Executive. (P. 110.)

will be that as their objects are diminished they will be worse composed — Proper men will be less inclined to participate in them —

[June 7, 1787.]

Dickinson

11 — He would have the state legislatures elect senators, because he would bring into the general government the sense of the state Governments etc

11 — because the most respectable choices would be made —

Note — Separate states may give stronger organs to their governments and engage more the good will of Ind : — while Genl Gov!

Consider the Principle of Rivalship by excluding the state Legislatures —

Mr Dickinson had two reasons for his motion. 1, because the sense of the States would be better collected through their Governments ; than immediately from the people at large ; 2. because he wished the Senate to consist of the most distinguished characters . . . and he thought such characters more likely to be selected by the State Legislatures, than in any other mode. (P. 112.)

Mr Pinkney thought the 2^d branch ought to be permanent and independent ; and that the members of it w^d be rendered more so by receiving their appointment from the State Legislatures. This mode w^d avoid the rivalships and discontents incident to the election by districts. (P. 119.)

Mason.

General government could not know how to make laws for every part — such as respect *agriculture* etc.

= particular governments would have *no defensive* power unless let into the constitution as a Constituent part — — —

It is impossible for one power to pervade the extreme parts of the U. S. so as to carry equal justice to them. (P. 120.)

The State Legislatures also ought to have some means of defending themselves ag^t encroachments of the Nat^l Gov^t . . . And what better means can we provide than the giving them some share in, or rather to make them a constituent part of, the Nat^l Establishment. (*Ibid.*)

[June 8, 1787.]

Pinckney — For general Negative —

He urged that such a universality of the power [to negative all laws which they sh^d judge to be improper] was indispensably necessary to render it effectual. (P. 121.)

Gerry — Is for a negative on paper emissions —

New States will arise which cannot be controuled — and may outweigh and controul —

Wilson — Foreign influence may infect certain corners of confederacy what ought to be restrained —

Union basis of our oppos and Ind[ependence]:

He had no objection to authorize a negative to paper money and similar measures. (P. 123.)

New States too having separate views from the old States will never come into the Union. They may even be under some foreign influence. (*Ibid.*)

III. NOTES FOR JUNE 6 AND 8, 1787.

PRINCIPLES

I — Human mind fond of Compromise —

Maddisons Theory —

Two principles upon which republics ought to be constructed —

I. that they have such extent as to render combinations on the ground of Interest difficult —

II By a process of election calculated to refine the representation of the People —

Answer — There is truth in both these principles but they do not conclude so strongly as he supposes —

— The Assembly when chosen will meet in one room if they are drawn from half the globe — and will be liable to all the passions of popular assemblies.

If more *minute links* are wanting others will supply them — Distinctions of Eastern middle and Southern states will come into view; between commercial and non commercial states — Imaginary lines will influence etc Human mind prone to limit its view by near and local objects —

Paper money is capable of giving a general impulse — It is easy to conceive a popular sentiment pervading the E. states —

Observ: large districts less liable to be influenced by factious demagogues than small —

Note — This is in some degree true but not so generally as may be supposed — Frequently small portions of the large districts carry elections — An influential demagogue will give an impulse to the whole — Demagogues are not always *inconsiderable* persons — Patricians were frequently demagogues — Characters are less known and a less active interest taken in them —

[June 8, 1787.]

Bedford — Arithmetical calculation of proportional influence in General Government —

Pensyl. and *Delaware* may have rivalry in commerce — and influence of *Pens* — sacrifice *delaware*

If there be a negative in *G G* — yet if a law can pass through all the forms of *S — C* it will require force to abrogate it.

Butler — Will a man throw afloat his property and confide it to a government a thousand *miles distant*?

In this case Delaware would have about $1/90$ for its share in the General Councils, whilst *P^a* and *V^a* would possess $1/3$ of the whole. Is there no difference of interests, no rivalry of commerce, of manufactures? Will not these large States crush the small ones whenever they stand in the way of their ambitious or interested views . . . if a State does not obey the law of the new System, must not force be resorted to as the only ultimate remedy. (Pp. 125-126.)

IV. NOTES FOR JUNE 16 AND 19, 1787.

M^r Lansing — N[ew] S[ystem]
— proposes to draw representation from the whole body of people, without regard to S[tate] sovereignties —

Subs: proposes to preserve the State Sovereignties —

Powers — Different Legislatures had a different object —

— Revise the Confederation —

Ind. States cannot be supposed to be willing to annihilate the States —

State of New York would not have agreed to send members on this ground —

He was decidedly of opinion that the power of the Convention was restrained to amendments of a federal nature, and having for their basis the Confederacy in being. (P. 171.)

N. York would never have concurred in sending deputies to the Convention, if she had supposed the deliberations were to turn on a consolidation of the States, and a National Government. (Pp. 171-172.)

In vain to devise systems however good which will not be adopted —

If convulsions happen nothing we can do will give them a direction —

Legislatures cannot be expected to make such a sacrifice —

The wisest men in forming a system from theory apt to be mistaken —

The present national government has no precedent or experience to support it —

General opinion that certain additional powers ought to be given to Congress —

Mr. Patterson — 1 — plan accords with powers

2 — accords with sentiments of the People —

If Confederation radically defective we ought to return to our states and tell them so —

Comes not here to sport sentiments of his own but to speak the sense of his Constituents —

— States treat[ed] as equal —

Present Compact gives one *Vote* to each state.

alterations are to be made by Congress and all the Legislatures —

All parties to a Contract must assent to its dissolution —

States collectively have advantages in which the smaller states do not participate — therefore individual rules do not apply —

— Force of government will not depend on proportion of representation — but on

Quantity of power —

— Check not necessary in a ge[ne]ral government of communities — but

in an individual state spirit of faction is to be checked —

How have Congress hitherto conducted themselves?

The People approve of Congress but think they have not powers enough —

And it is in vain to propose what will not accord with these [sentiments of the people]. (P. 172.)

The Scheme is itself totally novel. There is no parallel to it to be found. (*Ibid.*)

. . . an augmentation of the powers of Congress will be readily approved by them. (*Ibid.*)

He preferred it because it accorded 1. with the powers of the Convention, 2 with the sentiments of the people. If the confederacy was radically wrong, let us return to our States, and obtain larger powers, not assume them ourselves. I came here not to speak my own sentiments, but the sentiments of those who sent me. (P. 172-173.)

. . . 5th art: of Confederation giving each State a vote — and the 13th declaring that no alteration shall be made without unanimous consent. . . . What is unanimously done, must be unanimously undone. (P. 173.)

Its efficacy will depend on the quantum of power collected, not on its being drawn from the States, or from the individuals. (P. 174.)

But the reason of the precaution [a check] is not applicable to this case. Within a particular State, where party heats prevail, such a check may be necessary. (*Ibid.*)

Do the people at large complain of Cong^d? No, what they wish is that Cong^d may have more

power. . . . With proper powers
Cong^d will act with more energy
and wisdom than the proposed
Nat^l Legislature; being fewer in
number. (Pp. 174-175.)

—body constituted like Con-
gress from the *fewness* of their
numbers more wisdom and en-
ergy —

than the complicated system of
Virginia —

—Expence enormous —

180 — commons

90 — senators

270 —

Wilson—Pointsof Disagreement—

V — N J —

1 2 or three One branch —
branches —

2 Derives au-
thorityfrom from states —
People —

3 Proportion of Equality —
suffrage —

4 — Single Ex-
ecutive — Plural —

5 — Majority to Minority to
govern — govern —

6 — Legislate in partial ob-
all matters jects —
of general
Concern —

7 Negative — None —

8 Removeable on application
by impeach- of majorityof
ment — Executives.

9—Qualified Nega-
tive by Ex- None
ecutive —

10 — Inf[erior].
tribu-
nals— None —

11 — Orig[inal]:
Jurisdic-
tion in all
cases of None —
Nat:
Rev —

12. National Gov- to be ratified
ernment to by Legisla-
be ratified tures —
by People—

. . . . You have 270, coming
once at least a year from the most
distant as well as the most central
parts of the republic . . . can so
expensive a System be seriously
thought of? (P. 175.)

See pp. 175-176.

— Empowered to propose every thing P. 176.

to conclude nothing—

— Does not think state governments the idols of the people—

Ibid.

Thinks a competent national government will be a favourite of the people—

Complaints from every part of United States that the purposes of government cannot be answered—

— In constituting a government — not merely necessary to give proper powers — but to give them to proper hands —

Two reasons against giving additional powers to Congress —

Ibid.

— First it does not stand on the authority of the people —

Second — It is a single branch —

Inequality — the poison of all governments —

— Lord Chesterfield speaks of a Commission to be obtained for a member of a small province —

P. 178.

Pinkney —

P. 179.

M^r Elsworth —

Ibid.

M^r Randolp[h] — Spirit of the People in favour of the Virginian scheme —

We have powers ; but if we had not we ought not to scruple —

M^r Randolph, was not scrupulous on the point of power. (*Ibid.*)

[June 19, 1787.]

Maddison — Breach of compact in one article releases the whole —

A breach of the fundamental principles of the compact by a part of the Society would certainly absolve the other part from their obligations to it. (P. 210.)

Treaties may still be violated by the states under the Jersey plan —

The proposed amendment to it [the existing Confederacy] does not supply the omission. (P. 212.)

appellate jurisdiction not sufficient because second trial cannot be had under it —

. . . of what avail c^d an appellate tribunal be, after an acquittal ? (P. 213.)

Attempt made by one of the greatest monarchs of Europe to equalize the local peculiarities of

It had been found impossible for the power of one of the most absolute princes in Europe (K. of

their separate provinces—in which the Agent fell a victim

France) directed by the wisdom of one of the most enlightened and patriotic Ministers (M^r Neckar), etc. (P. 219.)

M^r Pinckney¹ is of opinion that the first branch ought to be appointed in such manner as the legislatures shall direct—

Impracticable for general legislature to decide contested elections—

V. NOTES FOR JUNE 20, 1787.

M^r Lansing—Resolved that the powers of legislation ought to be vested in the United States in Congress ————

M^r Lansing . . . moved . . . “that the powers of Legislation be vested in the U. States in Congress.” (P. 227.)

—If our plan be not adopted it will produce those mischiefs which we are sent to obviate—

Principles of system—

Equality of Representation—

Dependence of members of Congress on States—

So long as state distinctions exist state prejudices will operate whether election be by *states* or *people*—

—If no interest to *oppress* no need of *apportionment*—

If it were true that such a uniformity of interests existed among the States, there was equal safety for all of them, whether the representation remained as heretofore, or were proportioned as now proposed. (P. 228.)

—Virginia 16—Delaware 1—

—Will General Government have leisure to examine state laws—?

Is it conceivable that there will be leisure for such a task? (P. 229.)

—Will G Government have the necessary information?

Will the members of the General Legislature be competent Judges? (*Ibid.*)

—Will states agree to surrender?

—Let us meet public opinion and hope the progress of sentiment will make future arrangements—

—Would like my [Hamilton's] system if it could be established

System without example—

M^r Mason—Objection to granting power to Congress arose from their constitution.

¹ This note is on the same sheet as the notes for June 19, but has not been identified as belonging to that date.

Sword and purse in one body—

Two principles in which *America* are unanimous

1 attachment to Republican government

2 — to two branches of legislature —

— Military *force* and *liberty* incompatible —

— Will people maintain a standing army? —

— Will endeavour to preserve state governments and draw lines — trusting to posterity to amend —

M^r Martin — General Government originally formed for the preservation of state governments —

Objection to giving power to Congress has originated with the legislatures —

10 of the states interested in an equal voice —

Real motive was an opinion that there ought to be distinct governments and not a general government —

If we should form a general government twould break to pieces — — —

— For common safety instituted a General gover[n]ment —

Jealousy of power the motive —

People have delegated all their authority to state governments —

Caution necessary to both systems —

Requisitions necessary upon one system as upon another —

In their *system* made requisitions necessary in the first instance but left Congress in the

Is it to be thought that the people of America . . . will surrender both the sword and the purse, to the same body . . . ? (Pp. 230–231.)

In two points he was sure it was well settled. 1. in an attachment to Republican Government.

2. in an attachment to more than one branch in the Legislature. (P. 231.)

The most jarring elements of Nature . . . are not more incompatible than [n] such a mixture of civil liberty and military execution. (P. 232.)

See pp. 232–233.

Gen^l Gov^t . . . was instituted for the purpose of that support [of the State Gov^t]. (P. 233.)

. . . it was the Legislatures not the people who refused to enlarge their powers. (*Ibid.*)

. . . otherwise ten of the States must always have been ready, to place further confidence in Cong^t. (*Ibid.*)

. . . people of America preferred the establishment of themselves into thirteen separate sovereignties instead of incorporating themselves into one. (*Ibid.*)

See pp. 233–234.

. . . people of the States having already vested their powers in their respective Legislatures, etc. (P. 234.)

second instance to assess themselves—

Judicial tribunals in the different states would become odious
— — —

If we always to make a change shall be always in a state of infancy—

~~non~~ States will not be disposed hereafter to strengthen—the general government.

Mr. Sherman—Confederacy carried us through the war—

Non compliances of States owing to various embarrassments

Why should state legislatures be unfriendly?

State governments will always have the confidence and government of the people: if they cannot be conciliated no efficacious government can be established.

Sense of all states that one branch is sufficient—

If consolidated all treaties will be void.

State governments more fit for local legislation customs habits etc

. . . would be viewed with a jealousy inconsistent with its usefulness. (*Ibid.*)

Cong.^s carried us thro' the war. (*Ibid.*)

. . . much might be said in apology for the failure . . . to comply with the Confederation. (P. 235.)

. . . saw no reason why the State Legislatures should be unfriendly. (*Ibid.*)

In none of the ratifications is the want of two branches noticed or complained of. (P. 236.)

To consolidate the States . . . would dissolve our treaties. (*Ibid.*)

Each State like each individual had its peculiar habits usages and manners. (*Ibid.*)

VI. NOTES, PROBABLY FOR DEBATE OF JUNE 26, 1787.

I Every government ought to have the means of self preservation

II—Combinations of a few large states might subvert

II—Could not be abused without a revolt

II Different genius of the states and different composition of the body

NOTE. Senate could not desire [?] to promote such a class

III Uniformity in the time of elections—

Objects of a Senate

To afford a double security against Faction in the house of representatives

Duration of the Senate necessary to its Firmness

Information

sense of national character

Responsibility

2. *Some Papers of Franklin Pierce, 1852-1862.*

(First Installment.)

The following letters were found among the private papers and correspondence of President Franklin Pierce. For access to these papers and permission to publish such as are here presented grateful acknowledgments are due to the custodian of the originals, Hon. Kirk D. Pierce, nephew of President Pierce, an able and well-known lawyer residing in Hillsboro, N. H., the early home of the President. The letters were copied, edited, and contributed to the REVIEW by P. O. Ray, Instructor in History and Political Science of the Pennsylvania State College.

I. EDMUND BURKE¹ TO FRANKLIN PIERCE (UNSIGNED COPY).

Confidential.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1852.

My dear Sir :

I came to this city about one fortnight ago on business connected with patents, now pending in Congress. And since I have been here I have had very considerable opportunity to learn the sentiments of politicians in relation to the next Democratic nomination for the Presidency. The three most prominent candidates for the nomination are Cass, Buchanan, and Douglass. Gen. Cass I think now has most friends although it seems to be the general impression that he can not get two-thirds of the Convention. Next to him Douglass is the most prominent. He has a good share of the Northwest to back him. After the Indiana delegation has given one vote for Gen. Lane they will go in for Douglass. So Wm. R. Brown tells me who is one of the Delegates at large. Tennessee and a portion of the Kentucky Delegation I understand will early come in to the support of Douglass. On the other hand, Mr. Buchanan seems to have but very little support out of Pennsylvania. Therefore, the struggle will be between Cass and Douglass. The old experienced politicians here are of the opinion that it will result in the defeat of both. Then of course the Convention will have to look about for a candidate among those who are not candidates directly for the nomination. Among these are Marcy, Dickinson, Butler, and Lynn Boyd, who are talked of. The two first will not unite the vote of N. Y., although the latter is very popular at the South. Gen. Butler a high-toned chivalrous and sound man seems to be under a cloud here in consequence of the fact that Benton

¹ See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*. Burke had served several terms in the House as a representative from New Hampshire, and had been Commissioner of Patents from 1846 to 1850. Shortly after Pierce's inauguration Burke became a bitter enemy of the administration, often attacking its policy in the columns of the *New Hampshire State Capitol Reporter*. So bitter was his assault upon Douglas and the administration at the time when the Nebraska Bill was pending in Congress, that Douglas replied in a long letter, which appeared in the columns of the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette* (Concord), the organ of the administration in that state.

Blair, and that class of politicians put him forward. I do not think it possible for him to survive this prejudice, and therefore I think that the N. H. *Patriot* has been too fast in putting him forward. Out of Ky. he seems to be the choice of nobody except the freesoilers of N. Y., and perhaps of Judge Bright of Indiana. And Lynn Boyd is not now a formidable candidate.

Now in my judgment if at the proper time at the Convention you will allow your name to be used as a compromise candidate, you stand as good a chance of the nomination as any man I can now think of.

In casual conversation I have asked southern gentlemen how you would suit the South and they have invariably responded most favorably. I am boarding with Col. Barbour, President of the late Virginia Democratic Convention, and he says the South would cordially unite on you. He tells me that a majority of the Convention was for Buchanan in preference to Cass or Douglass. There is another very intelligent gentleman boarding with me from Florida, by the name of Blunt. Mr. Atherton¹ knows him. I believe he is a Whig. But he says that no Northern man would be more generally acceptable than yourself to the South. I have also talked with Floyd, M. C., from New York and he says both of the Democratic factions in that State would unite upon you. Hence I believe that you are among the very probable candidates for the Presidency, if you will allow your name to be used at the right time.

But I must say frankly that you have not been quite free enough with your friends in relation to this subject. I can not learn as anyone knows what you would do or consent to have others do in reference to the nomination. You hold out the idea that there is no office you will again accept. Unless your determination never to accept of *any office* is irrevocable, I think you should say that you place your destinies so far as the Presidency is concerned in the hands of your friends.

I do not of course think it prudent to put you forward as a candidate for the Presidency until the three prominent candidates are first disposed of. If they shall all be defeated in the Convention, then your name should be put forward as a compromise candidate.

You will see by the proceedings in the House (which will be followed up in the Baltimore Convention) that our ticket has got to be *entirely clear of freesoilism*. The very general idea that the N. Y. freesoilers, Rantoul, Cleaveland, and others, hope to regain position in the Democratic party by the election of Butler, kills off all his prospects. Therefore, in my firm belief the *Patriot* has started off in a wrong track.

I shall be here until the 1st of May I think. I see our client Brown has run away.

Yours truly,

[EDMUND BURKE.]

Gen. F. Pierce.

¹ Charles G. Atherton, of New Hampshire, author of the "Gag Resolution". See V, Burke to Pierce, June 6, 1852, p. 114.

II. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO EDMUND BURKE (UNSIGNED COPY).

CONCORD, Apl. 13, 1852.

My dear Sir :

I received your letter of the 9th inst. last night and desire without delay to acknowledge it with my thanks. I am quite surprised that you should speak of my not having been free enough with my friends upon the subject of your letter. I wrote to Atherton as I thought and felt.¹ What more had I apparently to say? Judging from what you say and what others have written within the last fortnight, the aspect of things has materially changed. The writing of that letter was a source of much dissatisfaction to my personal friends. But I deemed it a matter [of duty?] as things then presented themselves one of which I alone could judge. My heart was full of gratitude to my State as it had been many times before, to overflowing but it was at the same time more full of devotion to the party and I did not believe that N. H. or the National party had anything to gain by having my name in the list of aspirants. If you and my other discreet friends think (without reference to me personally) that the pride of our State, the success of the cause can be subserved by the use of my name then you must judge for me in view of all the circumstances. I wrote yesterday to my old friend French,² but hope he will confer with you and Norris³ and Hibbard⁴ and Peaslee⁵. I said to him in a hurry but more and more fully than I can say here. I must leave the matter to my friends at W. looking, as I am sure they will, to what is my duty and what may be the best interests of the party.

It is now 1 o'clock at night and I am in the midst of an important trial. Our client Brown ran discreetly. Write me as soon as you receive this.

Your friend

Hon. Edmund Burke,
Washington, D. C.

[FRANKLIN PIERCE.]

P. S. I keep no copy and wish you would forward me one for I may need it in coming time. While I leave myself to my friends, they would desire me to keep my record clear, even if I had no such desire myself.

Tuesday night, 2 o'clock.

¹ At a ratification meeting held at Concord, June 10, 1852, Colonel John H. George of Concord is reported to have said: "On the 8th of January last the Democratic State Convention of New Hampshire unanimously presented the name of General Franklin Pierce to the people of the nation as a candidate for the highest office in its gift. . . . Immediately after the action of the last State Convention, General Pierce wrote his letter to Mr. Atherton declining to be a candidate for the Presidency and declaring that the use of his name in any event before the Democratic National Convention would be utterly repugnant to his tastes and wishes. . ." See the *Patriot and Gazette* (Concord), June 16, 1852.

² Probably William H. French, aide-de-camp on General Pierce's staff during the Mexican War.

³ Moses Norris, Jr., U. S. senator from New Hampshire.

⁴ Harry Hibbard, a representative from New Hampshire.

⁵ Charles H. Peaslee, representative from New Hampshire, 1847-1853.

III. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BALTIMORE, June 5, 1852.

Dear General.

We are in great hopes of nominating you this morning. The thing is about ripe. We have intimations from the delegations from Pennsylvania and Virginia that they will soon lead off for you. The South will come in, so will Maine, Conn, and I think all N. E. Michigan will also. The prospects are more encouraging than ever.

But you know the whole thing is contingent. So do not be too much elated. If God and the people give you the nomination and election, bear your honors calmly, meekly and with dignity. I have no doubt you will. You know I do not express opinions without a careful survey of the facts of the case. But in the opinion I now express I may be mistaken. We are all excited here and probably I may be more than usual.

The convention is about to work. Adieu. In haste,

Yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

IV. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BALTIMORE, June 5, 1852.

Afternoon.

Dear General.

I wrote you this morning that in all probability you would be nominated, and I said, if God and the people nominated and elected you, you must wear the transcendent honor with calmness, meekness and dignity, as becoming a true man and a Christian. I have no doubt you will. We have all done the best we could for you. We have pledged you to nothing except that you would be honest, faithful, true, discreet and just. We have no doubt you will fulfill all these pledges we have made for you.

The scene in the convention was grand—sublime. The cannon has already heralded your success. Mighty destiny, be true to it.

Gov. Dickinson tells me that New York will give you her vote by 30,000. The enthusiasm is tremendous. You unite all cliques.

Now your biography must be written. Send me the materials at Washington and I will prepare it for you. I have made arrangements already with Dr. Hebbé, the author of the Universal History, a man of great talent and distinction and great influence with the German population, to undertake and publish it at once in that language. [Name illegible] another German, will take the stump for you. I know these men well. They can do more for you with the foreign population than all others.

I think I can serve you best by remaining at Washington a few days. I know men from every state in the Union. *You will be elected.*

Yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

F. Pierce.

V. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BALTIMORE, June 6, 1852.

Dear General.

I suppose by this time you have heard of the result of the deliberations of the National Democratic Convention and have become "calm as a summer's morning". I think we did right in putting King on the ticket. You know he is Buchanan's bosom friend and thus a great and powerful interest is conciliated. Our nominations also please both wings of the Democratic party in New York. They were content with slaying each other and both will cordially unite on you. If Scott is nominated the great battle-ground will be in New York and Pennsylvania. The slave states will fall into our laps like ripe apples. I think your election is certain but I remember while I express my opinion, that all things pertaining to humanity are uncertain and therefore you upon whom the great honor has fallen must not be too elated or sanguine. You must prepare yourself for the result, whatever it may be. I think you will be elected because all cliques of the democracy are united on you as they were on Mr. Polk.

I wrote you to send your minutes for a biography. It is wanted immediately. Perhaps I may not be able to stay at Washington long enough to prepare it and perhaps you may not desire that I should do it. If not, Gen. Peaslee will do it well and I will see Dr. Hebbé and tell him to translate it at once into German. I am anxious to get home to Concord on account of a certain event. May it not be best to postpone the election of Senator until fall? If you are elected will you not then desire the election of your own first choice among the candidates? In that event would not Mr. Atherton¹ be the best man for you in that body, through whom the administration can speak? In the event of your election I, or one of the candidates, shall be glad to defer to your wishes. I have no doubt the Democratic members of the Legislature will now so far consult your wishes as to postpone the election, if you desire it.

I shall remain a few days at Washington on business at the Patent and Pension offices, and while I am here I will do all I can to arrange things for the coming campaign.

I am in correspondence with Kossuth and through Dr. Hebbé can do something with the foreign population. Kossuth has great influence with them and will naturally suppose *without any assurance* that a northern administration will sympathize more with the popular movement in Europe than a southern or Whig administration. Kossuth should be invited to New Hampshire, but should receive nothing from you but courtesies and civilities. I am also acquainted with the editor of the leading German paper in the United States and have promised to see

¹Charles G. Atherton, reelected to the Senate in November, 1852. Died November, 1853.

him on my return home through New York. We can do much through these channels. I expect to see you soon.

In haste yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

Gen. F. Pierce.

VI. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Confidential:

Hon. Franklin Pierce,

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1852.

My dear Sir.

I write to-day in relation to a matter personal to ourselves. Mr. Houston, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means told me yesterday that he had been informed on good authority, that you were hostile to me, in fact, my enemy. When I was here in April last, I had a letter from a gentleman in New Hampshire informing me of the same fact and that the cause of it was some article in the *Argus and Spectator*; and in consequence you were opposed to my election to the Senate. Before receiving this letter, I had written to you my first letter in relation to your prospects for the Presidential nomination and received your reply; and the frankness and confidence expressed in the latter, led me at once to treat the intimation I had received as an idle rumor. Immediately after an intimate friend and relation of the gentleman who first wrote me, addressed a letter to me informing me that it was a mistake, and that you were not unfriendly to me. But the intimation from the Chairman of the *Committee of Ways and Means*, upon which I had supposed there was one of my personal friends from N. H. leads me to suspect that some one has not understood your relations with me and has given a wrong impression in regard to them; or that I have myself misunderstood the true spirit which has dictated your letters to me, as well as our personal interview at Newport. I believe that you have been misrepresented to Mr. Houston. But however it may be, I have no doubt you will have the frankness to say honestly and truly what your sentiments toward me are. If they be even as Mr. Houston has been informed, it will make no difference in the humble support I shall give to your nomination. I shall do all in my humble power to secure your election. That I owe to the great cause to which I have always been attached. But it may make some difference in the course I ought to pursue to accomplish that very object. It is more than probable that I shall be fixed upon to assume the editorial work of the *Union*¹ newspaper during the canvass. I seem to be the almost unanimous choice of our party in Congress for that position. But the consciousness that we are not friends, and that I was aiding to elevate my personal enemy to the White House, might dampen my ardor in the conflict, although I should do my best to prevent it. These considerations, if they are founded in fact, would render it very improper for

¹ *The Washington Union* (daily). See VIII, Pierce to Burke, June 14, 1852, p. 117. Burke was campaign editor of the *Union* during the late summer and autumn of 1852.

me to take charge of the *Union*. The heart of the editor of that paper should go into the conflict with no secret sadness nor grief.— But for the good of our cause, which *must* triumph in this contest, I should not be the editor of the *Union* if our relations are really such as have been intimated to me since I have been in this city.

From the first moment I saw the prospect dawning for you, I have done my utmost to accomplish the great result. Your nomination was effected precisely as I supposed it must be if at all. I never had but one opinion about it. But I claim no credit to myself in bringing about this result. All your friends from N. H. did all in their power to accomplish it. My extensive acquaintance with the politicians of the Union gave me, perhaps, some advantage over other of your friends. There was not a delegation in the Convention in which there were not more or less members with whom I was acquainted. I have a pretty extensive acquaintance with leading German politicians, and editors, both native and naturalized. These were of some benefit to us, and I shall avail myself of this acquaintance to bring the foreign vote so far as possible to the support of our cause.

And finally whatever may be said and done by jealous and rival politicians in N. H. their calumnies cannot shake my standing with the Democracy of the Union. Most of them will have to work hard as I have done before they attain to the same position before the country at large. I have been free and full in this letter. For your good and that of our cause we ought to know how we stand in relation to each other, in order that I may not get into any position which will in the remotest degree affect unfavorably our great cause, which *must* now triumph, or it will fall not to rise again for a quarter of a century.

Your nomination is received with great enthusiasm. It unites all factions of our party and seems to inspire every one with confidence in our success.

I am, very truly your friend etc,

EDMUND BURKE.

Gen. F. Pierce.

VII. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1852.

My dear Sir :

Yesterday Mr. Ritchie¹ placed in my hands a letter from Robert G. Scott, Esq., of Richmond in relation to your answer to his letter addressed to the different Presidential candidates. I handed the letter to Gen. Peaslee to be communicated to you in the belief that it might be of some use to you in framing your reply to the letter of the committee appointed to inform you of your nomination.²

¹ Thomas Ritchie, editor of *The Washington Union*.

² This committee consisted of J. S. Barbour, J. Thompson, Alpheus Field, and Pierre Soulé. The letter of notification referred to is still in existence.

The western men are also a little alarmed in consequence of your votes upon the River and Harbor appropriations while in Congress, which the *Republic* newspaper has collected and published. Perhaps this is a matter which it would be expedient for you to consider in your reply. The western men think the Whigs will argue to the people that you will veto *all* bills whatever for the improvement of Harbors and Rivers, which would make your election an uphill business in the West. On the other hand some western members, including Douglass and Richardson of Illinois and Dunham of Indiana, think it will not hurt you at all.

But those who think it will injure you in the West, say that if in your reply to the Committee you could in some general phraseology say that you entered public life during the eventful administration of Gen. Jackson whose principles you have ever maintained, referring to his course upon Internal Improvements, but finally coming down upon the Baltimore platform, as your true position, it would be well. They say they can stand up to a man to the principles of Gen. Jackson on that subject, but they cannot fully to the doctrine of Mr. Polk's veto message. You can and will weigh these matters carefully and deliberately and make such reference to them as you deem expedient or none at all.

The ratification meeting in this city last night was the largest I ever saw here. Messrs. Cass, Houston, Lane, Davis and others spoke. Father Ritchie¹ made a few remarks. These facts show that our party are thoroughly united and determined to win.

By judicious management all the foreign populations can be brought to your support. Dr. Hebbé the distinguished Swedish scholar, left for N. York yesterday to address the German societies in that city. He has also written to many of the leading German editors in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. And this morning I received a prospectus for a new paper in the Welsh language to be published in Pottsville, Pa. It will be the first one in the United States. It is endorsed by Hon. F. W. Hughes, Secretary of State for Pennsylvania.

Yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE

Hon. Franklin Pierce.

VIII. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO EDMUND BURKE (COPY).

CONCORD N H

June 14, 1852²

My dear sir :

I returned from my journey to-day and hasten to answer your letter of June 8th wh I found an hour since among a large package awaiting my arrival.

In the first place I should like to know Mr Houston's authority. But without that, I will proceed to set matters right so far as we are con-

¹ Thomas Ritchie of the *Union*.

² Either this letter, or the reply of Burke (IX), perhaps each, is misdated. The error, however, is one of only a few days.

cerned. I can state distinctly, that the charge that I am yr. enemy has, so far as I know, no foundation in any act or word of mine. I had heard prior to the receipt of your letter in April that you were evidently unfriendly to me, and that if I desired to be brought before the National Convention, my first object should be to conciliate you. I uniformly replied, 1st, That I did not seek to be a candidate; 2d. That if it were otherwise, I would not turn on my heel to conciliate any man; and 3d. That I could not conceive that you were hostile, because I had always understood our relations to be of a friendly character. Your letter of April assured me that I had not misjudged and I supposed that we understood each other.

When I was informed of the controversy between yourself and Mr. Butterfield,¹ I expressed my deep regret, but was determined not to be in any way involved in it. I have not read the articles on either side, but I heard your first article freely commented on, and stated that if you had made a general assault upon the politicians of Concord, charging them with being under the influence of corporations and desiring to dictate to other parts of the State, such charges were groundless and unjustifiable, and in this I think few true men would differ with me. You have never been assailed by me. No act or word of mine justifies the charge. Now for the authority! What is charged and by whom?

I have received several letters from different gentlemen in relation to the "*Union*"² and matters connected therewith. As I understand the matter, it is a subject about which it would be neither politic nor just for me to speak. The democratic party have nominated me. They have presented a platform upon which I am willing to stand. I would not presume to enlarge or narrow it. The manner in wh., and the instrumentality through which, the nomination is to be sustained, must be left entirely to others. I shall not attempt to control, nor shall I, as at present advised, permit myself even to suggest.

I thank you for your frankness. It is the only way to maintain proper relations between friends personal or political.

Your friend,
FRANK PIERCE.

IX. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1852.

Hon. Franklin Pierce

My dear Sir,

I have deferred answering your letter of the 14th inst. until I could see Mr. Houston and learn from him the author of the intimation which he made to me and to which I referred in my letter of the 8th inst. I have not been able to see him until to-day, and I made enquiry of him in relation to the matter. He says he can not now recall to mind the per-

¹ Editor of the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, published at Concord.

² See VI, Burke to Pierce, June 8, 1852, p. 115.

son from whom he derived the impression that we were not on friendly terms. He says he and several other gentlemen were discussing the propriety of my taking the editorial charge of the Union newspaper when some one remarked that it might not be agreeable to you for we were opposed to each other in our State politics. Mr. Houston says it was from this remark that he got the impression which he stated to me. But it is now of no account. Your letter leaves no ground for me to doubt that our personal relations are now, as they have always been, friendly. I am aware that it was unnecessary for you to court the favor of any man — a more fortunate position than that in which most men are placed — but I have never acted in bad faith with regard to your nomination. I wrote you fully and frankly from this city in April last, what I thought the condition of things was here. I expressed then, as I did after my return to New Hampshire by letter, and orally in our personal interview at Newport, my belief in the great probability of your nomination, and how it was to be brought about. And I steadily acted with that end in view. I knew it was not policy to bring you out as a candidate for the nomination at the outset, and that you could only be nominated as a compromise candidate, and in this our whole delegation, I believe, agreed and we acted accordingly. And, of course, you owe your nomination to no one of us, nor to any particular man, but to your own position and a fortunate combination of circumstances, the noble character of the Granite State having some little weight in the matter.

I am aware that the Concord people, and I count Mr. Butterfield among the foremost of them, circulated the story during the late session of the Legislature that I was opposed to your nomination to the last, and that it was made against my wishes and active opposition. This is a base calumny for which there is not one particle of foundation; and I have no doubt your sense of justice will induce you to correct it. At any rate, I intend that it shall be taken back by those who put it afloat. If I had been opposed to you in the critical period when a slight circumstance might have defeated you, humble as I am, if I had been so disposed, perhaps I might have accomplished it. I knew more men in that Convention than any other man from our State, and without vanity I think I may say that my standing with the Democracy of this nation is as good as that of any other delegate from N. H. If I had used the advantages which these circumstances gave me, at one time, possibly I might have had some influence on the result. They were all however used to promote your success, and not to prevent it. But enough on this point.

As to the quarrel between the Argus and Patriot, I understood from Mr. Baldwin, and now understand from yourself that you do not take part in it. I was glad to be thus assured of what I before believed was the truth about the matter.

As to the statements made in the first article in the Argus, I am not aware that they are untrue. The two leading statements are that Col. George did not carry the late election in N. H. as claimed by the Patriot; and that a portion of the Democrats of Concord were too much connected

with corporations, and gave their countenance to corporate influence. Those statements were not published in the Argus until they had first been shown to leading democrats out of Sullivan Co. who concurred in them. I believe them to be true, and I stand by the truth without fear or favor from any man. If the records of various corporations at Concord and the history of our past legislature does not bear out what I say, then I will retract, but there is no power on earth that will make me retract what I believe to be true. I know a great many of the soundest and best democrats in New Hampshire concur with the Argus and with myself in this belief. The Argus has sustained in this controversy precisely the same principles which it sustained fifteen years ago, when it had the cordial support and encouragement of yourself and your venerated father. It has not changed on this matter of corporations. It did not move or change when the Patriot, and a large portion of the Democratic Party gave way on the Wilmot Proviso. And it will stand by its principles and flag, if it stands alone, no matter by whom it may be denounced. But I have dwelt longer on this topic than I intended.

Before this reaches you, you will have learned that Gen. Scott has been nominated. The nomination of Graham, with the platform, will generally unite the Whigs of the South. I think, with Gen. Scott's great and undisputed military services, it will require some effort on the part of the Democracy to beat him. I am afraid our friends have been all too confident of success. They seem to take it for granted that we are to carry the election. I cannot learn that they are doing much. They are not going into the combat with the promptness and energy which the occasion demands. I do not think our Central Executive Committee is made up of the right sort of men. Robert McLane of Baltimore is Chairman. He is a man of talents, but I think he has not the industry nor the practical experience necessary for getting up good political tracts. Dr. Gwin is also a man of ability and good sound sense, but he has too much California business to attend to. And Messrs. Edgerton and Penn [?] of the House, are neither of them the right sort of men for such duties as will devolve on the Executive Committee. Ten days ago I placed in the hands of the Committee a proposition with regard to the establishment of a Welsh paper in Pottsville, Pa. I had secured a letter from Col. Hughes, Secretary of State of Pennsylvania, with regard to the subject, and also communications from other gentlemen of that State. I supposed the matter would be attended to, but so far from that, on Monday last Mr. Penn [?] told me the *Committee had not organized*. Our friends here seem to think the battle is to be won without fighting.

I have had some opportunity to observe the effect of Scott's nomination, and am satisfied that it will very generally unite the Whig party. Many of the delegates from the South are now in the city, and I find that the adoption of a platform and the nomination of Graham has removed their objections to Scott, and all those Whig politicians in Congress, who have not so far committed themselves against Scott that they cannot honorably back out, will go in for him. I understand Gen. Dawson of

Ga. has already given in his adhesion. I am satisfied that the Whig party will be united under Scott and that with his unquestionably great military reputation and long public service he will be a hard candidate to beat. Therefore I think it is time for our party to lay aside the delusion that we are to gain an easy victory, and make up our minds for one of the hardest contests we have ever had. I believe we shall be successful if we fight the battle as we ought. If we do not we shall be beaten.

I dined in company with Mr. Soulé and other gentlemen yesterday. Mr. S. spoke of his interview with you, and in the most complimentary terms of yourself. I think he was most agreeably disappointed. Col. Barbour also was highly delighted with his acquaintance with you. Both he and Mr. Soulé not only spoke most favorably of your deportment as a gentleman, but of your unblemished character and your knowledge of public affairs. I think it was very well that the Committee¹ visited you in person.

I have mentioned the name of Dr. Hebbé to you in former letters. His connection with and great influence over the foreign population, make it important to have him take the right course in this election. He is a Swede, by birth, and a man of profound learning and high character. He was educated in Germany and was expelled that country on account of his liberal principles. He is intimate with Kossuth, and other distinguished characters engaged in the European popular movements. He is a thorough and philosophical democrat and espouses our side from a conviction of its intrinsic merits. He has succeeded in bringing out several leading German papers in support of our nominations, which took a neutral position in consequence of Cass' defeat. He has also been to New York and addressed the foreign trade societies in that city urging upon them the support of our ticket. And being by birth a Scandinavian he desires to go through Iowa, Wisconsin, and other States of the West in which most of the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes reside, and address them before the election. He will also during the summer make you a visit, in order that he may speak to his countrymen of his personal knowledge of you. Mr. Fleischmann, a German, who was my principal draughtsman in the Patent Office, and recently consul at Wurtemberg, a man also of very great learning and attainments, has also assured me that he will stump it through the German regions. He will also visit you this summer for the same reason assigned by Dr. Hebbé. The grand ideas which are to be most potent in this election are sympathy for the liberals of Europe, the expansion of the Republic southward and westward and the grasping of the magnificent [prize? illegible] of the commerce of the Pacific—in short the ideas of which the term 'Young America' is the symbol. Both Hebbé and Fleischmann and Mr. Soulé and the young men of the Republic have these ideas moving them deeply.

As to the subject suggested in my letter by [illegible] Mr. French has written a sketch of your life which he read to Mr. Hubbard and myself

¹ See VII, Burke to Pierce, June 10, 1852, p. 116, note 2.

before he sent it away to be published. It was very well, but not sufficiently full and strong on some points. There is also a sketch of your life for sale at the book stores prepared, I understand, by Lester of New York. That is too expensive. We want a strong pointed biography in pamphlet form to be widely circulated by members of Congress. And we want also a good likeness of you. None has yet appeared. If you had sent me a daguerreotype engravings from it would have been on sale ten days ago. We want a biography to be translated into German. As I shall leave the city as soon as I can close up some business at the Patent Office I shall not now have time to attend to any of these matters. Pardon me this very long letter and believe me

ever yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE.¹

X. G. C. HEBBÉ TO EDMUND BURKE.

Honorable Ed. Burke.

WASHINGTON CITY July 15th 1852.

Dear Sir

I have many times already had great reasons to wish that you had remained here and lent your energy to the Central Committee which acts with deplorable imbecility. It was a great misfortune that you did not become a member of that Committee, and a no less one that you are not Editor of the Union. I have had several conferences with Dr. Gwin and Hon Mr. Senn [Penn?], but the committee has not yet collected so much money that it has dared to grant aid to those papers which I have recommended to its patronage. The Committee committed the blunder to order a Philadelphia paper to publish 25,000 copies in German of the life of General Pierce — when this order ought to have been given to Mr. Newman as recommended by myself — I told Mr. Penn yesterday that if Mr. Forney's advice is to be taken on such matters — the committee has to take upon themselves the responsibility of the consequences. The paper to which this order was given — is very influential in Pennsylvania —, but there is now much less hope to carry that State than New York — and consequently all ought to be done to secure the latter State — in which we have more hope to succeed — But it appears as the interests of certain individuals are to be promoted at hasard even to see the party defeated —

¹ Further information relating to the ante-convention movements which brought about Pierce's nomination is to be found in the files of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Whig) for November, 1853, and of the *Arkansas Whig* for December, 1853. These articles are based upon Burke's own story of how the "mysterious" nomination was effected, which appeared in the *State Capitol Reporter* (Concord) in October, 1853. For this paper, which was a violent anti-administration organ, Burke was for the time an editorial writer. Burke's story may also be found quoted in *The New Hampshire Statesman* (Concord) for October 29, 1853. In January, 1904, an article appeared in *The Minneapolis Journal* which sheds further light upon the nomination. The writer, a law-student in Concord in 1852, boarded in the same family with one Henry P. Rolfe, then a student in the law-office of Minot and Pierce, and bases his statements upon conversations taking place between himself and Rolfe on the day when the New Hampshire delegation left Concord for Baltimore.

I have had letters from Gen. Kossuth — in which he complains much of the deception which certain persons of the Democratic party have made themselves guilty of in regard to himself — and I have had the utmost difficulty in preventing him from taking steps which would undoubtedly have led to the disorganization and defeat of the Democratic party — I hope that General Pierce's letter to the Democrats of Philadelphia has satisfied Gen Kossuth at least to some degree — still I know that he expected from Gen. Pierce a still more explicit avowal in regard to the course of foreign policy which this country ought to pursue —, but I think, that the General could not say more in the present state of affairs

I have written an urgent appeal to the adopted citizens of Scandinavian birth to support General Pierce, and I hope that this appeal which appeared in the "Skandinoven" of last Saturday will have a good effect and give General Pierce at least 10,000 votes from that quarter.

I have also written about 35 letters to several German papers — and to English papers — urging upon the readers of these papers the necessity and duty to sustain the Democratic nominees — I intend to sail for Europe on Saturday from New York — but hope to return before the 1st of Sept. when I will have the honor to visit you and then begin to stump the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa — From Europe I will transmit several letters to papers in these States in order to advocate the success of our party —

I am a democrat at heart because I consider that party — notwithstanding its many defects as the only one which at present can do any practical good for the advance of freedom throughout the world — I am, however, sorry to see that the influence of the South is preponderant here in Washington — It is a great mistake to think that the South can accomplish the victory of the Democratic party — when on the contrary it is clear that the result will chiefly depend upon the votes of the northern and western states —, where the votes of the adoptive citizens are decisive —

I have from Gen. Kossuth that General Pierce has promised to visit New York — and I hope that he will do so — as such a visit would probably do much to influence the people of that State.

I hope that you will exercise all your energy in behalf of the Democratic party — as I am fully convinced that you can do much for the success of our cause in the present struggle — I should be very glad to hear from you before my departure — and I think that a letter addressed to me — care of Nicholas Day 74 Wall Street New York — would reach me before the departure of the steamer on Saturday.

I have the honor to remain with the most sincere regards,

Dear Sir

Yours most truly,

G. C. HEBBE.

In great haste.

XI. JAMES CAMPBELL TO ARTHUR S. NEVITT.¹

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
March 1, 1856.

Sir :

I have thought it my duty to send you the enclosed copies of papers which have just been placed on file in this department. Not so much to satisfy myself upon any point made against you as to furnish the occasion for a statement calculated to satisfy all unprejudiced minds.

If there are persons in your office who sympathize with a political party hostile to the Democratic Party, and bound by secret oaths to principles contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution under which we live, you should know them and should neither employ them nor trust them.

I desire something more than a mere statement of your employees, that at a given time they do not belong to a Know-nothing organization. Have they been Know-nothings? Do they sympathize with that political organization? Is your chief clerk a Whig with Know-nothing sympathies? What was his action at the last election?

If you cannot answer these questions with confidence and satisfaction, changes must be made. Reformation in the office is due not only to the Department, but to yourself.

I wish you would answer promptly and fully.

I am, respectfully,

Your obt. servant,
JAMES CAMPBELL.

Arthur S. Nevitt, Esq.,
(P. M.) New Orleans, La.

XII. JOHN W. GEARY² TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Confidential.

Executive Department,
LECOMPTON, Kansas Territory,
December 22nd 1856.

His Excellency,
Franklin Pierce, President.

My Dear Sir :

The removal of Donaldson,³ Clark and LeCompte⁴ has been received here with general acclamations by the people, and men recently disposed to vilify and abuse you are loud in your praise. None blame you except those interested in having certain crimes laid in oblivion.

It is my duty to speak frankly and honestly to you, and from time to time I have done so without prejudice, fear or favor. The Country

¹ This letter is apparently in Pierce's handwriting, but is signed in lead-pencil, "James Campbell", and addressed to Arthur S. Nevitt, Postmaster, New Orleans, La.

² Governor of Kansas Territory.

³ J. B. Donaldson, U. S. marshal for Kansas Territory.

⁴ Samuel D. LeCompte, Chief Justice of Kansas Territory.

should know, and if I live long enough, it shall know, that the censure which has been heaped upon your administration for mismanagement in Kansas affairs is not attributable to you, but is the consequence of the criminal complicity of public officers some of whom you have removed the moment you were clearly satisfied of their true position.

I could not have credited it, unless I had seen it with my own eyes, and had the most conclusive evidence of the fact, that public officers would have lent themselves to carry out schemes which at once set at naught every principle of right and justice upon which the equality and existence of our government is founded. You know that there is no man in the Union, that more heartily despises the contracted creed of the abolitionists than I do, or more clearly perceives the pernicious tendency of their doctrines, and on this question I trust I am an impartial judge. The persecutions of the free-state men here was not exceeded by those of the early christians. I am not their vindicator, and wish not to extenuate the numerous outrages committed by them, the perpetrators of which, in due time, I will endeavor to bring, as well as others, to condign punishment, but I do say that the men holding official position have never given you that impartial information on the subject so necessary to form correct conclusions, which your high position so imperatively demanded. I wish not to speak of the injudicious and criminal proceedings of some of the emigrant aid societies and of the fanaticism which called some of them into existence, there are persons better versed in the origin of these movements who can explain them better than myself, but occupying the confidential and official relations I do to yourself, which at your pleasure I am most willing to lay at your feet, it is necessary that I, especially, should do "equal and exact" justice to that side of the question.

Let us go back then to the origin of the Kansas difficulty and see what was the agitating cause, or causes, and let us candidly examine whether or not *our friends* were faultless.

From the most reliable information I am satisfied that there was a settled determination in *high quarters* to make this a Slave State *at all hazards*; that policy was communicated to agents here, and that most of the public officers sent here were secured for its success. The consequence was that when Northern emigrants came here at an early day, *even before* the emigrant aid societies began to excite public attention, that certain persons along the borders of Missouri began to challenge unexceptionable settlers, and finding many not for a slave state, they were subjected to various indignities, and told that this soil, which previous to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was devoted to freedom, did not belong to such as them, and *that they must settle in Nebraska*.

These immigrants, *highly conservative* in their character, excited by this unjust treatment, wrote back to their friends in the North and thus by a little indiscretion on the part of overzealous persons in Missouri a spark was ignited which nearly set the whole country in a flame. This virulent spirit of dogged determination to *force* slavery into this Terri-

tory, has overshot its mark and raised a storm which nothing but an honest return to the beneficent provisions of our Organic Act can quell. Lecompte, Donaldson, Clarke, Woodson¹, CALHOUN² and Isaacs³ were prominent actors in this fearful tragedy and willing tools to carry out this wicked policy. *They have therefore destroyed their public usefulness*, and their removal would be hailed with a tumult of joy by the entire population. But well do I appreciate your position in the matter and beyond your own sense of justice and propriety I would not desire you to go. Could it be done, it would restore you to that position in the popular affections which you so justly occupied at the period of your Inauguration.

I was much surprised and somewhat amused to learn to-day that Clark, the ex-agent, had just received a letter from Genl. Whitfield⁴ in which the latter says that you told him that all the odium brought on your administration was the dire result of Clark's, Whitfield's, Atchison's,⁵ Stringfellow's,⁶ and others' indiscreet action. Why Whitfield would write thus when he owes his seat to you and me, I know not, but I am sure that *he never penned a greater truth*.

In your whole administration which has been remarkably eventful there is not a shadow of complaint except this Kansas Matter over which, with the dearth of reliable information, you could exercise little influence. Almost every public officer here, necessarily the channels of information, conspired to give you ex parte and prejudiced statements. It was natural and generous that you should believe men professing to be your friends in preference to others notoriously your enemies.

There is a plan in Westport, Mo. to invade the Territory with about 1000 men, to take possession of the "Shawnee Reserve", about the 20th of Feby. *The Indian agent lives there. Calhoun has been there 10 or fifteen days.* Can't you blow this conspiracy out of water?

On the Shantee [*sic*] Reserve, after the Indians have made their selections, there will remain about 1500 quarter sections for preemption.

I thank you for the firm and prompt manner with which you have sustained my policy and seconded my suggestions in the removal of the men indicated, and I earnestly trust you will be seconded in the good work.

¹ Daniel Woodson, secretary of the territory under Reeder, acting governor upon Reeder's removal, secretary under Governor Shannon, and again acting governor upon Shannon's resignation.

² John Calhoun, surveyor-general of Kansas Territory. Instrumental in prejudicing the administration against Geary. See Rhodes, II, 239.

³ Isaacs, U. S. district attorney for Kansas Territory. See Davis to Pierce, July 23, 1857, to appear in the REVIEW for January, 1905.

⁴ J. W. Whitfield, elected Delegate to Congress by the pro-slavery party, November 29, 1854.

⁵ David R. Atchison, previously senator from Missouri.

⁶ B. F. Stringfellow, co-editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, published at Atchison, Kansas, which professed to be the organ of the Washington government in western Missouri.

I can, and will with the aid of the National Govern't., make Kansas a model state, enriched with Democratic Institutions based upon the Constitution of the U. S., and blessed with all the rich treasures of learning, ennobled by virtue, intelligence and enterprise of the millions of freemen whom its exuberantly fertile soil is capable of supporting. After you have laid aside the cares of State, if I am called to remain here, I want you to give me the pleasure of a visit to Kansas. I will make a tour with you through the Territory. The salubrity of the climate, the beauty of the country and the warm reception I promise you from our generous people will compensate you for the trip.

With the assurance of my high regards I am devotedly your friend and obedient servant,

JNO. W. GEARY.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Introduction à la Doctrine de l'État. By GEORGE JELLINEK, Professor of Law in the University of Heidelberg. Translated from the German by GEORGES FARDIS, Directeur des "Archives Diplomatiques". (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1904. Pp. viii, 223.)

PROFESSOR JELLINEK is among the first, if indeed he is not the first, of living writers in the field of political theory. In 1882 he published his *Die Lehre von den Staatenverbindungen*; in 1887, his *Gesetz und Verordnung*; in 1892, his *System der subjektiven öffentlichen Rechte*; and, finally, in 1900, his *Allgemeine Staatslehre*. This last is the first volume of a comprehensive work entitled *Das Recht des modernen Staates*, the production of which, as he says in his preface, has been due at once to his desire to present in the form of a systematic synthesis the results of previous monographic studies, and to his belief that there is needed a political treatise the form and method of which shall conform to the requirements of present political conditions. The first section of this first volume is devoted to the task of determining the problems and methods of political theory and to a statement of its relations to other departments of scientific inquiry. It is this section that is translated by M. Fardis under the title "Introduction to the Theory of the State". For some reason the title on the cover is that of the whole work, *L'État moderne et Son Droit*.

As appears from the foregoing, the work is purely political in character. It has, however, a direct interest to historians in so far as it considers the value of history and the historical method to the political scientist. The province of political science, when limited to the study of a particular state, says the author, is concerned with the discovery and description of average types (*types moyens — Durchschnittstypen*) as distinguished from ideal types. These average types are to be determined by induction, that is, by the comparative and historical methods. This methodological principle, though clear and simple in itself, is, however, one surrounded by great difficulty in application. This arises from the fact that, upon the one hand, there is the danger of so emphasizing likenesses as unduly to disregard individual characteristics, with the result that the type so determined corresponds to nothing that exists. This, asserts Jellinek, is the error into which have fallen all attempts to create a general science of comparative jurisprudence. Upon the other hand, when all of the special peculiarities of each political unit are considered, the general or average type cannot be made to appear. In order, then, to avoid these two opposite dangers, it is necessary for the political scientist to limit his investigation to political institutions which proceed

from the same civilization and rest upon a common historical basis. The results due to a disregard of this principle are seen when one attempts to compare antique with modern democracy, the absolutism of Roman emperors with that of monarchs of the present time, or the federal states of to-day with those of ancient Greece. Coming more directly to the application of the historical method to the study of political types, the author's discussion centers around the necessity of distinguishing between the change of an institution into an entirely different thing and its modification, wherein it alters its form and some of its attributes, but still performs essentially the same political functions. In the former case the historical connection is, so to speak, purely an external one, and an attempt to analyze the character or interpret the functions of the later institution by the character and functions of the earlier is inappropriate and misleading. Thus, also, the study of institutions that have gone out of existence is of little or no practical value in the analysis of present political phenomena. Thus, without at all denying the intrinsic value of historical research, the author points out that in any attempt to analyze modern political types, the history of the past is valuable only in so far as it traces the development and thus serves to explain the nature of existing institutions. All else belongs to the domain of historical and political antiquities.

In the foregoing, the reviewer has limited himself to a notice simply of a single point. In justice to the author it should be said, however, that the work as a whole furnishes an excellent propædæutic to the study of the modern state, and the larger work of which it is a part must serve still further to enhance the already high reputation of its author. That the French rendering of the German original is well done is sufficiently attested by the name of the translator.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY.

The Development of European Polity. By HENRY SIDGWICK, late Professor at Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1903. Pp. xxvi, 454.)

THIS book is the posthumous publication of the late Professor Sidgwick's lectures at Cambridge in the field of political science, and the place the work occupied in the author's mind is best stated in the words of the editor, Mrs. Sidgwick. He considered, she says,

That a threefold treatment of politics is desirable for completeness: — first, an exposition analytical and deductive, such as he attempted in his work on the *Elements of Politics*; secondly, an evolutionary study of the development of polity within the historic period in Europe, beginning with the earliest known Græco-Roman and Teutonic polity, and carried down to the modern state of Europe and its colonies as the last result of political evolution; thirdly, a comparative study of . . . what may be called the constitution-making century which has just ended. The

present book is an attempt at a treatment of political science from the second point of view.

To this may be added Sidgwick's own statement on pages 3-4 :

What I shall mainly attempt is to exhibit with their distinctive characteristics, to classify according to their most important resemblances, and to link together by the conception of continuous development, the principal forms of political society which the history of European civilisation manifests ; regarding them as stages in the historic process through which political society has passed, and of which the modern state, as we know it, is the outcome.

The book has not had the benefit of the author's final revision or even arrangement. It is proper to keep this in mind with respect both to defects in construction, and to features in the field of reference and bibliography that may not seem quite abreast with present-day requirements ; though when we find Robertson's *Charles the Fifth* cited for the views of Montesquieu, it may be suspected that the author had rather an old-fashioned view of his obligations in regard to sources. The book in general leaves the impression that he shared in the ordinary English inattention to the modern monograph (especially German), and was content for most of his historical information with the older general English writers. It is not to be inferred, however, that the stickler for cautious and accurate statement of historical facts will be frequently shocked ; on the whole he will perhaps be agreeably surprised, even though he may wish that it were not so positively declared that William the Conqueror scattered the lands of his followers of malice prepense, and though he may not be disposed to accept the strong statement of the close connection between the American and the French Revolutions.

After an introduction of eighty pages on governmental origins, about 100 pages are given to ancient history and 150 to the medieval period, leaving 125 for modern history. The work is unevenly done ; the whole modern part is sketchy, and while the medieval city structure is fully presented, medieval representative institutions are not. The diction is clear and forcible, and the analyses and descriptions are everywhere brought into close connection with historical fact. It bears the mark of the clear thinking, sound scholarship, and power of popularizing in the best sense that is associated with the already somewhat old-fashioned English school of which Seeley and Sidgwick were such good representatives. It is interesting to find that these two men were closely associated in their work at Cambridge ; the reader will be frequently reminded here of Seeley's ideas, especially in the part in which Sidgwick deals with modern English political development. It will be remembered that Seeley's *Introduction to Political Science* was also published posthumously and was prepared for publication by Sidgwick. This intellectual association must have been an attractive and stimulating one, and there is probably no propriety in ascribing to either one of the men an indisputably leading place.

The student of history who is occupied primarily with the state will

find much in this volume of suggestive interest. Particularly so are the passages in which Professor Sidgwick states his views of the respective scope of history and political science and of the relations between them. He discriminates between political philosophy, political science, and political history, but his reader will suspect that his discrimination is rather as to "points of view" (a term which he himself uses, p. 2) than with respect to clearly-defined and mutually exclusive fields of work. He rejects the idea "that the historical method is the one to be primarily used in attempting to find reasoned solutions of the problems of practical politics" (p. 4), and evidently would sympathize but little with the idea of a science of history. But perhaps some of those who would not quarrel with him for that might wish some changes of term in the following sentence (p. 141) in which he states most pointedly the differences he recognizes between history and political science:

The difference, generally speaking, between the scientific and the merely historical treatment of the forms of government and of political society which history presents to us, is that in history proper we are concerned primarily with particular facts, and only secondarily with general laws and types, causes and tendencies; whereas in Political Science we are concerned primarily with the general laws and types, and only with any particular fact as a part of the evidence from which our general conclusions are drawn.

VICTOR COFFIN.

The Evolution of Modern Liberty. By GEORGE L. SCHERGER, Ph.D.
(New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Pp. xiv, 284.)

THIS volume, the preface informs us, was originally intended by the author to be a study in the relation between the American and the French bills of rights. While at work on this task, Professor Jellinek's book, *Die Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte* appeared, and Dr. Scherger widened the scope of his treatise to include a history of the evolution of modern liberty. In the first two parts of the book the author traces the development of the doctrines of natural law and popular sovereignty from antiquity to the French Revolution; in part III he discusses the American bills of rights; in part IV, the French Declaration; and the volume closes with a chapter on the effects of formal declarations of rights.

The first half of the volume is far from satisfactory. It is a difficult task to condense the history of liberty from the earliest to modern times into a small compass, and the author has not been successful in the attempt. He presents a careful and accurate digest of the opinions of a series of eminent political philosophers, but does not give anything like an adequate description of the great march of events leading up to what we call "modern liberty". Even the evolution of the theory of liberty, viewed as *Dogmengeschichte*, he has not clearly unfolded, while the conditions that make liberty possible and the specific political forms that

human freedom has assumed from time to time he has not attempted to discuss. This is a subject too vast in its extent to fit in easily as a preface to a discussion of modern bills of rights, and the attempt to include it has upset the equilibrium of the volume.

The second half of the book is an essay on the bills of rights in America and France. In this field the work of Dr. Scherger is good, and shows that he need not have been deterred by the previous appearance of Jellinek's volume from presenting his own study. A diligent enumeration of American political theories during the Revolutionary period is given, and also a very interesting résumé of the debates on the bills of rights proposed in the French Constituent Assembly. In agreement with Jellinek and in opposition to Boutmy, the author believes that the American declarations exercised great influence upon the French philosophers. He very properly calls attention to the fact that Rousseau's political theory did not admit of any guaranty of individual rights, and hence that a formal declaration was not regarded as necessary. Even Boutmy must admit that if the Americans did not teach the citizens of the sister republic the principles of the Declaration, at least they instructed them in the dramatic possibilities of such a pronouncement.

The style in which Dr. Scherger's volume is written leaves much to be desired. The method of paragraphing invites criticism and suggests the need of careful revision. The most serious fault, however, is the inarticulate and inorganic character of the narrative. The author displays a constant tendency to enumerate and catalogue the opinions of great thinkers without correlating, elucidating, or summarizing. This trait makes parts of Dr. Scherger's volume resemble an encyclopedia or book of reference rather than a representation of an evolutionary process.

On the whole, the digest of the French discussions on the Declaration of Rights is the most important part of the book. As a history of the evolution of modern liberty, the volume falls far short of the standard; but as a study of the relation between the American and the French bills of rights, it possesses meritorious features. It is unfortunate that the author did not adhere to his original plan and present merely a comparative study in declarations of rights.

C. E. MERRIAM.

Manuel d'Histoire des Religions. Par P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE. Traduit sur la seconde édition allemande, sur la direction de HENRI HUBERT et ISIDORE LÉVY. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1904. Pp. liii, 714.)

THE second edition of Chantepie de la Saussaye's handbook of the history of religions appeared in 1897. A distinct advance upon the earlier edition of 1887, it contained much more that was historical and descriptive and much less that was problematical. In fact the phenomenology of the earlier edition was well-nigh rescinded, and the author contented himself with his real subject-matter, reserving all discussion of

religious origins for another publication. The present work is a good translation of this second edition, the two volumes of the original here appearing in one bulky octavo. Some matter has been suppressed, and in the way of bibliography some additions have been made, though they might easily have been rendered more complete. The chief addition, however, is an introduction of forty-four pages by M. Hubert, designed to give the reader a sketch of the chief modern schools and tendencies at work in the new study called the science of religion.

As M. Chantepie de la Saussaye's handbook in its revised form has been before the public for seven years, it will not be necessary to review at length this translation, which is practically the same matter in a garb useful for those ignorant of German. The slight changes already referred to are not sufficient to call for comment. As a historical review of religions, Saussaye's book is by far the best and most complete we possess, especially in the greater part, dedicated to historical religions, chapters three to thirteen, which embrace the religions of the Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Israelites, Mohammedans, Hindus, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. The author is a conservative historian and apt to question rather than to admit new views. In Persia, the influence of Babylon is as good as ignored, and Gruppe's view of Greek religion has not materially affected the exposition. For a manual this is a satisfactory point of view, and in the field of historical and literary religions there is no fault to be found with the amount of material. It is otherwise with the religions of Slavs, Germans, and Celts, all of whom are disposed of in one short chapter. Still more disappointing is the discussion of the religions of *les peuples dits sauvages*. Four or five pages suffice for these most important exponents of religious ideas, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, Redskins, Mexicans, and Peruvians! Similarly, the religion of the Australians is not brought up to date, though this is somewhat atoned for in the translator's introduction.

The long introduction of M. Hubert discusses first the bearing of symbolism, naturalism, and euhemerism on mythological exegesis. They are not all-explanatory; rather they each represent a period in the life of myths. The English-German anthropological school, in M. Hubert's opinion, deals too much with origins, not enough with functions. More satisfactory, in his view, is the French sociological school; but this has arisen too recently to achieve great results, though much is to be hoped for from its clarity of view. Religious facts are fundamentally social facts, produced necessarily in society when individual activity is conditioned by the common life. This is the viewpoint of the *Année Sociologique*. The introduction is apparently intended to make good the lack of discussion in Saussaye's second edition. The book as a whole scarcely needs a recommendation. Owing to its acknowledged excellence, it has been a standard work for years. In its new shape it will doubtless win fresh readers, and it is to be hoped that so important a manual may eventually be rendered into English.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

The History of the World: a Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. HELMOLT. Vol. II, Eastern Asia and Oceania—the Indian Ocean. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1904. Pp. xviii, 642.)

THE present volume, conceived as it is upon "ethnogeographical" principles, shares the general characteristics of the other volumes of this work that have already appeared. Again the main difficulty is seen to consist, not so much in the principle of writing a history of the world from the standpoint of ethnography and geography, as of so harmonizing, in one connected narrative, the conclusions of these sciences with the natural sequence of historical development, as to reduce the inevitable repetitions and anticipations into the smallest possible extent. It is, for instance, not until one has read all of Japan and much of China in this volume that he begins to comprehend some obscure points about the former country, while many an important question of Chinese history is in turn reserved for the following section on Central Asia. To India, also, we come only after we have read much of the moral influence which emanated from it and, in addition, have gone through Siberia, Australia, and Oceania.

Another, perhaps not a necessary, fault of the method may be found in the fact that the authors generally fail to manifest as much skill and care in sifting the historical facts, and in tracing the development of the institutions of each individual nation, as in showing the mutual reaction between the race and its environment. The word feudalism, for example, seems to be so loosely used throughout the volume as to render its accounts practically valueless for the critical student. All of these defects, however, cannot outweigh the peculiar advantages of this method, which one will be likely to miss hereafter in the universal histories of the old type. Each geographical section presented in this volume is introduced by a characterization of its relative position on the globe, and attempts are constantly made to interpret the life of the nations in the light of their surroundings and to deduce from this study certain laws of human progress. Great stress is laid upon the effects of the contact of different races and civilizations, including the results of the rule of the whites over the natives.

These observations, however, would not entirely apply to Max von Brandt's section on Japan, China, and Korea, which alone in the volume lacks sociological interest. Formerly a successful German envoy at Tokio and Peking, where his forceful personality is still remembered, the writer is satisfactory neither as a sociologist nor as a historian, neither in interpretation nor in criticism. However, his authorities on China are better than those on Japan, and his chapters on the history of Christianity in both countries are excellent.

The characteristic portion of the volume does not begin until von Brandt gives his place to the late Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, of Leipzig. The noted ethnologist has contributed a highly suggestive section on Central

Asia (in the German edition, *Hochasien*) and Siberia. On a fine geographical background he constructs his theories of the development of an agricultural civilization by the brachycephalic race which settled in China and Sumeria, and the subsequent expansion of the dolichocephalic Aryan nomads toward Central Asia, with the consequent movements and admixture of races of various stages of culture upon the plateau. Particularly illuminating is his account of the political relations of China with the Central Asiatic nomads, and of the continual religious and commercial communications which passed through the Tarim basin. The same writer's chapters on Indonesia, telling of the extensive migrations of the Negritos and Malays, are not less instructive.

The late Dr. Emil Schmidt's section on India, Ceylon, and Indo-China, which was written probably some years ago and has been revised by Dr. Helmolt, may be said to be of ordinary value. On the other hand, the chapters by Dr. Karl Weule on Australia and Oceania are closely parallel to Dr. Schurtz's in the richness of their sociological data. He also considers the missionary question, not as a mere series of historical incidents, but as a phase of the many-sided contact of the different races and cultures. Regarding the Indian Ocean — Dr. Weule seems to be deeply interested in the oceans — his views of the Chinese and Arab traders of the middle ages, and of the struggle of the English in modern times to control the ocean, are full of interest. Perhaps the chapters in this and other volumes, all of which have thus far been written by Dr. Weule, on the historical importance of the oceans are a characteristic mark of this work. Where else in a world's history is one apt to find such phrases as the geographical and historical axes of an ocean and a zone of its greatest historical density?

The English edition is not entirely free from mistranslations and misprints. To take only a few examples: *gongen* (incarnation) has been taken for a plural noun and translated as "gongs" (p. 11); *Reichsfürsten* and *Reichsunmittelbaren* are wrongly connected with the emperor, instead of with the feudal suzerain (pp. 33, 35, 36); and the last paragraph of section B on page 342, which is obscure enough in the German edition, is rendered in such a way that the translator himself could hardly have understood the meaning. The Chinese *mau* is made equivalent to 675.68 acres, instead of as many ares — a difference of forty to one (p. 63). The Area of Mongolia is stated to be 354,000 square kilometers, which should be 3,543,000 (p. 57). The German edition itself being careless of the transliteration of the Japanese *z* and *s*, and *j* and *y*, it is not strange that the translator has been often led astray. A useful sketch-map on p. 300 of the German is not reproduced in the English edition, although all the other excellent maps and plates have been admirably copied. Finally, following the general plan of the work, the volume lacks bibliographical data except the scanty references to a few authors scattered throughout the text.

K. ASAKAWA.

Buddhist India. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D. [The Story of the Nations.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1903. Pp. xv, 332.)

THE purpose of the book is the presentation in popular form of the life and history of India during the period of Buddhistic ascendancy. This presentation is professedly from the point of view of the Rajput, and not of the Brahman; accordingly it is based (the records of the Jains being accessible only in fragments) almost exclusively upon the Buddhistic literature. The Vedic *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and certain *Upaniṣads* are cited as testimony for pre-Buddhistic conditions; but, in accordance with a theory to be mentioned later, the testimony of the rest of the Vedic and of the classic literature is not considered admissible as contemporary evidence for the greater part of the period in question. Now the intimacy and accuracy of Professor Rhys Davids's knowledge of Buddhistic literature are universally recognized, and the unflinching interest with which one follows his exposition is the best testimony to the tact and skill with which he has applied this knowledge to the task of presenting to his readers a picture of this phase of Indian life. As a further merit of the presentation should be emphasized the fact that the liberal supply of references to the texts themselves make the work of value to the student, without detracting in the least from the general reader's enjoyment of its style and contents.

The book begins with a description of the systems of government in India at the time of the rise of Buddhism, the monarchies, the clans under a republican form of government, and the nations. The next three chapters are devoted to the social organization, the first and third being descriptions of life in the village and town respectively, while the second, on "Social Grades", argues against the existence at this period of a system of sharply-defined castes. Next, under the heading "Economic Conditions", is given a list of the various trades and avocations, an account of the system of traffic and coinage (with an appendix on the most ancient coins of India), an estimate of the wealth of the country, and a description of its trade-routes.

To the history of the introduction and development of writing two chapters are devoted. In the main, the author is in agreement with the results reached by Bühler, but ignores his perfectly sound argument (*Indische Palaeographie*, 18) that the oldest known form of the *Brāhmī* was an alphabet elaborated for the Sanskrit language by scholarly Brahmins. The following chapters deal with the development of the languages and literatures of India in general, and of the *Pāli* literature and of the *Jātaka* book in particular.

Very interesting is the section on religion, the first chapter of which describes, under the caption "Animism", the popular religious beliefs of pre-Buddhistic times, and contains a valuable collection of the allusions in the Buddhist literature to these beliefs. The practices condemned are evidently Atharvanic in character; many of them in fact are treated in

the *Atharva-Pariçīṣṭas*, while others crop out only in the later works on astrology. The next chapter is a brilliant though too unsympathetic account of the development of Brahmanism down to the time of Buddha. It is, I think, to be regretted that the author did not see fit to include at this point a sketch of Buddhism. The last section of the book is devoted to history in a narrower sense, and deals in three chapters with the great monarchs Chandragupta, Aśoka, and Kaniska.

The theory already alluded to, which tinges a great part of the book, is one which has appeared in various forms since Senart's article in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1886. Space does not admit of its full statement, still less of its discussion. Its basis is that the order of the appearance of the Middle Indian dialects and the classic Sanskrit in the inscriptions is the order of their origin. So the author (p. 139) considers it "clear why Pali books written in India, or books in a dialect allied to Pali, or in a mixture of such a dialect and forms taken from pure Sanskrit, are each of them older than the books written in classical Sanskrit"; and (p. 315) that it is not at all impossible that Aśvaghosa's *Buddha Carita* may be "the very earliest literary work written in regular Sanskrit for the use of the laity". Whether the phrase, "for the use of the laity", is meant to concede the earlier origin of the *Sūtra* literature it is impossible to determine; it would seem not, since in the table (pp. 153 ff.) no place is left for the *Sūtras* unless they are to be classed (inexactly) with classic Sanskrit, and on page 32 the author favors "the wholesale recasting of brahman literature in the Gupta period". It is of course but a corollary to this view that one may (p. 158) "happen, in reliance on the priestly books, to antedate, by about a thousand years, the victory of the priests".

Similar conclusions with regard to the date of the classic literature have recently been indicated by Franke as one of the possibilities following from the inscriptional data collected in his *Pāli und Sanskrit* (Strassburg, 1902). In spite of the independent concurrence of two so eminent Pāli scholars, it is, however, safe to predict that the views will not gain acceptance. The reasons are briefly: that there is sufficient direct evidence to the contrary; it forces the theory of too artificial an origin for Sanskrit, which was undoubtedly based on a spoken dialect; it is contradicted by the continuity of development of the language; and the facts of the inscriptions admit of another and simpler explanation.

Fortunately the value of the book does not depend upon one's acceptance of this theory. The author's plea for the necessity of a "just and proportionate use" of Buddhistic literature in dealing with the history and institutions of India will meet with no opposition, and even those who, like myself, believe that the author has gone too far towards the other extreme must be grateful to Professor Rhys Davids for this picture of India as the Buddhists saw it.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic. By SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1903. Pp. vi, 457.)

THOSE who, weary of the shallowness of tourists and impressionist writers on Japan, wish an intelligent opinion concerning her people will welcome this serious effort to appraise the Japanese character. For such a study as that attempted by Dr. Gulick, and indeed before any generalizing of philosophy, there should be, besides a critical knowledge of history, a thorough mastery of all known facts properly correlated. Something very like these qualifications Dr. Gulick possesses. Besides fair scholarship in his special theme, he has studied humanity in other islands of the Pacific, and he has lived long among the Japanese, knowing well their story, their mind and thought, as well as the daily play of their emotions—the latter no mean qualification for reading the real character of these secretive people. He knows well that the national records and traditions as popularly believed and as copied by alien writers are largely worthless, because, as he says (p. 41), the “early Japanese scholars idealized their ancient history, and assigned to the Emperor a place in ancient times which in all probability he has seldom held”. Dr. Gulick runs counter to the impressionist and subjective writers who in describing Japan have held the logical faculty in abeyance and have let fancy reign supreme; for, as the scholarly editor of *The Japan Mail* has well said, “The Japanese nation of Arnold and Hearn is not the nation we have known for a quarter of a century, but a purely ideal one manufactured out of the author's brain. It is high time that this was pointed out.” Dr. Gulick has pointed it out. He has killed the Cinderella theory of the rise of modern Japan, leaving to some other scholar to show in detail how the Dutchmen at Desima, for nearly two hundred years, were busy in purveying Occidental ideas, principles, and methods to Japan, and how since 1859 a mighty army of experts, teachers, and advisers from many countries “have taken off their coats” in teaching the Japanese how to do things. In a word, the men of New Japan, having been unable at first to cast out the foreigners by brute force, adopted their ideas and methods, making resort to intellectual force and with real success. The practice since then (1868) has not been so much to detain the foreigner as to learn of him and then to eliminate him, for the Japanese adopts only that he may adapt. He rejects about as much as he selects. He learns from many, only to choose in order to keep what he himself needs. Above everything else, it is to be “Japan for the Japanese”. Secretly the islander spurns even so much as comparison of Japan with the western nations, for, to the modern as to the ancient Japanese, Nippon was created first and stands on the top of the globe, other countries being created from what was left over. Against such conceit Dr. Gulick, while generous and optimistic, spares no sarcasm, and his Japanese readers will have soreness and sorrow in perusal of his book.

The Japanese believe and Dr. Gulick believes with them that the modern adaptation of Japan to her new environment is in no sense of the word a transformation, a miracle, or a fairy-tale, but is according to true evolution. At a certain period, when in clash with Occidental civilization as represented by southern Europe — governed by a king of kings who had a very businesslike vicar on earth — the chief ruler of Japan, to save the nation's independence, chose hermitage and isolation. This was governmentally a normal procedure, but not a popular desire. The Japanese from the dawning of history in the fifth century have always been eager for knowledge and have a genius for selection and appropriation. Following this theory in over thirty chapters and discussing in masterly style every phase of native character, Dr. Gulick shows that there is no sound reason for adhering to the convenient fiction of a "race soul", and that the Japanese, in the general stream of forces which once kept them in segregation but has now brought them into the world's congregation, have every probability of becoming socially and psychically, as they are now certainly with rapidity becoming as to physique, typical modern men. Whether Dr. Gulick holds the final philosophy as to evolution, or holds in every case consistently to its application, is not for the present critic to say, but as a profound study of the Japanese people this work is worthy of the highest praise.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

The Ancient Capital of Scotland: the Story of Perth from the Invasion of Agricola to the Passing of the Reform Bill. By SAMUEL COWAN, J. P. (New York: James Pott and Company. 1904. Two volumes, pp. xv, 408; vii, 392.)

MR. COWAN informs his readers that he has been for forty years identified with the social and political life of Perth and has long given his attention to the history of that ancient town. He confesses that he has with difficulty restricted himself to two volumes — they are bulky ones! — and submits to the judgment of the public the success of his undertaking. It is the business of the reviewer, meanwhile, to point out to the public what it may expect to find in these volumes and, further, to indicate whether or not the work has been well done and may be regarded as furnishing trustworthy information.

In the first volume Mr. Cowan treats in separate chapters of the foundation of Perth and the beginnings of Scottish Christianity and national life. Then follow two chapters devoted to the archæology and topography of the town, in which the author attempts to reconstruct its vanished monuments and former appearance. These are succeeded by six chapters dealing with the history of important local families and miscellaneous national events more or less connected with Perth. Two final chapters are devoted to an examination of the records of the town council in so far as they illustrate the daily life and relations of the community. In the second volume the Ruthven Raid, the affairs of the

local kirk, the Gowrie Conspiracy, and the general subject of witchcraft in Scotland are treated in five successive chapters. Then, and in the order named, we have chapters on Cromwell in Scotland, the Reformation at Perth, the Jacobite movements of 1715 and 1745, and the life of the community in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Irrespective of the fashion in which these subjects are treated, it will be seen from this survey of its contents that Mr. Cowan's work is not strictly the history of a municipality—it offers us historical memoirs of Perth rather than the history of the city itself. There is no continuity, no illustration of the growth and decay of institutions. The author's own words show his misunderstanding of the function of the local historian. "The history of the Ancient Capital", he says in his preface, "is in some respects a history of Scotland, as many of the events which appear on the record were all more or less national as well as local". Still, if the work had been well done, even on these lines it might have been of value. This, however, is not the case, and it is difficult to see, indeed, how the work could have been much worse done. The two volumes before us afford little more than a disorderly mass of trivial gossip and extracts from national history drawn from second-hand authorities.

This is a grave judgment to pass on a book which is manifestly the fruit of real enthusiasm and large if misdirected industry, but it can be only too well sustained. Consider first Mr. Cowan's method. He has a completely unscientific and irresponsible fashion of dealing with his material. Here are a few examples. In treating the origin of the Mercer family he writes:

The earliest mention is in the Register of the Privy Council, which says: "John Mercer is said to have gifted to Malcolm Canmore his three water mills at Perth (afterwards assigned to the town by Robert III.), in return for which the Mercers obtained right to a burial vault in St. John's Church". This seems a most important entry, and evidently quite authentic. Malcolm Canmore reigned from 1046 to 1102. (I, 264.)

Again, he is arguing against Hill Burton for the authenticity of Boece's story of the battle of Luncarty and the origin of the Hay family:

We must consider what evidence there is against the theory of the learned writer. The battlefield is to this day pointed out, and accumulations of human bones have been discovered there. If there were no battle where did these bones come from? And if the armorial bearings of the Earl of Errol are founded on a traditional battle, that would have been determined long ago by scientific inquiry. It therefore seems impossible to support the theory laid down by Dr. Hill Burton on arguments which do not touch on what is contained in that standard authority, the Douglas Peerage. (I, 201.)

Such is Mr. Cowan's notion of historical evidence and its uses. In a chapter devoted to the Gowrie conspiracy he tries to prove the guilt of the king, a thesis which he previously attempted to sustain in a not very fortunate book.¹ At the outset he remarks, "The Gowrie Conspiracy

¹ See *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII, 755-757.

was different from every other conspiracy, in respect that it was evidently a plot by a royal personage against a subject" (II, 66). It would not be easy to find a better example of the *petitio principii*. In detailing the events that took place at Gowrie House, he cites Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, with the comment, "this authority we consider quite conclusive" (II, 73 n.). Again, on p. 77 he says, "He [the king] was Gowrie's debtor for the sum of £80,000", but twenty pages below he admits, "we have not been able to verify the £80,000". In dealing with the battle of Tibbermore he observes, "It is said on good authority that Lord Drummond's treachery was the cause of Elcho's defeat", and cites in a foot-note Chambers's *Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (II, 140). Rarely does one encounter a writer more *addictus jurare verba magistri*, and although at the outset one was rather aghast to find Mr. Cowan accepting with tranquil faith the Roman origin of the municipality Perth, one sees on reaching the second volume that nothing else could have been expected.

Mr. Cowan has printed a number of documents, but as only one of those that are written in Latin is given in the original, their usefulness is much impaired, the more so as many of them are admittedly condensed and the wording of the translation does not inspire confidence. The historical value — they could not pretend to any other — of the illustrations of the town and its monuments may be gaged by this naïve remark:

The picture (enlarged) forms the frontispiece of this volume, and we have employed an artist to redraw and engrave the monastic buildings. These beautiful illustrations will arouse much interest, as we are not aware that they have ever before been put before the public. We do not guarantee absolute accuracy; our sole aim is to convey some idea of the general appearance of the edifices, their situation outside the walls, and styles of architecture. (I, 112.)

If we turn from the illustrations to the bibliography we meet with the same state of things. There is a list of thirty-five titles in which the *Exchequer Rolls*, Henry Adamson's *The Muses Threnodie*, and Skene's *Celtic Scotland* are on an equal footing, nor is there one of the indispensable bibliographical indications, such as date and place of publication, the edition made use of, and the like. One misses also the more recent works on Scottish history, such as the contributions of Professor Hume Brown, Mr. Lang, and Mr. Rait.

Mr. Cowan's style is eminently Scottish — at moments indeed it is not even English, as witness the following sentences: "The Romans founded various towns in Scotland at that period, although we have no historic record" (I, 18); "The descent of the water into the 'boot' through the ring forms a strong cascade, where, in former days, people having rheumatism and colds, by bathing here, were said to be cured" (I, 66). Other examples of this sort of thing, as well as the use of such barbarisms as "wrongous" occur in volume I, 19, 87; volume II, 33, 134, 149, 195, 245. There are misprints in volume I, 115, 246, 370; volume II, 64.

With all this censure, one must not omit to call attention to what there is of good in the book. The translated medieval documents have a certain indirect value. The spirited letters of Mrs. Smythe of Methven (I, ch. x), give a lively illustration of the disturbances occasioned by the Covenanters, and a striking picture of a courageous woman. The letters of the Earl of Mar in connection with the rising in 1715 (II, ch. XXI) are also of value. Some of the illustrations, too, are good, notably the reproductions of portraits and of coins and seals. Finally there is a full index, standing, perversely enough, at the end of the first volume.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

Modern History: Europe from Charlemagne to the Present Time.

By WILLIS MASON WEST. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1904. Pp. xii, 651.)

THIS text-book, written primarily for high-schools, is so constructed that it may be used in several kinds of courses. Though entitled a "Modern History", it really takes up the story of Europe in 800 A. D., where it was left by the author's well-known *Ancient History*; it is thus admirably fitted for use in the second year in those schools which are able to adopt the full four-year course recommended by the Committee of Seven. But inasmuch as many schools find it impossible to devote a whole year to Europe and another to England, Mr. West has woven in, here and there, the essentials of English history. And finally one feature in which it differs most markedly from the books of Robinson, Myers, Munro and Whitcomb, and Adams is the exceptionally full treatment given to the most recent history — as much space to the last hundred years as to the preceding thousand. This makes the book more satisfactory for schools which believe that "the high school course in history ought to put the student in touch with present movements in politics and society" (p. iv). It makes possible, for instance, an excellent account, well illustrated with maps, of the expansion of Europe into Asia and Africa. But perhaps all will not agree with Mr. West that "we can well afford to treat with brevity the more ephemeral phases of the Middle Ages, however quaint, if thereby can adequate space be won for the marvelous nineteenth century". Is there not danger of destroying the sense of proportion and of crowding unduly some of the great movements of the past? The German Reformation, for instance, is dismissed with a scant five pages, and there is no mention of Zwingli. Be it said, however, that the work of condensation, always difficult, has been done with unusual success by Mr. West. On every page one is surprised at the amount of information crowded in, while the relative importance of subjects is sharply indicated by the elaborate variations in type and the detailed analysis with numbers and letters. There are nearly forty maps, including not merely the obvious and ordinary ones, but many which visualize at a glance complicated or unsuspected relations; such, for instance, are the sketch-maps showing the Norse kingdom of Canute the

Great (p. 20), German expansion and colonization eastward, 800-1400 (p. 71), and the races of Austria-Hungary (p. 500). At the head of each chapter are two or three "theme sentences", or suggestive quotations, the truth of which the pupil will realize as he reads and ponders the chapter. Another good feature is the report topics suggested for collateral reading or essays; they are usually upon interesting subjects which text-books often incorporate, but which Mr. West has excluded in order to have more room for solid facts. There are also helpful suggestions to teachers for drill-work and reviews, and a good bibliography, though the names of some of the authors are misspelled.

With a good teacher, and an earnest, rather advanced pupil this is one of the best text-books that can be used. There is more in it and more can be gotten from it than is the case with the other books which cover the same field. But that it will interest the average pupil we are not certain; there is perhaps too much cut and dried classification, too much emphasis on political rather than social history, and too little to touch the imagination or to stimulate the pupil's independent thinking and reasoning concerning cause and effect. A hero is characterized by a few adjectives rather than by even a brief account of one of his deeds. To make the book completely successful, much illustrative and explanatory matter must be supplied by the teacher, for there are many pithy statements, which, standing alone as they do, are only half-truths, and liable to mislead a pupil. The minor errors, perhaps inevitable in the first edition of a text-book covering so wide a field, are easily corrected.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Études sur le Règne de Hugues Capet et la Fin du X^e Siècle. Par FERDINAND LOT. [Fascicule 147 de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.] (Paris: Émile Bouillon. 1903. Pp. xl, 525.)

Fidèles ou Vassaux. Par FERDINAND LOT. (Paris: Émile Bouillon. 1904. Pp. xxxiv, 287.)

THE series of studies on the transition period in French history from the Carolingian to the Capetian house, planned by the late M. Arthur Giry and undertaken by his pupils in the École des Hautes Études, has received its latest and perhaps its last addition in the first of the above-named volumes. M. Lot is well known as the author of the earliest of the series, *Les Derniers Carolingiens* (1891), and also as the successor of M. Giry in his work of instruction in the École des Hautes Études. The present volume does not pretend to be a systematic history of the reign, or a biography of Hugh Capet, but it is, as its title declares, a series of studies on the period. There is a sketch of the events of the reign divided into two parts at the year 991, and there are especially detailed studies of the two important relations of the new royal power: to the papacy and the church, and to the great feudal barons.

Under the first of these, of particular interest is a sketch of the growth of an actual papal administrative and judicial power over the Gallican church. M. Lot shows how little of this there really was before the middle of the ninth century, and how rapidly it was developed after that date, beginning with the papacy of Nicholas I. This includes a study of the coming into use of the False Decretals and of the attitude toward them of Gerbert, who argued against some of their conclusions but did not question their authenticity. M. Lot shows once more the value to the crown in this period of the support of the church, and brings out more clearly than has been done before the much larger number of bishoprics and abbasies directly dependent on the king than on any of the great barons. In this particular the relative strength of the crown was far greater than in territory or in military resources. Incidentally the volume treats in some detail of the history of Gerbert, of whose letters — one of the chief sources of our knowledge of the age — M. Lot is preparing a new edition.

Under the head of relation to the great baronies, the author studies at some length each of these latter in this particular with many interesting details, but reaches no other conclusion than the great practical weakness of the crown. In both books he strongly asserts his belief that the "Duchy of France" was not a definite territory, but a regency of the kingdom. The elements of a reconstruction of the royal power are found in the ideas of the monarchy kept alive in the feudal relationship, in those held and taught by the church, and in the ideas of nationality and unity expressed in some of the oral literature of the time and so brought into popular consciousness. One-half the volume is devoted to appendixes on special points of chronology, of political history, on the surname Capet, etc. Of particular interest is one on the home, date, and author of the False Decretals, in which M. Lot decides in favor of Reims, shortly after 853, and on Vulfadus as the probable author, conclusions also reached by Lurz in his *Heimat Pseudo-Isidor's*, published in 1898, but not before M. Lot's conclusions had been reached. Another very useful appendix gives a table of all the abbeys presumably in existence at the end of the tenth century, with place, name of the patron, and references to the sources.

In the second volume here reviewed M. Lot discusses an important point of institutional history of the same general period: were the great barons bound to the crown by a tie of vassalage, or by a looser and lighter bond of fealty only, which would give their practically independent sovereignties something more nearly a legal foundation? Luchaire and Glasson have inclined to the latter view, and it has been strongly advocated by Flach in the third volume of his *Origines*, reviewed in the July number of this REVIEW. Against this theory M. Lot argues vigorously, and in my opinion with entire success. He takes up one after another the baronies of the six lay peers of the thirteenth century, and studies in full detail their relations to the crown in this particular during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. From a point soon after the begin-

ning of the twelfth century there ceases to be any question of the nature of the relationship, and the argument for that age is clearly demonstrative. For the two earlier centuries the evidence is rather of a probable character, and what M. Lot calls the *a priori* argument is of more importance than he seems inclined to admit. Some parts of this could have been developed more at length with advantage, as for example the consideration that there is no point between the beginning of the tenth century and the middle of the thirteenth when it would have been possible for a weak Capetian king to have transformed the supposed loose tie of mere fealty into liege homage, and that any attempt to do it would have left indelible traces in the records of the age. Much depends on the argument to show that during this age fealty and vassalage were practically identical, or, as M. Lot expresses it, that fealty was not conceived of as a weaker bond than vassalage. This also could with profit have been given in greater detail. The argument is, however, convincing and conclusive as it stands. Although the book was written before the appearance of M. Flach's third volume, it is a valuable corrective of the peculiar teachings of that work.

GEORGE B. ADAMS.

Chronicon Adæ de Usk, A. D. 1377-1421. Edited with a translation and notes by SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B. Second edition. (London: Royal Society of Literature; New York: Henry Frowde. 1904. Pp. xxxviii, 346.)

THE present work is an amplification of a previous edition (1876) by the same editor, which closed with 1404. The discovery of the missing part, in a manuscript of the Duke of Rutland's collection at Belvoir Castle, is one of the many services of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and its identification is due to Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte. The new edition entirely replaces the old. It has more complete notes and a better and more extensive preface, and is, on the whole, a scholarly production.

Adam of Usk's *Chronicle* is important as a personal record of events in which the author, who was a prominent figure in his day, participated, rather than as a historical record of the times. Born at Usk in Monmouthshire about 1352, he attained a high record at Oxford. He took the degree of doctor of laws, was *extraordinarius* in canon law, and held a chair in civil law until 1392. From then until 1399 he practised in the episcopal courts of Canterbury, under patronage of Archbishop Arundel, as whose follower he joined Henry of Lancaster at Bristol in his successful attempt on the throne. Adam's mediation saved his native town from pillage, and his friend, the Lord of Powis, from the wrath of Henry. He was one of the commission of bishops, lords, and doctors appointed to draw up the charges upon which Richard II was deposed. Consequently, his chronicle abounds in interesting events of these years, beginning with the Parliament of 1397, at which he was present. His

confirmation of two of the most charming anecdotes of Richard's deposition renders them worthy of credence. He was one of the few present at the lonely meal in which the king wept over his fickle and contentious realm, and he gives us a version of the story of Richard's greyhound more remarkable than the one generally known from Froissart.

Mention should here be made of an event in Adam's career of great psychological interest and characteristically medieval. It had not been hitherto known why, in February, 1402, he departed suddenly for Rome; but from a patent-roll of 4 Henry IV, Mr. Wylie has given us the real reason. On November 2, 1400, the erudite doctor of laws, accompanied by two retainers, one of them a near relative, took to the road near Westminster, and robbed a certain Walter Jakes of a black horse, with saddle and bridle, valued at one hundred shillings, and also of fourteen marks in cash; this notwithstanding the fact that he was the holder of important benefices, perhaps in line for a bishopric, and stood in high favor with the king, who submitted important legal questions to him (pp. 48-54). His chronicle reveals the soul of a genuinely pious although superstitious man, whose actions seem generous and disinterested.

At Rome he was favorably received and was speedily appointed to the important post of chaplain and auditor to Boniface IX, maintaining the same position after the accession of his friend Innocent VII. Important English and Welsh benefices were conferred upon him, and he was even intended for the bishoprics of Hereford and St. David's, the appointment being in each case prevented by the allegations of his enemies and by Henry IV's opposition. His description of papal customs and contemporary events at Rome forms an important part of the *Chronicle*. But disgusted with his misfortunes consequent upon the expulsion of Innocent VII from Rome in 1405, Adam resolved to return to England. For two years he waited in vain for the king's pardon, whilst engaged in legal practice in northern France and in Flanders. About the end of 1408 he crossed over to Wales and swore allegiance to Owen Glendower, through whom he reached his friend Lord Powis. He was finally pardoned in 1411, and died, in prosperous circumstances, in 1430. To his association with Glendower and also to Adam's own nationality we owe his valuable description of the protracted struggle of the Welsh for independence.

GEORGE KRIEHN.

L'Organisation du Travail à Bruxelles au XV^e Siècle. Par G. DES MAREZ. [Extrait du Tome LXV des *Mémoires Couronnés et autres Mémoires* publiés par l'Académie Royale de Belgique.] (Brussels: Henri Lamertin. 1904. Pp. xii, 520.)

DES MAREZ, a pupil of Pirenne, has been for some years favorably known for his work in Belgian economic history. His *Étude sur la Propriété Foncière dans les Villes du Moyen-Âge*, which in 1898 first brought him into notice, though in title and manner rather too pretentious, contained valuable material for the history of property and institutions in

some of the Flemish towns. A number of lesser monographs, among which *La Lettre de Foire à Ypres au XIII^e Siècle* (Brussels, 1901) is the most notable, have since attested his activity in this field. The book now under review, written in response to a problem set by the Royal Academy of Belgium, announces itself as a part of the larger enterprise to which the author has devoted himself, the history of commerce and industry in Belgium from the beginnings of town civilization to the end of the *ancien régime*. It is a fortunate balance to this ambitious program that its projector so fully realizes the necessity for careful preliminary exploration of the abundant unpublished material. A diligent use of the Brussels archives has furnished a solid basis for the present volume, and this "vaste et minutieuse enquête", as Des Marez himself describes it, has yielded in his hands no mere compilation of excerpts from the town and gild records, but a competent study of gild organization and activity in Brussels during a most interesting period. It is a sound and useful book, adding new details and illustrating afresh familiar aspects of handicraft regulation and gild history. The author asks, indeed, few new questions of his sources, he propounds no novel theories, no striking solution of old difficulties, but is content for the most part, well-read as he is, to accept questions, theories, and criticisms of theories from recent German work on medieval town history. But of brilliant hypotheses we have perhaps had enough of late; it is sufficient praise for the builder to say of this stone in his promised edifice that it is well-quarried and fair-hewn; no one can find fault with a building-stone for being somewhat heavy.

The craft-gilds of the towns of Brabant, checked in their growth by the tardy economic development of this region and hampered, at least in Brussels and Antwerp, by the combined opposition of the old patrician drapers' gild and the aristocratic magistracy, were almost a century behind the Flemish towns in gaining official recognition and formal incorporation — and this only after repeated revolts. With the exception of the goldsmiths, the crafts did not begin to constitute themselves under official sanction until 1365, and it was not until 1421 that, seizing a propitious political conjuncture, they finally established themselves in power, not, however, as in Flanders, entirely displacing the patrician element, but sharing with it the town government under a constitution, jealously guarded by checks and balances, which endured to the French Revolution. This triumph of 1421 seems to have marked the acme of gild-life, soon followed by the signs of gradual decline. The political order, thus firmly founded on a craft-gild basis, tended to perpetuate the handicraft organization long after its vitality had been sapped and its unaided strength had become unequal to the contest with new economic and social forces. But similarity of economic ideas and conditions, the common instinct of self-preservation, produced under varying political situations very similar results. Here, as elsewhere, in an environment constantly less favorable as the town economy gave way before the national economy, in face of a relatively declining local industry and trade and

of an increasing financial burden, the crafts, bent on the maintenance of their existence and ideals, were forced to harden their protective armor. And so there was organized that whole structure of gild and town regulation which sought by the exclusion or limitation of competition to secure equal and permanent subsistence conditions for the handicraftsmen of the gilds. Practically all the articulations of this carapace may be studied in Brussels craft-gild history. The growing exclusiveness in apprenticeship and mastership regulations, until in one instance, that of the butchers, the craft became ultimately a hereditary caste, the *Zunftzwang*, which here stood at the middle rather than at the initial stage of gild development, the minute control of production and sale, of wages and prices, all this apparatus of protection and restriction is described in sober detail by Des Marez — from the civic solemnities which attended the preparation of the standard loaf of bread, the *pain-type*, to the petty and acrimonious disputes on the delimitation of work as between rival crafts. Many of these minutiae merely elaborate well-known features of gild development, but there emerge some points worthy of note, such, for instance, as the discussion of the patrician drapers' gild-jurisdiction as compared with that of the craft-gilds and the relation of both to the *échevinage*. The sections dealing with the military obligations of the craftsmen and with the charitable brotherhoods associated with the gilds, which undertook to provide relief in case of accident, sickness, and old age, possess a value enhanced by the fact that these sides of town life have ordinarily been too much neglected. On some other topics of general interest Des Marez's material throws little light. He follows the fashion in criticizing Bücher's "wage-work" and "price-work" as historical categories and he attempts a not altogether convincing correction of von Below's thesis of the non-existence of an exclusively wholesale merchant class in medieval society. The term "great merchant", as Des Marez remarks, must be relative to the stage of commercial progress, and in the sense in which it is used by Bücher may be admissible, but inconclusive instances from so late a date as the end of the fifteenth century are hardly sufficient to invalidate von Below's special contention.

EDWIN F. GAY.

A Critical Study of the Various Dates assigned to the Birth of Christopher Columbus. The Real Date 1451. With a Bibliography of the Question. By HENRY VIGNAUD. (London: Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles. 1903. Pp. xii, 121.)

HARDLY any subject relating to Columbus has proved more baffling to investigators than the determination of the date of his birth. That a man who wrote so much as did Columbus should not once have given his own age among the many autobiographical passages in his writings is strange; that the statements he did make which bear on his age cannot possibly be harmonized seems at first even more perplexing. These little oversights on the part of the admiral have been so prolific in labors for

inquiring posterity that one is tempted to suspect that he had it in mind to mystify impertinent curiosity.

Of late years there has been an increasing tendency to accept 1446-1447 as the real date. The basis on which this conclusion rests are: the fact that on March 20, 1472, Columbus witnessed a will, to do which it is assumed that he must have reached the full majority of twenty-five years of age; and the fact that on May 25, 1471, he bound himself by a contract with the consent of his parents, which implies that he had not then reached his majority. These conclusions Mr. Vignaud contests by showing that it was not necessary for a witness to have reached his full majority and that sometimes the parent's consent to a son's contract was necessary even after the son was twenty-five.

Mr. Vignaud then discusses the laws of Genoa relating to the subordinate or qualified majorities at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen years, besides the full majority of twenty-five. The next step in the argument is supplied by a document discovered by Staglieno in 1887. It reads: "Christofforus de Colombo filius Dominici, major annis decemnovem et in presentia, auctoritate, concilio et consensu dicti Dominici ejus patris", etc. ("Christopher Columbus upwards of nineteen years of age", etc.). This has usually been interpreted to mean over nineteen and under twenty-five, but Mr. Richard Davey, a well-known English journalist, suggested in 1892 that it meant just what it said, "over nineteen years of age", and that it was equivalent in ordinary usage to saying "nineteen years old", or that he had passed his nineteenth birthday. Professor Gonzalez de la Rosa supported this view in 1900, and it is now taken up by Mr. Vignaud, who makes the strong point that as no law of Genoa has been found prescribing the attainment of nineteen years as a legal qualification for any acts, and as the various legal ages were sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty-five, there is no occasion for or meaning in recording that a party to a contract was over nineteen unless it was to state his age. Otherwise it would be said that he had passed the majority of eighteen, or that he was less than twenty-five years, "Minor viginti quinque annis". As nineteen was not one of these specified ages conferring a partial majority, "major annis decemnovem" means simply nineteen years old. Had Columbus been twenty or twenty-one it would have read "major viginti annis", etc. On p. 89 Mr. Vignaud quotes from Desimoni a similar expression, *e. g.*, "major annorum XXII", when the interpretation seems to be the same, that at the last birthday the age was twenty-two.

It seems to me that Mr. Vignaud has made out a strong case and that the evidence is at least quite as good for 1451 as for 1446 and much less intricate and uncertain. As is well known, Columbus's early life is still shrouded in a haze which it is difficult to penetrate further than to show that it was not what Las Casas and Ferdinand have given us. That as late as March 20, 1472, he was officially recorded as "lanerius de Jauna", "woolen worker of Genoa", argues, it seems to me, for as late a date of birth as is consistent with other data. Such a description,

while not excluding his having begun to follow the sea, would hardly be used if he were already an expert seaman. Again, that one who began a seafaring life much after twenty should have become so accomplished a navigator seems improbable. The main misgiving that one feels about Mr. Vignaud's argument is in supposing that an expert Italian lawyer like Desimoni is mistaken in his interpretation of Genoese usage in regard to such matters as the deductions to be made from the notarial documents, for although Mr. Vignaud cites one statement of Desimoni's in favor of his view, Desimoni's own conclusions are quite positively in favor of 1446-1447. One feels, too, that the interpretation of "major annis decemnovem" as asserting that Columbus had completed his nineteenth year, while natural and probable, is not certain. In the mass of notarial documents collected by Staglieno there are very few statements of the age of the parties, and when the age is stated the following form is used more than once: "etatis annorum. XI. in circa" (*Raccolta Colombiano*, Part II, vol. I, 83).

Mr. Vignaud has supplied all the data for an independent judgment on the part of the student, reprinting extracts from the Genoese statutes as to legal ages, all the notarial documents bearing on the question which Columbus signed, all the arguments given for the series of supposable birth-dates from 1430 to 1458, a list of the authorities supporting these dates respectively arranged under years, and a general bibliography of the sources as well. Whatever may finally be the conclusion of critics on Mr. Vignaud's contention, he has placed students under great obligations by thus collecting the requisite data to enable one to see almost at a glance how the case stands with each of the rival dates, which outnumber the cities which competed for the honor of Homer's birth. Under 1451 Ruge is wrongly cited as favoring that date in his *Columbus*. He comes out positively for 1446-1447 on page 24 of that work. The publishers have clothed this monograph in a most attractive form.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

The Oldest Map with the Name America of the Year 1507 and the Carta Marina of the Year 1516 by M. Waldseemüller (Ilacornilus).

Edited by JOSEPH FISCHER and FR. R. VON WIESER. (London: Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles. 1903. Pp. 55, and 27 plates.)

DURING the last twenty-five years a large number of valuable maps, the work of early sixteenth-century cartographers, have been brought to light, notably the Cantino, the Canerio; the Hamy, and the Waldseemüller world-maps of 1507 and 1516. Among these, the two last-named, which are also the last discovered, hold a most important place. It perhaps would not be difficult to demonstrate that they hold first place in the influence exerted.

Such materials for studying early cartography are of course none too frequent, for, as Kohl well says, "With no class of historical documents has time been more destructive". Very nearly all of the charts drawn

by pilots, captains, and professional draftsmen who accompanied early expeditions to the New World and sketched its coasts *de visu* have disappeared, and the maps which have come down to us are compilations into which many of the sketches of more or less limited regions have entered. And yet in the increasing interest in cartographical studies, stimulated by these important finds of early and elaborately executed work, there perhaps may lie the assurance that at no distant day many of the lost originals may be recovered.

Whatever the fame enjoyed by Waldseemüller in his day as cartographer and student of geography, he seems chiefly to have been remembered in later years as one of Duke René's literary coterie, as the author of a little work which he called *Cosmographia Introductio*, and as co-editor of the 1513 Strasburg edition of Ptolemy, to which work he added some new maps. Since Humboldt's discovery of near seventy years ago, his fame has rested very largely, at least in the popular mind, upon the fact, then made known, that he was the first to propose the name America for a part of the newly-discovered regions in the west. That Waldseemüller had drawn and published a large world-map as early as 1507 appeared certain from the references in his little book and from allusions in letters written by himself and by his friends. From these references, however, only a very imperfect conception could be formed of the character of the map. With the finding of this long-lost map in the summer of 1901 he comes anew before the world as a cartographer of great distinction, indeed as a workman whose labors were epoch-making.

While searching the archives of Wolfegg Castle in Württemberg for cartographical material which might be of value to him in his studies of the Norse discoveries in the New World, Professor Joseph Fischer, S. J., of Stella Matutina College, Feldkirch, Austria, had the good fortune to discover an ancient folio bearing the book-plate of Johann Schöner, a cartographer and mathematician of distinction, a contemporary and acquaintance of Waldseemüller. This folio enclosed within its covers some fragments of the work of Schöner, a star-map drawn by Albrecht Dürer, and two large world-maps by Waldseemüller each consisting of twelve sheets printed from engraved blocks. It is very evident that these were intended as wall-maps, each measuring with its parts properly joined about eight feet by four. Very shortly after the discovery had been made, Professor Fischer took the steps necessary for their reproduction. To this end every courtesy was offered by Fürst Franz von Waldburg-Wolfegg, the possessor of the documents, and with the financial support of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna and the assistance of the distinguished professor of geography Fr. R. von Wieser this volume of excellent facsimiles made its appearance a few months since. The English translator, the Rev. George Pickel, S. J., of Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y., is at times amusingly literal in his part of the work. While it is to be regretted that the editors have presented so brief a critical study of the maps (about fifty-five pages, double columns, German and English),

in full justice to the work there can be found little reason for adverse criticism but much to praise, particularly so when it is recalled that those interested have waited but a comparatively short time before having access to the maps.

Conjectures have been many as to the real character of the map which the *Cosmographiæ* was designed to accompany. Waldseemüller referred to it as a large map on which had been designated the different realms by means of escutcheons, particular reference being made to the imperial eagle of the Empire, the papal keys in various parts of Europe, the Mohammedan crescent in Africa and in parts of Asia, the cross of Prester John in India, the coat of arms representing the regions belonging to the kings of Spain and Portugal, and the small crosses to indicate the location of shoals. Now that we have the map before us, it can be considered as nothing less than a remarkable piece of work, whatever the point of view, when one takes into consideration the time and place of its preparation. It is not dated, neither does it bear the name of Waldseemüller, but it answers completely the author's brief description. Many of its legends accord with those given in the *Cosmographiæ*. It is clearly the original used by Glareanus in the preparation of his maps, discovered about ten years ago; indeed that cartographer states that he had reproduced the work of Waldseemüller. As could be expected, the name America is given to a part of the newly-discovered regions in the west, but is clearly not intended to be applied to the whole as is so often but erroneously stated or implied by writers who treat our early history. Lastly, in the map of 1516 there is an explicit reference to the work of 1507, in which it is stated that it had been printed in 1,000 copies. None have ventured to doubt that we now have the long-lost map, the map *in plano* to which he referred in his expression "*Universalis Cosmographiæ descriptio tam in solido quam plano*". There is also here new evidence in this map that the Hauslav-Liechtenstein gore map is a copy of Waldseemüller's map *in solido*, although the doubt is not yet entirely removed as to whether Waldseemüller meant a globe by that Latin term.

The projection of the 1507 map is that of Ptolemy, but the modification is marked. The small inset maps at the top, an original idea with him, are the oldest known maps in which the earth's surface has been divided into two hemispheres. These are nothing less than the originals of the rough woodcuts by Stobnicza, to which considerable importance has hitherto been attached. His portraits of Ptolemy and Vespucci, drawn to the right and the left of the hemispheres the old and the new world respectively, are of course mere sketches of fancy. Waldseemüller exhibits what appears as an interesting inconsistency in his opinion respecting the contour of the New World. In his inset maps he indicates a Central-American isthmus, while in the large map he shows a strait between the land to the north and that to the south. The presentation in the large map may be but the expression of a belief in the insular character of the newly-discovered regions. That he was strongly influenced in his cartographical notions by Ptolemy for the regions professedly

known by that ancient geographer is very evident, notably for the regions in the far east, but new sources necessarily served him for the lands beyond the world of Ptolemy, and the evidence that his sources here were largely Portuguese is none the less certain. He shows clearly in this map that he believed the new discoveries in the west were no part of Asia, a belief more generally entertained at that early date than many of the recent historians of the period would have us believe.

There are many respects in which the marine map of 1516 is a more interesting piece of work than is the world-map of 1507. That it exerted a marked influence on the cartography of the century, though perhaps not so marked as the earlier one, is now certain. The brief mention by Ortelius in his catalogue of 1570 of a marine map by Waldseemüller, without date and published in Germany, contains about the only information we had of this before Professor Fischer's discovery. The style and excellence of the draftmanship which the *Carta Marina* exhibits suggest the thought that Albrecht Dürer, or a prominent member of his school, here rendered cartographical science a service. It is not drawn on the Ptolemaic projection, but on a rectangular network of degrees, and is distinctly marked as a marine chart by intersecting rhumb-lines issuing from compass-cards with thirty-two divisions. Twice the name of Waldseemüller appears on the chart, and among others there is the interesting but not altogether definite legend "*Consumatum est in oppido S. Deodati compositione et digestionem Martini Waldseemuller Ilacomili*". A dedication on one of the sheets to Hugo de Hassard, bishop of Toul, honors that patron of the Vosgian Gymnasium.

Although this has been referred to as a world-map, Waldseemüller has omitted more than one hundred degrees of longitude. The northern region of the New World is designated as *Terra de Cuba Asiæ Partis*, but he leaves us wholly in doubt as to his belief respecting the manner in which *Terra de Cuba* is joined with the continent of Asia. The name *Prisilia sive Terra Papagalli* now takes the place of America, a change prompted by a sense of justice to Columbus, it would seem from the legend: "*Hec [regio] per Hispanos et Portugalenses frequentatis navigationibus inventa circa annos Domini 1492: quorum capitanei fuere Cristoforus Columbus Januensis Primus, Petrus Aliares secundus, Albericus Vesputius tertius*", a legend which also appears on the Schöner globe of 1520. The details of this map show a decided advance in knowledge since the issue of the map of 1507, and indicate that the author had been guided less by Ptolemy and more by the modern maps.

He often refers in his *Cosmographiæ* to the sources he consulted in the preparation of his map of 1507. Clearly Ptolemy held first place among these sources, yet Marco Polo also served him for the east, Donnus Nicolaus Germanus for the Scandinavian regions, Portuguese maps and reports for the African coasts and for the New World, particularly maps of the Behaim, the Martellus, the Hamy, and especially the Canerio types. In a personal letter from Professor Fischer he expresses the belief that he has found but recently some of Waldseemüller's map

sources, hitherto unknown, for certain sections of eastern Africa and Asia. All these sources with a number of others enter into his work.

As for the *Carta Marina*, the editors can hardly be accused of overstatement in referring to it as "a printed edition of the Canerio chart, not indeed a slavish reprint; but an improved and . . . enlarged edition". In nomenclature, in legends, in coast contours the resemblance is striking. A large number of his sources for this map are expressly enumerated in a legend which is conspicuously given. That the Portuguese cartography of the new discoveries should have exerted so remarkable an influence on the geographers of central Europe, particularly the German, is an interesting fact. It is not to be explained by merely attributing a more liberal spirit to the Portuguese than to the Spanish governments respecting the spread of information concerning the new lands discovered. There is suggested, by the fact of that great influence, a lively intercourse, commercial and otherwise, between Germany and Portugal in those years, and the nature of that intercourse is a subject worthy of more careful study.

One can no longer doubt with Nordenskiöld the marked ability and influence of Waldseemüller. Clearly his maps of 1507 and 1516 are his best work, yet his map of Europe bearing the date 1511, but recently found, and his contributions to the Strasburg edition of Ptolemy entitle him to a place of first rank. We now know very much of the extent of his influence on his contemporaries and his successors of the century, and the list of those who copied him more or less slavishly is a long one. In the amount of positive information that these maps give concerning the status of geographical knowledge in the early years of the sixteenth century may be found no small part of their historical value. An astonishingly large part of the literature of early American cartography needs careful revision since the issue of this volume of facsimiles.

E. L. STEVENSON.

The Opening of the Mississippi: a Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior. By FREDERICK AUSTIN OGG, Instructor in History in Indiana University. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Co. 1904. Pp. xi, 670.)

THIS book is itself a monograph showing the efforts of four nations through three centuries to discover and settle, develop, and control the Mississippi valley. The narrative begins with the first visits of the Spaniards to the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico and concludes with the admission of the state of Louisiana into the Union with boundaries that embraced a portion of that vague province, "West Florida". The place of the book in a classified bibliography is between the general works such as Wilson's or McMaster's (for the period which McMaster and Ogg have in common) on the one hand, and, on the other, the monographs of Parkman, Thwaites, and Winsor on the French discoverers, Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Hosmer's *History of the Louisiana Purchase*, or

Adams's *History of the United States*. It is fuller and more connected than the first class, uninterrupted by excursions into other fields. It is less detailed and exhaustive than the other class. How could it be otherwise within the limits of six hundred and fifty-odd pages of text?

The style is that of the simple, straightforward narrative. It flows almost as smoothly over matters involving disputed fact and interpretation as over the well-accepted views. The author states the best approved opinion, generally relegating controversy to the foot-notes, where the opposing views are briefly stated with references.

The author makes no pretension to having had access to new and unused material or to having discovered a new and improved interpretation of the old material. Foot-notes refer by author and page to the source materials and the secondary authorities with equal copiousness. The reason for the book's existence is that the subject, as conceived by the author, is sufficiently definite and important and interesting to demand treatment as a whole, yet has not hitherto been treated as a whole though many writers have treated one or more phases of it. Here the results of their efforts are put together and unified, the gaps filled up, and the discrepancies harmonized according to the author's best light and judgment. It might be described as a history compiled from the extensive mass of monographs, studies, and papers bearing on the subject, carefully revised and compared with the original sources.

Take the treatment of La Salle as an instance. Chapter iv, "La Salle and the Opening of the Great West", fifty-three pages, is preceded by a chapter of thirty-six pages on "The Search of the French for the Mississippi", and it is followed by a chapter of equal length on "The Exploration of the Upper Mississippi". This is the position and the proportion of space allotted to the famous explorer. Compare with this the mass of "source material" cited in foot-notes and here sufficiently indicated by the names of French, Thwaites, Margry, Shea, not to add more; and the secondary material of Parkman, Winsor, Monette, and many lesser contributors. The reader who came to the book to find an exhaustive and critical study of La Salle would be disappointed. What the author intended, and what we find, is not a study of his career under the microscope—in minute detail, but rather with the field-glass, in distant perspective. So with any other chapter. "The Louisiana Purchase" is the eleventh of the fourteen chapters and occupies forty-four pages. Yet there are on almost every page exact references to twenty-two different authorities in the aggregate, such as the *American State Papers*, *The Writings of Jefferson*, *The Annals of Congress*, or Adams's *History of the United States* (which devotes eleven chapters to this subject), and Hosmer's *History of the Louisiana Purchase*.

Finally, it is a book to inform and entertain the reader and to stimulate in him an interest in the sources and more elaborate studies. What it purports to do it does, not faultlessly, but commendably; and no reader who considers both the scope of the title and the size of the book need be disappointed in its contents.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

A History of Louisiana. By ALCÉE FORTIER, Litt. D., Professor in Tulane University of Louisiana, President of the Louisiana Historical Society. In four volumes: I. Early Explorers and the Domination of the French, 1512-1768. II. The Spanish Domination and the Cession to the United States, 1769-1803. III. The American Domination (part I), 1803-1861. IV. The American Domination (part II), 1861-1903. (Paris and New York: Manzi, Joyant, and Company. 1904. Pp. xix, 268; xiv, 342; xiii, 272; xiii, 299.)

WITH the possible exception of Texas, Louisiana, with her changing boundaries, has had, in some respects, the most romantic and varied history of any American state. These four handsome volumes contain, in a sense, the story of a region rather than of a commonwealth. Picturesque Spanish explorers were in the country which La Salle afterward styled "Louisiane", as early as 1519, when Alvarez de Pineda is thought by many historians to have discovered the Mississippi — by others, the Mobile. There is no evidence that Jolliet and Marquette had any knowledge of Spanish predecessors on the Mississippi; theirs was as much a discovery as was that of Columbus, who had been preceded upon our continent nearly five centuries by Norwegian vikings from Iceland. Dr. Fortier concedes La Salle's discovery of the Ohio in 1671, but discredits the oft-repeated story of his entering the Mississippi prior to Jolliet and Marquette. La Salle's ill-fated career is but briefly treated in the work before us, the history of Louisiana proper being considered as commencing with the enduring settlement of Iberville, Bienville, and Sauvole at Biloxi (1699). These three sons of Charles le Moyne firmly planted the new colony, and may well be regarded as the fathers of Louisiana. Iberville and Sauvole soon passing away, Bienville remained until 1743 as the principal historical figure. Others occasionally occupied the post of governor; but Bienville, as devoted and disinterested as Champlain, was throughout this long period the chief actor, and powerfully and beneficently influenced the colony. During his long supremacy the wide-stretching region of Louisiana was the scene of many fruitful and stirring events. His successor, Marquis de Vaudreuil — "le grand marquis" — was much of the time engaged in disputes with his colleagues; nevertheless considerable progress was made under his administration, best of all being the introduction of the sugar-cane (1751), "one of the greatest benefits ever rendered Louisiana". Two years later he was succeeded by Kerlérec, whom our author does not think dishonest, although his contemporaries, with whom this choleric person frequently quarreled, stoutly declared that he "had not come to the colony for a change of air". New Orleans and its neighboring settlements, although far from the seat of decisive military operations, were indirectly much affected by the French and Indian War. The neighboring tribes were in a constant state of ferment, and could only be kept

from laying their hands on the whites by continual showers of presents and by the fostering of tribal jealousies, which latter duty Kerlérec appears to have performed with some skill ; while threatened English attacks frequently racked the nerves of the colonists.

The loss of Canada induced Louis XV, to whom Louisiana had been a considerable expense, to dispose of the latter province to Spain by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762. Louisianians were much incensed when they learned in the spring of 1764 that they had been handed over to a new master ; but it was two years later before the Spanish governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, arrived at New Orleans. Ulloa managed the people badly, and by arbitrary conduct aroused intense opposition to Spanish authority. The French court was passionately appealed to by the New Orleans people to take them back again ; and when this petition was ignored, the obnoxious governor was packed on board of a vessel (November 1, 1768) and ordered out of the country, a proceeding in which were involved "some of the most influential men in the colony". The conspiracy aroused the Spanish monarch, and the following summer there arrived at New Orleans Don Alejandro O'Reilly as governor and captain-general of the province, backed by a frigate and twenty-three transports, with three thousand soldiers. The chiefs of the revolution were arrested, several of them shot, and others confined in the castle at Havana.

Under Ulloa French political methods had been retained, but O'Reilly introduced Spanish law and governmental modes, and instituted a *cabildo*. Execrated by the colonists because of his unnecessarily harsh treatment of the revolutionists of 1768, although otherwise a man of some judgment, "Bloody O'Reilly" was succeeded by the mild and humane Unzaga (1770), who soothed the Creoles into a fair measure of contentment with Spanish rule. He was followed (1777) by the gallant and indefatigable Galvez, who, in due course, made way (1785) for Miró, who, misled by the scheming Wilkinson—whose unsavory record our author does not shield, despite the fact that some of Wilkinson's descendants are fellow-residents of New Orleans—entertained hopes of separating the trans-Alleghenians of Kentucky and Tennessee from the Federal Union. Miró and his "business like, vigilant, and judicious" successor, Carondelet (1791), figure largely in our diplomatic history because of their connection with the disputed navigation of the Mississippi and the temporary disaffection of the West. Professor Turner's ample study of the American, French, and Spanish documents in the case is not cited by our author, and apparently has not been examined, there being a rather inadequate treatment of this episode, which was so full of menace for the Union by threatening its early westward expansion. This was a period abounding also in Indian disturbances and other interesting events—a threatened attack from the British in Canada, an uprising of the slaves (1795), the cession of the Natchez district to the United States (1797), and an epidemic at New Orleans. With the coming of the impecunious but kind and affable Governor

Gayoso de Lemos (1797), friction arose with the United States because of the governor's arbitrary regulations regarding American commerce through the port of New Orleans; but he died after two years in office, and the affair had meanwhile blown over.

Before the appointment of a new governor, Spain, under moral pressure from Napoleon, retroceded Louisiana to France by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, October 1, 1800. The story is familiar, in the present centennial period, of the first consul's ambition to found another New France in North America, of the thwarting of this disturbing project by his threatened war with England, of his sale of Louisiana to the United States, the picturesque transfers at New Orleans and St. Louis, the exploration of the trans-Mississippi by Lewis and Clark, and the speedy settlement of the country by American enterprise. With the division of Upper Louisiana into territories of the United States, the story of Louisiana is thereafter confined practically to the present boundaries of the commonwealth, but still abounds in notable incidents. Dr. Fortier devotes much space to the somewhat troublous process of adapting the commonwealth to American political methods, which were quite foreign to Creole habits if not taste. The Burr conspiracy has a considerable claim upon his attention, also the stirring incidents of the War of 1812; the Mexican War, which closely affected Louisiana interests, receives slighter notice; but the War of Secession is waged through three chapters of detail, and the dark period of Reconstruction is accorded similar space. Referring to the discontinuance of the use of the Federal Army for the purpose of upholding state governments (1877), and of President Hayes's subsequent congratulatory message to Congress on the "significant and encouraging" results of the hands-off policy, the author says: "The fortunate situation in the Southern States mentioned by the President might have been obtained eight years sooner if the people had been allowed their constitutional right of self-government" (IV, 194-195).

Since the resumption of constitutional government, the progress of the state has been rapid and uninterrupted, the concluding chapters being devoted to the pleasing story of material development, and to the growth of culture as exhibited in her literary productivity (chiefly in French), and her large and numerous educational institutions. The final paragraph foreshadows the celebration of the centennial of the treaty of cession of Louisiana to the United States, in December, 1903, when "Thanks will be rendered to the Almighty for the blessings enjoyed by the millions living in the vast country watered by the great Mississippi and its tributaries, to which the heroic La Salle gave the immortal name of 'Louisiane'".

This latest history of Louisiana comes to us in four tall octavo volumes handsomely bound in red morocco backs and corners, with marbled paper sides and gilt tops, and printed on heavy deckle-edged paper. It contains ninety-six photogravure illustrations by Goupil and Company, among which are "86 contemporary portraits from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, among them being many which have

never before been reproduced and were not known to exist". Either in the text or in the notes — which latter are grouped at the end of each volume, instead of being given as foot-notes, where they could easily be consulted — there are included "the original text of all the treaties which concerned Louisiana, France, Spain, and the United States"; the portraits include "everyone connected officially with the transfer, including Jefferson (painted in 1803); Bonaparte (painted in 1803); Robert Livingston and James Monroe, the American ministers; Barbé-Marbois, Decrès, and Talleyrand, the French ministers; Laussat, the French colonial prefect, who actually made the transfer at New Orleans, December 20, 1803; and James Wilkinson and W. C. C. Claiborne, who received the territory in the name of the United States".

All this array is sufficiently attractive, and will doubtless secure buyers; but we must confess to a certain disappointment with the text. In others of Dr. Fortier's writings concerning Louisiana and its people we have found an easy, flowing, illuminating style, which may often be deemed charming. The present work indicates either haste — despite the fact that the publishers assure us that it has been three years in preparation — or a misapprehension of the historical proprieties. There was an opportunity here for a safe middle course between the dry recitation of Martin and the pyrotechnics of Gayarré; and this is what we might naturally have expected of the author of *Louisiana Studies*. Instead, we have a rather hard and formal manner, seldom exhibiting the author's natural grace of diction and, worst of all, almost wholly lacking in what is called "atmosphere". Throughout his long recital of political and military events our author in few places, and then but briefly, seeks to lift the curtain upon life and manners among his historic Louisianians — the very sort of thing which Dr. Fortier is surely capable of doing, and for which his admirers will first search through these four superbly-appointed volumes. It would seem as though the gifted president of the Louisiana Historical Society feared lest his imagination, if given rein, might play him tricks in this new field of study, and hence had best be curbed and blinded.

We do not find our author tripping seriously in his sturdy plodding through the wilderness of facts. He appears to have observed his sources to good purpose; but fewer long and often tedious citations from original documents and from the pages of his predecessors Martin and Gayarré, and a freer presentation of his own views, together with a better sense of differentiation between matter desirable for text and that only suitable for notes or an appendix, would have resulted in a more acceptable piece of book-making. As we have already intimated, mechanically and from the point of view of dignified and appropriate illustration, the volumes are well worthy of the centennial of the Louisiana purchase.

R. G. THWAITES.

Lectures on European History. By WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., formerly Bishop of Oxford and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by ARTHUR HASSALL, M. A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Pp. viii, 424.)

THESE thirty-four lectures were delivered at Oxford between 1860 and 1870. They cover the political and military history of the period of the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War on the continent. Of the eleven lectures in part I, "The Emperor Charles V", only two are devoted to the Reformation. Even in these the author proclaims his intention "in this course to steer clear of the religious part of the Reformation history: as clear as I can". The chief actor is Charles, and the chapter devoted to "The Character of Charles V", is one of the most balanced and interesting in the book. Luther receives the briefest possible mention half a dozen times, Zwingli is mentioned once, and Calvin not at all. Part II, "The Political History of Europe from the Resignation of Charles V", is about equally divided among Germany, France, and Spain and the Netherlands. "Henry IV.'s Place in the History of Europe" is the most interesting and valuable chapter here; "I place him above Philip, on a par with Elizabeth, and far below William the Silent" (p. 246). Part III, "The Political History of Europe during the Thirty Years' War", the author confesses, "has not answered exactly to the title"; "whilst we have given a good deal of attention to the drum and trumpet part of the story we have been obliged rather to cut short the political commentary" (p. 386).

These three parts Bishop Stubbs regarded as three acts "of a great series", with "two distinct ideas in progress which may be regarded as giving a unity to the long period. The Reformation is one, the claims of the house of Hapsburg the other. On the whole, the history of the house of Hapsburg is the string on which most certainly the unity of the history arranges itself" (p. 404). Following this thread, the lecturer gives a very sympathetic but temperate and fair-minded picture of the Hapsburg rulers and their policy. In the Thirty Years' War he judges the "Catholic princes infinitely superior in political and moral energy to the Protestant ones" (p. 406).

The lectures give a calm and dispassionate account of a great period, by a scholar of wide reading and sound judgment. The book is weighty and learned rather than brilliant, and abounds in facts rather than in generalizations or interpretations. Probably the most valuable feature is Bishop Stubbs's estimate of the great men of the era, where he displays his judicial temper, or what one of his well-known pupils is fond of describing as "an unequalled power of sitting on the fence". The two exceptions are the severe judgments of Francis I and of the Puritans. The lectures do not "attempt any original research" (p. 7). It would be hardly fair to compare them with the scholarly investigations of the last generation of continental, English, and American scholars, or to expect

them to make any positive contribution to the present stock of knowledge. It would be fairer to compare them with the lectures delivered by Häusser at Heidelberg, and edited by Oncken nearly forty years ago.

The book is so crowded with detail as to be frequently too much like an encyclopædia or even an epitome. An extreme example of these faults is on page 159. Here are some sixty proper names, thirty-nine dates, and two very puzzling and not entirely accurate descriptions of the Guise and Bourbon families. All this could have been given more clearly and correctly and far more usefully for reference in genealogical tables.

The two lines devoted to Richelieu's terms at Rochelle (p. 389), the five lines to the Edict of Amboise of 1563 (p. 185) are inadequate and misleading; the six lines devoted to the Edict of Nantes are inadequate in the statements of both what was given and what was reserved (p. 240). Space for fuller treatment of these and other subjects could easily and profitably have been made by omissions in the "enormous mass of afflicting details", and "the sufficiently tough reading" which the lecturer with delightful and judicious candor admits characterize his treatment of the Thirty Years' War (pp. 375, 402).

The editing leaves something to be desired. There are half a dozen sentences or clauses which lack verbs, or are otherwise unintelligible, and as many more which are obscure or contradictory. A few incorrect dates, half a dozen other minor errors, and the presence of undesirable colloquialisms make up a total of nearly two score minor blemishes or errors which the lecturer would undoubtedly have removed and which would have disappeared before a proof-reading more painstaking and worthy of the scholarship manifested in the lectures. The eleven notes are of the most meager nature. There is no attempt at bibliography of any sort. The sole reference to recent literature is to Pollard's *Henry VIII*. The very poor index of fourteen pages is followed by forty pages of advertisements.

In spite of the inevitable limitations of university lectures written a generation ago, and of the avoidable defects of editing, Bishop Stubbs's lectures show sound learning and unbiased judgment in a period where these qualities are preëminently needed.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

Storia degli Scavi di Roma e Notizie intorno le Collezioni Romane di Antichità. Per RODOLFO LANCIANI. Volume II, a. 1531-1549. (Rome: Ermanno Loescher e Co. 1903. Pp. 265.)

WHILE the first volume¹ of this important work covered a period of more than 400 years (1000-1530), the second covers only the following eighteen (1531-1549), including the last four years of the pontificate of Clement VII and the whole of that of Paul III. This short period was fertile in the discovery of archæological remains, largely in conse-

¹ See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1903 (VIII, 522-523).

quence of the municipal improvements due to the energy of Alexander Farnese and of his efficient coadjutor, Giovenale Latino Mannetti, who opened thirteen new streets in the city and has been called by Lanciani the Haussmann of Rome. The character of these improvements, and the slight expense incurred by the municipality in making them, are contrasted favorably with the reckless extravagance and oftentimes inartistic results of the last thirty years.

The first volume of the *Storia* was arranged according to a strict chronological system that rendered it necessary to look up many references in order to trace the history of the excavations on any one site through a series of years. Just criticism of this arrangement has led the author to modify the method somewhat and to adopt the following scheme: the entries are divided into three parts, those relating to the excavations themselves, those relating to the museums and collections, and those relating to the removal and subsequent history of works of art. In the second place, all the notices occurring in each century which relate to one building, group of buildings, or site are arranged together under the year where the first notice belongs. Thus, in the period under review, the first notice of excavations on the site of the *palazzo Farnese* occurs in 1542, and the following twenty-eight pages are devoted to the history of succeeding discoveries on the same site down to the close of the sixteenth century. The history of each century is to be kept distinct. This change has materially increased the usefulness and convenience of the book, converting it from a mere storehouse of facts into a work which is often very readable. The indexes have also been improved. A second result of this change in arrangement is that this volume, while nominally covering only eighteen years, really covers the rest of the century in the case of many structures.

Some indication of the relative importance of the discoveries on different sites during the seventy years from 1530 to 1600 may be given by the amount of space devoted to them in this volume. Forty pages are occupied with the discoveries in the Forum and on the *Sacra via*, twenty-two with those on the Palatine, fifteen with those in the baths of Diocletian, and twenty-eight with those in the *palazzo Farnese*, while thirty pages are devoted to the account of the building of the *palazzo dei Conservatori* and the additions to the Capitoline collections.

The most interesting, and at the same time painful, section is that which deals with the discoveries made in the Forum. When Charles V entered Rome in triumph, April 5, 1536, a new street was built from the Arch of Titus across the Forum to the Arch of Severus, which caused the destruction of numerous medieval buildings and of some ancient remains. Four years later Paul III granted the exclusive right of excavating within and without the city to those in charge of the construction of St. Peter's, who wanted the marble and travertine for building purposes. The consequences were most disastrous, for the Forum valley was worked precisely like a quarry, and during the next decade not only were many parts of the ancient monuments which still projected above the level of

the ground removed, but the process of destruction was carried on in extensive excavations. Had it not been for the havoc wrought during these ten years, the present condition of the Forum would be as different as possible, and very considerable remains of at least ten buildings would still be standing.

This is not the place to enter into any discussion of the topographical questions involved in the account of the excavations, but attention may be called in passing to the convincing evidence accumulated by Lanciani that the *Vivarium* was close to the *castra Prætoria* and not near the *porta Prænestina*. The author is to be congratulated again upon both the form and the matter of this notable work.

S. B. PLATNER.

The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork. By DOROTHEA TOWNSHEND. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company; London: Duckworth and Company. 1904. Pp. xvi, 531.)

THIS volume is a real contribution to the history of Ireland not so much on the political as on the economic side. Richard Boyle, an English adventurer of the type of Raleigh and Drake, sought his fortune in Ireland as Raleigh sought his in America. In that country of misrule and revolt he found both honor and fortune, and was known by his contemporaries as the Great Earl of Cork, as though the adjective were a rightful part of his title.

For the present work Miss Townshend has had an abundance of material. The Great Earl of Cork was the ancestor of the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Cork and Orrery, the Earl of Shannon, Lord Barrymore, Lord Digby, and the Duke of Leinster; and in these families have been preserved the letters and papers from which this history has been drawn. The most valuable papers are in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, who descends from the earl's eldest son; they are preserved at Lismore Castle. These papers were edited by Dr. Grosart and privately printed in ten volumes—five containing the Great Earl's diary and five containing letters to him from his family and friends, with some of his replies. From these volumes Miss Townshend has drawn the greater part of her material; but she has supplemented it from autobiographies of the earl's children and from other family papers, from county histories, and from Caulfield's city council books.

The work throws some additional light on Irish political history under Queen Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts. Court intrigues and enmities between the servants of the queen and her successors, as related here, help to an understanding of both home and foreign politics; but all such matters are treated only incidentally. Miss Townshend's endeavor has been to create a living personality in the earl, and to give just as much of his environment and as much about his contemporaries as is necessary to this end. Many of the pages are taken up with what from the point of view of the political student must be considered trivialities

— courtships and marriages in the earl's family ; visits, ceremonial and friendly ; debts and difficulties of his sons and sons-in-law ; family bills ; and presents and their cost. We learn also about the education of the earl's sons and wards ; their journeys to London and their presentation at court ; their occasional illnesses, and even the physicking they endured. In short, we have a very full and detailed picture of life in the families of the wealthy at the close of the sixteenth and the opening of the seventeenth century ; and the student of social conditions will here gather much that is useful to him.

It is, however, to the student of economic conditions in Ireland that the book will appeal most strongly. The Great Earl found his fortune in the province of Munster. Little by little he became the greatest land-owner in that part of Ireland ; and he found the land a land of plenty and by no means the poverty-stricken, distressful country we are apt to consider it. The rivers were rich in fish and pearls ; the mountains in silver, copper, and iron ore and in timber, good for ship-building and for barrel staves. We are told that Richard Boyle was paid £4,600 for bar-iron exported to Amsterdam in 1623, and for silver mines leased in 1631 he received a rent in kind consisting of a fair basin and ewer, four dozen large silver plates, and eight great candlesticks. The earl also introduced tobacco culture into Ireland and set up glass and woolen works in his town of Youghal. In Youghal and also in his other three towns of Lismore, Bandon Bridge, and Clonakilty, which all owed their existence as towns to him, he settled English families ; and it was English not Irish industry which made this part of Ireland for a while so busy and prosperous. The Great Earl was no better than his times in his attitude toward the native and Catholic Irish ; but it is hard to decide whether it was for economic or religious reasons that he so rigorously excluded Catholics from his town demesnes. For many reasons the *Life of the Great Earl of Cork* is valuable as a contribution to Irish history of the period of the English plantation of Ireland.

A. G. PORRITT.

England in the Mediterranean : a Study of the Rise and Influence of British Power within the Straits, 1603-1713. By JULIAN S. CORBETT. (London, New York, and Bombay : Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Two vols., pp. ix, 342 ; ii, 351.)

THE author of this book belongs to the imperialistic school of historians, who write history with a tendency, and history with a tendency is not history, but a sermon based upon historic facts in the nature of things falsely apprehended. For Mr. Corbett sea-power is the supreme fact, and sea-power in the Mediterranean is the supremest of all facts. Consequently in his opinion England should have endeavored to be a Mediterranean power long before she became one. As a corollary, all English politicians who regarded the Mediterranean as a fit field for English action were great statesmen ; all who did not so regard it were

purblind creatures. In other words, he regards the entire past as having existed merely to create the society in which we live, as if this society were the last word to be spoken throughout all the ages. Whereas, if anything is certain, it is that the present condition of affairs, like all precedent conditions, is but a transition to another in which perhaps the Mediterranean policy of England will be as bitterly condemned by some future historian with a tendency as it is now lauded by Mr. Corbett. The statesmen of 300 years ago are not to be judged by the policies and ideas which prevail to-day. Statesmen ought to work for their day and not for any remote future, and historians ought to write for all time and not for any immediate present.

Another grievous shortcoming is the writer's insistence that, "as a rule, what did not happen is at least as important as what did". In what sense this is true it would be difficult to determine. It is certainly logical, however, if one holds the doctrine, to infer from it that its neglect has led to the ignoring of "the sweeping change in the European system which accompanied the appearance of Great Britain in the Mediterranean". The last sentence furnishes the clue to another vital error into which the writer constantly falls—a vulgar error of logical method, which consists in supposing that because two things occur in conjunction, therefore one occurs because of the other. It may be that England's appearance in the Mediterranean was accompanied by great changes in the European system, but the presumption that the appearance of England in the Mediterranean was the cause of these changes is unwarranted.

Finally, though Mr. Corbett has written several books, he is not a historian. He takes history seriously and he delves in the records, but he has little conception of what the writing of history really demands. It is not enough "to scorn delights and live laborious days"—one must also know what is the exact bearing of evidence in a given case, and in how far he can trust his authorities. That the writer has not a conception of these demands upon the historian it would be unjust to assert, but his use of his material is not scholarly. He gives references only semi-occasionally; his authorities do not always bear him out in his conclusions, and he does not weigh the evidence with anything like the skill, accuracy, and judgment demanded of a historian.

These general criticisms admit of constant proof throughout the work. Thus he takes Pepys's assertions when they are to his taste and rejects them when they are not, as in the case of Tangier, which Pepys rightly held to be untenable. His remarks on Captain Mainwaring are confused and are not supported by at least one of the authorities he quotes. The early Stuart period was a "colourless waste", in which only one naval expedition of any consequence was despatched. This was a "contemptible failure" in its declared object but it had an undeclared object "which gave the keynote of the century" (I, 3-4). It was the occasion on which "the navy of England first appeared in the Mediterranean". To assert that Cecil's expedition gave any such key-

note; that it had any influence in bringing England permanently into the Mediterranean; that it led any one anywhere at any time to regard the Mediterranean as a fit field for English naval enterprise is to assert what has no basis in fact. Again, the pirate Ward is held up to admiration because in his piratical excursions into the Mediterranean he was instrumental in causing the despatch of a Spanish fleet of "broadside ships" for the first time into that sea. This "marks a turning-point in naval history" (I, 16). Moreover, Ward by his acts in the Mediterranean begins the work which William III and Marlborough complete. It seems incredible that any one can believe that, without Ward, broadside ships would not have been used by Spain in the Mediterranean about the time when they were, or that Ward can in any sense be regarded as the originator of the work completed by Marlborough. Another pirate, Sir Walter Raleigh, is equally lauded, but with quite as little reason. Corbett admits that Raleigh was a pirate, but piracy was not then discreditable, "no more to be reprehended than is a secret treaty now" (I, 41). Such assertions are often met with, but they are false. Piracy was regarded as discreditable even in the age of Elizabeth. Raleigh, Corbett admits, was anxious to break the peace with Spain, and this was laudable because "it was the Reformation and the freedom of the New World that were at stake" (I, 42). This assertion is almost grotesque, for "the Reformation and the freedom of the New World" in no way depended upon a war between England and Spain at that moment. This is evident, because there was no war, and yet "the Reformation and the freedom of the New World" survived. It is impossible moreover to see how Raleigh had anything to do with the Mediterranean. It is true that Gondomar feared that Raleigh had designs upon that sea, but no such designs were actually held, so far as known. Mr. Corbett supposes that Gondomar's fear influenced Spanish naval policy materially, but there is no evidence of this.

Another epoch-making event is the permission given by King James to the Venetians in 1618 to hire a dozen English merchant-ships to assist their navy in the Adriatic. These ships were never secured, and King James gave a similar permission to the Spaniards. Yet Mr. Corbett holds that the Venetian attempt to hire ships led to the failure of Osuna to assist the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy" in Venice. Why? Because the Venetians attempted to hire the ships and the plot failed, failed because Osuna could not assist because the Spanish government was afraid of the English ships which never came. What makes this concatenation of causes and effects still more wonderful is that Mr. Corbett produces no evidence to show that Osuna was in any way connected with the plot, if there was a plot. All is assumption. Tremendous as was the immediate result of this small event, its real significance was yet more so, for "to all the strange aspects of that famous plot we must add one more, and see in it the first occasion on which England by her new sea power laid a mastering hand upon the old centres of dominion and had dimly revealed to her her most potent line of political action"

(I, 65). Naturally, since the premises are pure guesswork, the conclusion is pure nonsense, and one is not surprised on turning the page to find the author admitting that "at first sight it may appear that too much importance has been attached" to this episode. To this all may agree, especially when it is recalled that while the English ships stayed at home, the Dutch hired a dozen vessels to the Venetians. The uninitiated would suppose that credit, if due, is due the Dutch. Mr. Corbett evidently suspects it, for in combating the view he declares that it is "probable that the moral effect of the English demonstration, had at least as much weight with the Mediterranean powers as the actual force exhibited by the Dutch" (I, 67-68). After the sentence quoted above about England's "new sea power" this is indeed "a lame and impotent conclusion", but the case can be paralleled over and over again in Mr. Corbett's work. The tremendous importance of an event or of a no-event is insisted upon, and then the reader finds embedded somewhere a dozen pages further along a second conclusion garnished with "ifs and ans", "sage provisos, sub-intents and saving clauses".

In 1618 the English prepared a squadron to enter the Mediterranean and attack the pirates there. What became of this squadron Mr. Corbett does not know. It does not appear to have gone anywhere or to have done anything, although two Dutch squadrons entered the Mediterranean about this time, and engaged and defeated a Spanish force. Conclusion: "the naval intervention of England and her ally in the Mediterranean had been a complete success" (I, 88). In 1621 Mansell enters the Mediterranean and fails in an attack upon Algiers. Conclusion: "the lesson was never forgotten, either at home or abroad; nor from that time forth did the potentiality of English action in the Mediterranean ever cease to be a factor in European diplomacy" (I, 133). In 1624 Richelieu requests James I to assist France with a fleet in the Mediterranean. This is "nothing else than an invitation from France to England that she should assert her yet unmeasured influence on continental policy by naval operations in the Mediterranean", and Richelieu, if he possessed prophetic vision, "must have lain uneasy the night he let the proposal go" (I, 138). Undoubtedly, although the ships "were to sail under the French flag, and to be in all respects a French force". The expedition never sailed, but it deserves mention, presumably because "as a rule, what does not happen is at least as important as what does".

These examples well illustrate the writer's fitness for his task, in so far at least as his work relates to the first half of the seventeenth century. Everywhere he is incoherent, self-contradictory; everywhere he emphasizes unimportant men and still more unimportant events; everywhere he sees the finger of destiny whenever the Mediterranean is mentioned by an Englishman. The work improves, however, as the writer comes down toward the close of the century. The treatment of Cromwell's operations in the Mediterranean is good; the story of Tangier is well told, although the author naturally overrates the importance of that posses-

sion. The truth is that Tangier was not, on his own showing, worth the keeping. The naval strategy of William III and of Marlborough is justly appreciated and clearly expounded; the real bearing of the Spanish succession question for England is recognized, while the story of the capture of Gibraltar is excellently told. The reason for this improvement in the writer's work is clear. He has reached a period in which England actually had a Mediterranean policy, and in which her acts in the Mediterranean actually had a significance for the future. He has also reached a period in which he no longer needs to trust to conjecture, but can build upon admitted facts.

R. C. H. CATTERALL.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XIV, 1605-1609. Vol. XV, 1609. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1904. Pp. 341, 331.)

WE get, in Volume XIV, echoes of the strife between Archbishop Benavides and Governor-General Acuña, related also with the Chinese disturbances and the massacre of some 15,000 to 18,000 Chinese in Luzon in 1603. In consequence of this massacre and of the failure of the Spaniards to restore all the confiscated property of Chinese, a viceroy of China threatens in 1605 to come to Manila with a thousand junks and sweep the Spaniards out of the Orient. To his boast that his king governs all the land on which the moon and sun shine, Acuña answers that

the Spaniards have measured by palmos, and that very exactly, all the countries belonging to all the kings and lordships in the world. Since the Chinese have no commerce with foreign nations, it seems to them that there is no other country but their own, and that there is no higher greatness than theirs; but if he knew the power of some of the kings with whom my sovereign, the king of the Hespafias, carries on continual war, the whole of China would seem to him very small (p. 46).

We get also some hints in this volume of the Spanish efforts for the conversion of the Japanese, and some indications of why they failed, both in religious and commercial undertakings, in Japan. It is interesting to find the Council of the Indies saying in 1607 (p. 229): "It is well to keep the king of Japon friendly. . . . For if he were not so he would be the greatest enemy that could be feared, on account of the number and size of his realms, and the valor of the people therein, who are, beyond comparison, the bravest in all India."

Perhaps the most interesting of the documents presented in this volume (which are drawn mainly from the Seville archives, with a few also from the British Museum, the Simancas archives, the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, and the National Historical Archives at Madrid) is the account of the various expeditions in 1591 and 1607-1608 to Tuy, land of the head-hunters of Northern Luzon, through the very regions which a recent "explorer", A. H. Savage Landor, has described as if he were the first white man to see them. The editors' note about the Igor-

rotes (p. 302) contains some errors (drawn from Blumentritt and such careless writers as Foreman and Sawyer) which show the present unsatisfactory state of knowledge about Philippine ethnology.

Of great value also is the document drawn up in 1608 showing the annual receipts and expenditures of the Philippine government, revealing a total expenditure of 255,000 pesos, leaving a deficit of 135,000 pesos. This was covered apparently by the annual remittances (later known as *situados*) from the treasury of the viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico). A note on page 247 recites Professor E. G. Bourne's statement (in the introduction to this series) that the annual deficit of the Philippines, as of other Spanish colonies, was made up by the treasury of Mexico; but the statement of the English traveler Bowring (1859) is also given, to the effect that the Philippines generally made annual contributions to Spain in excess of the *situados*. The same matter is more fully explained in Felipe Govantes's *Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas* (Manila, 1877), appendix 23, where it is stated that the export dues on goods sent from Manila to Spain (through America) were collected at Acapulco, and turned into the treasury of Mexico, which in turn supplied that of Manila with the amount necessary to make up its annual "deficit". (See T. H. Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca Filipina*, 193.) Before accepting the figures given by Humboldt, who did not take into account the curious Spanish restrictions on the commerce of her American and Philippine colonies, it is necessary to have the data regarding the Philippine trade and the duties collected on it. It was thus that Roscher was led astray in his *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung*, the chapter of which on the Spanish colonial system has recently been published by Professor Bourne, who seems to have followed Roscher in this matter of colonial revenues. The whole question will bear careful investigation, but the never exact system of Spanish accounts renders precision in this respect difficult. After Mexico became independent and direct intercourse between Spain and the Philippines was established, the latter colony furnished the mother-country, during some years at least, with a surplus. It is also to be taken into account that the goods of Spain had free entry into the islands.

This very volume produces (p. 216) the following argument in the Spanish Council of State, the question being the restriction or abolition of Philippine trade with China and with Mexico: "The preservation of the Indias consisted in this, that, through their need of articles which are not produced there, they always depend upon this country [Spain]; and it would be the means of losing them if their wants could be supplied elsewhere."

Volume XV is nearly all taken up by seven of the eight chapters of Doctor Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609), the most valuable of the early sources on Philippine history and the customs of the natives. Chapter VIII, which will be reproduced in the succeeding volume, is of the greatest interest, because of its observations upon the natives' laws and customs, their conversion, etc. These seven chapters

contain the Philippine history from 1565 to 1603, producing entire many documents of interest covering the years of de Morga's official service in the islands. The editors have used the copy belonging to Harvard University, and have drawn freely on the annotations of José Rizal in the Paris reprint of 1890, also to some extent on those of Henry E. J. Stanley's English translation (London, 1868). They append also summaries of Thomas Candish's expedition and of early Dutch voyages to the East Indies. These volumes contain some interesting reproductions of early Dutch prints of vessels and of the port of Acapulco.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

Two Centuries of Costume in America. By ALICE MORSE EARLE. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1903. Two vols., pp. xx, 388; xxiii, 389-824.)

HOWEVER eager one is to come into Alice Morse Earle's kingdom of colonial daily life lore as a visitor, critics might well be loath to come if experience had not shown that much of their criticism is likely to be favorable. In her studies of colonial institutions, whether of homes, taverns, gardens, amusements, or dress, Mrs. Earle has brought many byways into the view of students of American history. If any warrant for such a work as this must be produced before a testy historian will deign to examine its pages or attest its value, Mrs. Earle has been fore-handed enough to supply it in her quotations from letters, orders, and diaries of men like Governor John Winthrop and George Washington, who are shown to have considered no detail of dress too trivial for attention. Both of these men gave abundant evidence that they agreed with Pepys's entry in his diary: "For Clothes I perceive more and more every day is a great matter". Mrs. Earle has, however, realized relative values and kept the perspective true, and has comprehended how much knowledge of contemporary general history is required to understand the details of the dress of one locality or age. This gives dignity to the work, which can be stamped as a worthy piece of historical research. By mentioning frequently her great-great-grandmother or great-aunts as owning the articles of dress she describes, Mrs. Earle has added personal interest without making the book degenerate into a glorification of her ancestors. And though we can read a romance between the lines here and there, fully conscious that she has felt it too, the printed text is a thoroughly reliable piece of historical work.

A list of the possible and probable uses of this book includes the study not only of the history but of the literature and art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its use will be as a handbook or dictionary, helping the student in the interpretation of details. Of course novelists and poets could not give in their narrative or verse the details which on second thoughts the reader wants to know. Scott never clogged his novels with foot-notes. In his *Woodstock*, the vivid picture of the seventeenth-century Commonwealth affairs, where parsons in blue

Geneva cloaks and Cavaliers in love-locks and slashed doublets pass before our eyes, we find ourselves unaccustomed to their attire. We wonder just how a black velvet doublet pinked over scarlet satin would look. We wish we could see the shape of hat on which a golden clasp and feather were worn. Until Mrs. Earle's book appeared I had never been sure whether Scott's heroes were dressed in fanciful, fancy, or ordinary costumes; now I know that Scott described just such costumes as were actually worn. Before a Van Dyke or a Copley portrait one raises questions which this book can happily satisfy, enabling a person to tell another about the details by supplying a suitable vocabulary.

The volume will also be of service in correcting misconceptions as important in their results as they are frequent and wide-spread. Writers of so-called historical novels must be careful of their robing-rooms after this. It will not do to confuse costumes of different centuries and make impossible mixtures of whisks and ruffs. Neither Puritans nor Quakers have always been soberly or meanly clad. Puritans thought much of clothes, of fineries, of styles. Their dress was not dull, drab-colored. "Sad-colors" included browns, russet, purple, and orange. If Winthrop ordered a "sad colored" gown for his wife, it was likely to be of rich purple brocade. Other colors known as "grain colors" included scarlet, which was very much worn throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by all classes and by such quiet-demeanored persons as Judge Curwen of Salem and Elizabeth Fry and her six sisters in their early years.

Mrs. Earle finds good authority for saying that the dress of the Puritans and Cavaliers differed little in quality, quantity, cost, or form. The rich and the poor of each party, however, dressed very differently, and both Hogarth and Van Dyke were true to what they saw. Poor martyrs and royal courtiers differed in appearance and dress not because they were Roundheads or Cavaliers but because of their different stations in life and size of purse. In short, station or rank was marked in the seventeenth century, not only in England but in America, by dress. Governor Winthrop was perfectly consistent in his theory of dressing richly while he advised the General Court of Massachusetts to pass sumptuary laws forbidding people to buy "slashed clothes" or silver hatbands. Not dress but excess in dress was aimed at in all sumptuary laws in the colonies as in England and France. And with the Quakers until the close of the eighteenth century, when Elizabeth Fry set a style generally adopted, it was extravagance in jewels and fashions rather than richness of material or brightness of color that was frowned upon.

Any change made in New England was caused by a similar change of style in England, and not because of a pioneer life environment here. A Virginia gentleman and his wife were apt to be models of fashion whom a London lord and lady might safely follow. Styles for them both came from France via London generally, although the fashion dolls or midgets were sometimes sent direct to America.

The volumes contain scores of interesting facts. The influence of

painters like Van Dyke in the seventeenth and Copley in the eighteenth century made fashions more beautiful for both men and women. Certainly artistic sense was necessary to restrain the excessive and oftentimes grotesque fashions, to lower pompadours, and to laugh to scorn the dress of beribboned and belaced gentlemen. Both men and women were weirdly frivolous then. At least one colonial dame profited by a man's nice discrimination and knowledge of fashion. Through the correspondence of Madame Rebekah Symonds of Ipswich in Massachusetts and her son, John Hall of London, we have a wonderfully interesting source of information about fashions. When his mother sent for fan or cloak, he always knew just what to choose, telling her gently but firmly if what she requested was out of style or undesirable for a woman in her station in life. There were husbands who rivaled their wives in fine clothes and vanity. Endymion Porter wore his wife's diamond necklace on his hat while he was in Spain. One husband picked (ripped) the lace off his wife's old gown to put on his own new costume.

If one makes a few unfavorable criticisms, they will be these. The proportions seem to be lost in discussing Elizabeth's character so fully in connection with Raleigh's dress (p. 21) and, again, in giving the details of Mary Musgrove's life, which seem irrelevant in the chapter "Attire of Virginia Dames and their Neighbors" (p. 131). The title "The Provincial Governors" does not seem quite appropriate for the chapter so-called, since the subject-matter does not justify it. One wishes that the last sentence, giving the Indian anecdote (p. 193), had been omitted, since the unity of time suffers by its presence.

Favorable criticism is constant and definite while one reads these two volumes. The sense of accuracy, the generally good proportions, the frequent reference to source-material on the one hand, an easy, happy style of writing on the other, make this study of colonial costume a pleasant byway to wander in. Since the book is evidently meant for both the general reader and the student of history, the latter suffers most, perhaps, from the lack of such definitely tabulated references as Weeden and Bruce have given in their histories of social and economic conditions in colonial times.

BLANCHE EVANS HAZARD.

New Hampshire: an Epitome of Popular Government. By FRANK B. SANBORN. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 354.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE, the second English colony on the New England coast and one of the original thirteen states, has at length been accorded recognition in the "Commonwealths Series" of histories. The work was committed to Frank B. Sanborn, one of the multitude of the loyal natives of the state loaned to Massachusetts, well known as an anti-slavery agitator, a reformer in the department of public charities and corrections, an exponent of the Concord school of philosophy, and a

vigorous and versatile writer in history, biography, and a wide range of other subjects of present interest. Mr. Sanborn has always been specially interested in the early annals of New Hampshire. The present work is characterized by excellent judgment in the apportionment of space to the several epochs which are necessarily the subjects of his attention.

Two controlling elements run through the entire course of events in the colony and province. These are the Masonian contest between the inhabitants and the proprietors of the soil and the related controversy over the Massachusetts boundary line. The philosophy of the real history of the state and, indeed, the causes for the separate existence of the colony are to be apprehended only by a recognition of these two conspicuous and far-reaching influences as the dominant factors in the material and political development of the province. The events of the first or ante-Revolutionary period are treated by this author in the light of painstaking original research. The accessions that have been made in recent years to the available original documents relative to the colonial period have been utilized to good purpose. The text incidentally discloses Mr. Sanborn's conviction that Puritan politics and Puritan laws were as bad as Puritan theology. In this regard his argument is more in conformity with the attitude of Chalmers, Peter Oliver, Brooks Adams, John S. Jenness, and Charles W. Tuttle than with that of Belknap, Palfrey, Dr. Ellis, and Dr. Dexter. Mr. Sanborn develops the workings of Puritan influence in New Hampshire through the political union and by reason of kindred interests of the people of the two colonies. The authorities are judiciously selected and well digested. Those that were not accessible to Dr. Belknap, the first and still the most authoritative historian of the province period, are made to serve their appropriate corrective and illustrative uses.

Mr. Sanborn's treatment of events since the Revolution is as well proportioned as is that devoted to the earlier period, but there are indications of less painstaking care in verification of statements as to facts and incidents in the careers of public men of the state and in local concerns and episodes, which will be readily noted by actual residents who are more intimately identified with the state's politics and other interests by actual participation in them or by investigation as specialists in its local and internal history. It will doubtless move Mr. Sanborn's own lively sense of humor to find that his narrative names the "Poor Richard" as the antagonist of the *Scrapis* in Paul Jones's historic sea-fight (p. 215).

The style of the work is graphic and stimulating. It is pervaded by enough of the controversial method to cause readers to take issue with the author or with each other at many points. It will afford critical students of American history a better perspective as to the relations of New Hampshire with the foundations of the main body of that history; it will be recognized as an important contribution to the discussion of a great number of the most important questions that have been hitherto regarded as unsettled; and it will compel a revision of established opin-

ion at many points where the author has brought the search-light of modern critical research and analysis to bear upon his subject.

North Carolina, a Study in English Colonial Government. By CHARLES LEE RAPER, Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xiii, 260.)

MR. RAPER'S monograph belongs with Smith's *South Carolina* and Mereness's *Maryland* in the succession of useful studies in colonial administration for which we are indebted not only to their authors but to the scholarly suggestion and guidance of Professor Osgood. Owing to the comparative fullness of documentary material in the *North Carolina Colonial Records*, Mr. Raper has been able more largely than his predecessors to build up his narrative from printed documents, though some manuscript material has been used, chiefly in the chapter on "The Territorial System and Administration". Like Mr. Smith's volume on *South Carolina*, this book is limited mainly to a study of the royal province, its organization and practical operation. Local administration is hardly touched, and the relations of church and state are passed over with a few references to controversies during the proprietary period. The disadvantages of too close a limitation of the field are perhaps most apparent in the closing chapter, on "The Downfall of the Royal Government". There is much about the governor who defended the interests of his superiors at home, but the Revolutionary party with its leaders appears only in the most shadowy fashion.

After the brief introduction on the proprietary government there is a group of three chapters on the governor, the council, and the town house of the assembly. The organization and general functions of these organs of the central government are here described, and some attention is given to the personal element. Thus in the chapter on "The Governor Under the Crown", the administration of each governor is briefly sketched with some estimate of his character and official success. The royal governors are said, on the whole, "to make a good showing", though "agents of an inefficient system". The council "was in the main a body composed of men of ability, intelligence and honesty". This rather favorable judgment is somewhat weakened by the statement in a later passage (p. 167), that there was a "condition of inefficiency, and even chaos, in the executive, legislative and judicial departments", due partly to "lack of intelligence on the part of the crown", but also "to a lack of intelligence, industry and character on the part of the crown officials in the province" and "a lack of intelligence and energy on the part of the representatives of the colonists". On the eve of the Revolution, the councilors seem to have been, more largely than those of *South Carolina*, representative colonists and disposed to sympathize with the popular movement.

The next four chapters describe four special departments of administration, the territorial, fiscal, judicial, and military systems, respectively. The main principles of the land-system were laid down in the proprietary

period, partly by the proprietors and partly by the provincial assembly. They continued, however, to be an important subject of controversy during the period of royal government. The author notes the tendency to smaller grants than those of Virginia or South Carolina and gives a good account of the embarrassment resulting from Carteret's retention of his proprietary rights in the northern part of the province. The chapter on the fiscal system is largely taken up with an interesting review of paper-money legislation, but is not on the whole so satisfactory as the corresponding chapter in Smith's *South Carolina*. In describing the courts of justice, the author seems (p. 151) to have confused the court of chancery with the appellate jurisdiction of the governor and council in civil cases.

This review of special departments of administrations is followed by a chapter entitled "The Conflicts Between the Executive and the Lower House Under the Crown". The chief controversies between them are described, but there is not quite the thorough discussion of principles, of political relations and tendencies, which one might expect under such a title. Something of this is supplied in the closing chapter, on "The Downfall of the Royal Government", which is, however, in this as in another respect already noted, somewhat disappointing.

From the point of view of literary, or what may perhaps be called historical construction, this book leaves much to be desired. Thus the chapter on the governor consists in substance of a summary of the commissions and instructions somewhat mechanically united with a series of sketches of administrations. The grouping of topics in chapters has been such as to produce an unnecessary amount of duplication. This is illustrated by the three accounts (pp. 157-159, 210-214, 241-245) of Governor Martin's controversy with the lower house about superior courts. The affair of the "regulators" is referred to in various places, but there is no one thoroughgoing discussion of it. In matters of detail also the book would have profited by thorough literary revision. There are a good many sentences which fail to give a clean-cut impression and there is some infelicitous use of words. Such an expression, for example, as "the said bill" seems out of place outside of a legal document.

The index does not seem to have been intelligently constructed. Its shortcomings may be illustrated by a single instance. Under the word Crown, without any subheads, about half the pages in the book are cited. Other heads similarly treated are Assembly and England. Notwithstanding its defects, which are largely those of the typical doctoral dissertation, the book was worth writing. It is the result of serious and for the most part accurate research and will be of real value to students of colonial history.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

James Oglethorpe, the Founder of Georgia. By HARRIET C. COOPER. [Historic Lives Series.] (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1904. Pp. xii, 217.)

THIS little volume bears dedication "to the children of Georgia"; and is written, the preface states, "in the hope of familiarizing the youth

of the State" with Oglethorpe's "life, his achievements, and his character". Following the most available information, and chiefly Colonel C. C. Jones's excellent *History of Georgia*, Miss Cooper has succeeded in evolving a bright, entertaining, sympathetic, if rather breezily written volume, that ought to fulfill the purpose of its existence.

The title is somewhat misleading. The book is less a life of Oglethorpe than a history of the settlement of Georgia. Fewer than a score of pages are devoted to the eighty-five years of Oglethorpe's extra-colonial life, and nearly two hundred to the eleven years so heroically dedicated to the infant colony. This is not unnatural in view of the especial historic importance of his colonial experiences, and the difficulty of finding material for the other periods of his life; but one longs for the biographer who will make us familiar with the stirring days of campaigning under Eugene of Savoy — the formative period of Oglethorpe's soldierly character, and who will bring to light the interesting facts that must survive of a long life in England that was not without distinction.

Perhaps a certain latitude is permissible in a popular treatise addressed to youthful readers, but there is a general impression of carelessness of statement. Minor evidences of inaccuracy may be mentioned as noted at random: The date of Oglethorpe's birth is positively given, as if undisputed. One could rise from perusal of the volume without an inkling of the fact that the hero was possessed of a middle name. The too frequent blunder of American writers, "Lady Eleanor", is found for "Eleanor, Lady Oglethorpe". The South Carolinians, while coming in for their full share of blame in connection with the Spanish War, are given scant credit for their generous and really substantial assistance during the earlier days of the colony. It is stated (p. 22) that the colonists first landed at Savannah on the last day of January, 1732. The date of the first arrival of the founders of a new colony upon its soil is usually considered of some importance, and the state of Georgia has seen fit to commemorate this especial event by a public holiday, which is celebrated on February 12. The children of Georgia to whom the volume is dedicated may find here a puzzling discrepancy. As a matter of fact the author has fallen into a double error. Colonel Jones, who is evidently followed, says the colonists left Beaufort on January 30, were delayed overnight, and on the *next* day (meaning February 1) reached their destination. But Colonel Jones's chronology follows the old style, allowance for which will "give us our eleven days".

In the prevalent conception of Oglethorpe, his philanthropy and general mild benevolence are so emphasized as to overshadow the rest of his personality, and one is apt to think of him vaguely as otherwise rather insipid and something of a prig. To such an impression the pages of the author will prove a wholesome corrective. Miss Cooper by a happy selection of incidents brings into due prominence the various aspects of this striking character. We see him, full of fire and energy, the life and soul of the colony. When danger threatens from the Indians, his intrepidity is equal to a journey, almost alone, of two hundred miles into the

heart of their territory. His impressive bearing gives him complete ascendancy over the minds of the savage warriors. The still more formidable hostility of Spain he meets with a courage and generalship that prove the salvation of the colony.

The interesting facts of this period of Georgia's history are to a large extent inaccessible to the general reader. In presenting them in a convenient and readable form the author has rendered a distinct service.

J. H. T. MCPHERSON.

George Washington. By NORMAN HAPGOOD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pp. xi, 419.)

It is not difficult to explain why Washington should be such a favorite in biography, for the story of his career lends itself to picturesque development. The young surveyor and provincial soldier; the Virginia planter and burgess; the commander-in-chief of the Continental army; the center of the federal movement; and the first President—here is material suited to every taste. The difficulty in treating his life is found in the apparent contradiction between a rather commonplace man in characteristics and conditions which are royal in their splendid opportunities. It is not easy to reconcile the farmer counting every penny of expense with the man who bore the weight of the military operations of the Revolution, and the more delicate task of superintending the first years of a national administration which rested upon a compromise and was adopted by only a very small majority.

Mr. Hapgood has produced a book that meets the difficulties of the subject with success. He is no worshiper of the man, yet recognizes his many high qualities; nor is he depreciatory of the unheroic elements that cannot but make an impression upon all who study the private life of any great man. He holds an even balance and has written an orderly, judicious, and readable account of the leading phases of Washington's career. He is unsympathetic at times, and, as in the treatment of slaves, is inclined to be unfair to Washington. No one but a Virginian, or one steeped in the colonial history of Virginia, is able to enter into the plantation life of that great day. Costly and wasteful as it was under any conditions, it was peculiarly difficult to Washington, who knew well that there was a better system and one almost within his reach. His impatient efforts to improve his holdings out of the existing methods were hampered by the dead weight of slavery, and he pressed upon overseer and slave in the hope of obtaining better results. Nor is Mr. Hapgood just to John Adams, when describing the Conway Cabal. Adams had good reasons for his position, which never reached one of hostility to Washington. Mr. Hapgood also, it seems to me, trusts too implicitly the babbling Custis, for extracts are taken from his *Recollections* apparently with full confidence in their truth. As a fact Custis is a most uncertain guide except where he gives documentary proof of his stories. This readiness to accept the relation of others leads Mr. Hapgood to repeat the error

that Washington received the sword of Cornwallis in the surrender at Yorktown, even describing the horse on which he sat at the time. The letter of Franklin to Strahan is also taken seriously, although it has come to be looked upon as one of the philosopher's jokes. Was it Amherst who boasted at the outbreak of the Revolution that with five thousand English regulars he would engage to march from one end of the continent of North America to the other? It sounds more like the braggart Grant, to whom the saying is generally attributed. Washington is made to attend the Virginia convention on the Constitution — which he never entered; and Hamilton is held up to view for using, on a larger scale than it had ever reached before, the barter system in Congress to attain his ends, although the history of the Continental Congress from 1777 had been little else than such bargains. The deafness of Washington is said to have been "growing" on him in 1780, certainly too early a period for its appearance. A touch of journalism will account for the reference to a modern naval hero, and for the curious error of making Roger Wolcott Secretary of the Treasury.

Such slips of pen and memory do not affect the general tone of the book, which is wholesome and appreciative. "No figure in modern history compares with him as an influence toward public conscience." "Without great events Washington would not have been famous, and, on the other hand, he made events great by his ability in meeting them." "He made enemies in his life, but he left none at his death." The number of such sentences could be multiplied, and would only show how well Mr. Hapgood had read the character of Washington and measured its greatness as well as its weakness. There is no attempt to picture his family connection as unusual, or to represent his mother as a grand matron of heroic proportions. Mrs. Washington, his wife, is not raised above the mediocrity where she belongs, nor are superhuman gifts ascribed to her. Due credit is given to the men whom Washington called around him, and of whose abilities he had a fine discrimination. The story is told evenly and, as a whole, with good taste and judgment.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

The Acquisition of Political, Social, and Industrial Rights of Man in America. By JOHN BACH McMASTER. (Cleveland: Cleveland Printing and Publishing Company. 1903. Pp. 123.)

THIS little volume of about 120 pages consists of three lectures delivered at Western Reserve University in the spring of 1903, under the auspices of the Western Reserve Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The author's purpose seems to be to trace the growth of the rights of man in American history from the Congress of 1774 down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The treatment from beginning to end is clear and concrete, because the various "rights of man" are traced in their historical settings, instead of being discussed in an abstract philosophical way.

The first lecture covers the period of the Revolution down to the ratification of the Constitution. The first important topic deals with the shifting of the basis of contention between the colonists and England from the rights of Englishmen to the rights of man, and the resulting Declaration of Independence. The author declares the ground taken by the colonists that they could not be taxed by Parliament "had been answered and fairly well refuted" (p. 12). He does not give the argument in refutation nor state by whom the answer was accepted. It was not accepted by the Whigs in America nor by the "Pitt Whigs" in England. It can be truly said that scores of moderate Tories in America preferred to rest their contention on the old ground rather than shift to the new. After enumerating the rights of man as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, it is refreshing to read:

It has become the custom in our time to decry these statements as glittering generalities. They are nothing of the kind. You may dissent from them, you may pronounce them totally wrong . . . yet these principles as laid down in the Declaration of Independence are just as truly principles of government by the people, as the divine right of kings was once the foundation of absolute monarchy (p. 14).

By comparing the bills of rights in the first state constitutions with the actual provisions of these constitutions, the author shows how wide was the gulf between the rights of man in theory and the rights of man in practice. He probably widens the Revolutionary conception of the natural rights of man when he extends it to include voting and holding office. The author is on safer ground in asserting that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 took a great step forward in turning over to the states the question of suffrage instead of tying it up by some Constitutional provision. The latter part of this lecture shows how far progress in industrial and social rights lagged behind the acquisition of political rights, and how the Revolution left untouched the social and industrial rights of the laborer, the poor, and the unfortunate. In justification of the seeming inconsistency of the Fathers, McMaster declares that they were in no sense disorganizers or anarchists, but that they waited for a chance to apply the rights of man decently and in order.

The second lecture is given over, in the main, to marking the progress of the new nation in a social and industrial way. The contest between the first political parties is looked upon as one between social and industrial classes. The rates of wages for different sections are given, and the effect of the western movement of population on the price of labor is noted. The author points out that such trades as were organized tried to force wages up by strikes, and appealed to the public for sympathy. The agitation against imprisonment for debt, the work of the humane societies in calling for the reform of prisons are traced, and the beginnings of the movement for manhood suffrage are touched in this lecture and completed in the third lecture. In addition, the author devotes considerable space in the third lecture to a new movement

for the rights of man as represented by Robert Dale Owen and his experiment in socialism at New Harmony, Indiana. Other kindred movements and the establishment of journals devoted to agitation in favor of this, that, or the other social or philanthropic movement are noted. The book closes with a discussion of the reform movement in Rhode Island, led by Dorr, which eventuated in a new constitution, forbidding slavery and extending the franchise.

The one wish the reviewer has in closing this little volume is that it could be placed in the hands of every grammar-school and high-school teacher of American history.

WM. H. MACE.

Life of General Philip Schuyler, 1733-1804. By BAYARD TUCKERMAN. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1903. Pp. v, 277.)

Mr. TUCKERMAN has succeeded in presenting the case of a much-wronged general in an impartial though not uninterested manner. The character of Philip Schuyler, hereditary and developed, is admirably drawn, and much space is devoted to his environment. The aristocratic landholder, who is at the same time pioneer on a rough frontier, is carefully and fully portrayed. The Hudson River manors are described, if not with the greatest accuracy of detail, at least with a force that leaves a clear impression upon the mind. The superficial aspects, the natural beauties of the region, the social life of the people, and the frontier dangers are treated rather than the more difficult subjects of their political and economic organization. Yet Philip Schuyler, and the social system of which he was a part, is set forth with no small literary talent. The limitations of the man and his ruling principles are so exposed that we can fully understand his conduct in the critical periods of his life.

After what appears to be an impartial examination of the Schuyler-Gates controversy, Mr. Tuckerman decides that the former's retirement was due to Gates's intrigues, in which the New England prejudice was artfully used. He comes to the conclusion (p. 231) that the retirement of Schuyler was an excusable error for Congress to make under the circumstances; but that the choice of his successor was a great mistake. In support of this view the author points out that Schuyler's military career had been characterized by care and good judgment but not by brilliancy; that his aristocratic manner, due to the environment in which he was born and bred, naturally irritated New-Englanders; that this dislike was intensified by Schuyler's connection with the dispute between New England and New York over the New Hampshire land grants; and finally that the necessary surrender of Ticonderoga, whose value was much overrated in New England, was quite sufficient to poison the minds of the Adamses, and other members from their section. Even the efforts of Schuyler in behalf of the health of his New England troops was misinterpreted, while his efforts to introduce discipline and subordination were

sullenly resisted. Schuyler lacked the patience and conciliatory manner which might have overcome this misunderstanding of him and his motives.

In the last chapter, a very brief and unsatisfactory treatment of Schuyler's political career, we find little that is new. Mr. Tuckerman effectually disposes of a slur which Bancroft cast upon Schuyler's estimate of Clinton as governor. The phrase, "His family and connections do not entitle him to so distinguished a predominance", is shown to have been taken out of its context and given a false prominence, if not a false meaning (pp. 251-252). Schuyler did not mean to infer that he had no other standard for public office than aristocratic position, but that he feared others might show disfavor for Clinton on that account. Excepting this defense, the chapter is weak because of lack of material. The intimate correspondence between Hamilton and Schuyler, which continued through the critical period of the making of the Constitution and the setting up of the new government, was destroyed by a son of one of Schuyler's executors. The intimate, unguarded views of Hamilton were in these letters, and with them must have perished much valuable information upon the history of the Federalist party.

The account of pre-Revolutionary politics in New York (pp. 75-82) contains a number of inaccurate statements of a character which suggest that the story is based upon certain general works written before the admirable monographic treatment recently given that period by Carl Becker. In general the setting for the activities of the hero is of less value than the matter concerning Schuyler himself. The author has studied Schuyler more deeply than the history of the times in which he lived.

As a piece of literature the book is a success. It is soberly but forcefully written, and the proportions are good. The military side of Schuyler's career is properly emphasized because it was in war and not in politics that he attained prominence. Only our interest in the events in which Schuyler had a part makes us desire a fuller treatment of his political activities; not because he attained such prominence that his own part in the events deserves especial attention.

The almost curt preface informs us that the memoir is based upon General Schuyler's papers and letter-books, on the Gates papers belonging to the New York Historical Society, and on the archives of the State Department in Washington. There is internal evidence of the use of these three sources, but the added clause "and on some other collections of original historical material" seems a needless mystery to plague us throughout 272 pages which are nowhere marred by ugly references. A reviewer is given the uncanny feeling that hidden pitfalls are always before him, and that all statements not otherwise supported may be buttressed by these unknown archives, which perhaps contain proofs that controvert old and established opinions or even facts. Reviewing becomes positively hazardous under such conditions. The index is poor. The volume is very attractive both as to the printing and binding.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The Life and Times of Thomas Smith (1745-1809). By BURTON ALVA KONKLE. (Philadelphia: Campion and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 303.)

ALTHOUGH the period covered by this biography was one of the most important and stirring in the political and constitutional history of Pennsylvania, it is only within recent years that it has attracted the especial attention of historical students. The most recent of these studies; the work under consideration, true to its title presents not only an excellent biography of Thomas Smith, but also a careful survey of the political and judicial history of Pennsylvania during his times.

Thomas Smith was born in Scotland, as were several of the friends and judicial associates of his adopted land, notably James Wilson, and Judges Brackenridge and Addison of the state bench. He was a half-brother of William Smith, the distinguished first provost of the University of Pennsylvania, then called the College of Philadelphia. In his appreciative introduction to this volume, Hampton L. Carson truly says, "The brothers became in a very real sense, though working in different fields, builders of the Commonwealth". Provost Smith, while Thomas was still but a lad in Scotland, had become famous on both sides of the Atlantic not only by reason of his educational position, but also through his political pamphlets, written during the French and Indian War, condemning the rule of the Quakers and their failure to provide for the defense of the province. The younger brother came to Pennsylvania in 1768, and, apparently through the good offices of his influential brother, he was soon appointed a deputy surveyor for a district west of the Susquehanna. For five years he continued surveying for the government, meanwhile studying law and being admitted to practice. He very soon "absorbed a large part of the government of Bedford county", holding at one time the office of prothonotary, clerk, recorder, and deputy register, as well as being a member of the bench of judges of this county.

With the coming on of the Revolution, Smith took an active part on the side of the patriots, holding various military and political offices. He was a colonel of militia, and deputy quartermaster-general, and successively a member of the provincial assembly, of the convention that formed the new state constitution, of the State Assembly (1776-1779), and of the Continental Congress (1780-1782). Then for nine years he practiced his profession and became a leading land lawyer, attending more courts than any other lawyer in his state, traveling on horseback upwards of three thousand miles annually. In 1791 he was appointed president judge of one of the district courts, and three years later was promoted to the supreme court, a position which he held until his death in 1809. Smith established the reputation of possessing "a larger and more accurate knowledge of land law than any of his associates".

The chapters covering the years of Smith's political career are the most interesting, as Mr. Konkle presents various phases of the prolonged contest between the friends and the opponents of the Constitution of 1776,

Smith being numbered among the latter. The strife between parties became so intense that politics entered into all the affairs of the day. Of the various contemporaries of Smith appearing in these pages—many of whom were of national fame—perhaps the most remarkable character was George Bryan, one of his political opponents, whose career is most sympathetically presented. As the leader of the radical popular party, he was the real author and steadfast defender of the Constitution of 1776, and largely directed the government under it. He was the first vice-president of the state, and later as chairman of twenty-seven out of thirty-nine committees of the assembly he presented a most remarkable instance of one-man power, more openly exhibited than is the custom of the modern political "boss". Bryan's chief claim for remembrance is due to his authorship of the emancipation law of 1780. Shortly after its enactment he was unanimously elected to the supreme court, where he remained for life. He did not, however, altogether give up his activity in politics, and is credited with being the author of the letters against the Constitution signed by "Centinel".

In addition to the discussion of the political history of the period, the work contains a valuable study of the origin and development of the state judiciary, and presents a very realistic picture of Pennsylvania of a century and more ago, through its descriptions of the life both on the frontier and in the city, and by its characterization of the leading public men. These are based chiefly upon contemporary accounts. The work is a decided contribution to the history of the period. It might well have included a fuller account of the political contests over the College and the Bank, and of the work of the Council of Censors, as well as the struggle over the adoption of the Federal Constitution. These subjects, however, have been in part covered by other writers, and were not intimately connected with the career of Thomas Smith. The only error noted is the statement on page 191 that Congress was sitting at Annapolis in 1787.

The volume is handsomely printed and is embellished with over forty illustrations comprising a notable series of maps, portraits, and views.

HERMAN V. AMES.

Napoleon. A History of the Art of War, from the Beginning of the French Revolution to the End of the Eighteenth Century, with a Detailed Account of the Wars of the French Revolution. In four volumes. Volumes I and II. By Lieutenant-Colonel THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE, U. S. A. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1904. Pp. xx, 620; ix, 562.)

It was only eleven years ago that Lévy declared in his *Napoléon intime* that the true history of Napoleon had yet to be written, but in that time immense strides have been made in the right direction. Professor Sloane's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* supplied, among many other details,

abundant valuable information which no one else had been able to unearth respecting the early life of the great Corsican ; and as a result of his work it was possible for the first time to understand logically the development of the gaunt, poverty-stricken, but nevertheless proud and masterful little Corsican of the Military School of Brienne, through the various stages which made him the foremost general and the most dazzling character in the history of the world. The closing days of the "eagle Emperor" chained to a lonely rock in the Atlantic "a thousand miles from anywhere" have been discussed anew by Lord Rosebery in his incisive volume on *Napoleon, the Last Phase*, and the manifold conflicting events and works dealing with this period have been weighed like legal evidence and definitely placed in the categories where they properly belong. For more than eighty years an immense amount of invaluable information lay in the archives of the British Foreign Office, untouched except by Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe*, and it remained for John Holland Rose to bring to light in his *Life of Napoleon I* a great deal of new material which had not previously been published in any such admirable form. Another work of much merit was Dr. A. Fournier's *Napoleon I*, which first appeared in German, then in French in 1892, and has now been translated into English.

Although these general works possess an immense deal of valuable information, they obviously cannot grapple with all the phases of a life the like of which never has been, and unquestionably never will be, seen again. Such a task, as Rosebery points out, is far too stupendous for any one man to accomplish and the desideratum can never be attained until all the manifold sides of that remarkable figure have been dissected and analyzed by specialists. Although the general reader cannot be gainsaid his undeniable right to demand works having approximate completeness in their treatment of important historical personages, yet this does not diminish the value of the labors of specialists who can alone, each man in his own line, ultimately furnish a complete history of the "little man in the great gray coat", whose colossal genius towers far above that of any other historical character and who for years controlled the destinies of Europe.

There still remains a vast amount of material relating to his military career as yet untouched, but each year brings more of these treasures to light. The movement in this direction was unquestionably initiated by General Baron Jomini, one of the greatest of military writers, whose *Life of Napoleon*, published first in French and translated into English in 1864, is still the model for works of this kind, just as Captain P. Foucart's *Campagne de Prusse*, published in 1887 and 1890, is a model for those who confine themselves to one campaign and who, by going directly to the original sources, follow the "Oxford system", inaugurated by Lecky, which is the best method by which accurate historical data is brought to light. A less technical but nevertheless specialized work of inestimable value is the admirable work *Napoleon as a General* from the pen of that brilliant colonel, Count Yorck von Wartenburg of

the Prussian General Staff, whose untimely death in China is a cause of genuine regret. These two volumes, based on the *Correspondance* published by order of Napoleon III, were first brought out in German and only two years ago appeared in print in English as part of "The Wolseley Series". Two other works deserving of highest rank are the masterful comments on the Italian campaigns of 1796-1797 and 1800 contained in H. H. Sargent's *Napoleon Bonaparte's First Campaign* and *The Campaign of Marengo*. Unremitting researches by continental writers are yearly producing innumerable memoirs, correspondence, and technical works dealing with the multiplicity of details which went to make the Napoleonic era the most remarkable military epoch in history, and the side-lights thus thrown on the central dominating figure have done much to bring out many points which have hitherto remained in the dark.

One would think that all the numberless works treating of this colossus in his various aspects as strategist, statesman, lawgiver, and man had well-nigh exhausted the subject but, although more has been written of this one individual than of any other historical personage, many times over, the fund of knowledge pertaining to him seems like an eternal spring, many of whose sources are still unfathomed. Historical treasures, like the most precious jewels, are generally unearthed in a form too crude for use and need to be subjected to some refining process which gives them their value. Hence it is that the labor of the excavator is incomplete until supplemented by that of the refiner, to whom the world is principally indebted for its most valuable acquisitions. In this latter category we now have the pleasure of chronicling one of the most notable contributions to the military history of the greatest of all strategists which has appeared in the last decade — the first two volumes of Colonel Dodge's *Napoleon*. There are few men living better qualified than he to undertake such a difficult work; a soldier who has participated in many of the campaigns of the Civil War, a keen observer who for several years lived in and breathed the atmosphere of a martial capital like Berlin, a writer of unusual depth of research and breadth of view, as shown by his previous works on the campaigns of "Great Captains", he exemplifies admirably the maxim given by Napoleon — which he quotes at the beginning of his first volume — who declared that in order to master the secret of the art of war one must read and re-read the history of the eighty-eight campaigns of great commanders like Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, and Frederick, and by modeling oneself on them learn to reject maxims opposed to theirs. Colonel Dodge has already published works on all of these captains — except Frederick the Great, which has wisely been deferred pending the appearance of the exhaustive treatise being prepared by the German General Staff — and the years of study which he has spent in the preparation of these works is manifest on almost every page of his *Napoleon*. Only those who had labored in the way which he has done would be able to compare how General Bonaparte advancing on Turin in 1796 remembered the difficulty which Prince Eugene had had in 1706; the similarity between the

fighting on the causeways at Arcole and of Cæsar at Alexandria, of Castiglione and Leuthen, of the battles of Mount Tabor and the Pyramids and those of Alexander; or to show how Napoleon's crossing of the Little St. Bernard in 1800 was "a mere summer day's excursion" (II, 27) compared with Hannibal's traversing the same pass or Alexander's crossing of the Hindu-Kush; and how Napoleon's letter of October 12, 1806, to his "Brother" of Prussia was "a stratagem worthy of Hannibal, father of stratagems" (II, 375).

Dodge's *Napoleon*, like the other books of his "Great Captains" series, is founded on the postulate that "the great captain is the product of exceptional intellect, exceptional force of character and exceptional opportunity", supplemented by the fact that "the highest strategy is generally the product of the greatest brain". The reviewer was the first writer in English to summarize the five principal characteristics of Napoleonic strategy, *viz.*: (1) the initiative at the beginning of hostilities, (2) one line of operations, (3) the unity of forces, (4) the rapidity of movement on decisive points, and (5) the invariable concentration for battle, illustrated by maxims culled from Napoleon's own writings, and to point out that "throughout these above-enumerated principles runs the fundamental idea of simplicity" (*Journal of the Military Service Institution*, XXVIII, 20, January, 1901). These ideas have been admirably enlarged by Colonel Dodge, who in chapter XXI (II, 11-12) which deals with the events immediately following the establishment of the Consulate and preceding the campaign of Marengo, aptly says:

The conception of all Napoleon's campaigns and the simple perfection of their opening is a study. Several points are always prominent. The army has but one line of operations. Along this line the mass is to be projected. The objective is to be the enemy's army. The line chosen is one running around the flank of the enemy, upon his communications. If possible this flank is to be the strategic flank, that is, the one which most surely cuts the enemy off from his own base. And last, while thus threatening the enemy's, the line is to be such as to conserve one's own communications. These were principles on which this great soldier always acted. In other words, his rule for opening a campaign was this: move in one mass upon the enemy's army, along one line of operations, from such a base and in such a direction that you shall turn his strategic flank and threaten his communications, without prejudicing your own. Then if you beat him in the battle it should be your aim at once to bring on, you can destroy him. This theory, put into words, sounds simple; but it has taken twenty-four centuries of war to enable any one to enunciate the rule; and Napoleon has been the one great captain who consistently practiced it.

Colonel Dodge's work abounds in such admirable summaries as the above, which show in what good stead his previous studies have stood him and how thoroughly he has weighed every authority and every detail. The work opens with an exhaustive examination of the condition and organization of the military establishments of France, Prussia, and Austria, followed by a careful consideration of tactics and administration

at the end of the eighteenth century. No detail has been neglected; the organization of the various arms, minor and battle tactics, administration and supply, baggage, discipline, fortifications and field-works, rations and pay are treated in a manner which has no counterpart in English military literature. All these important minutiae are known to the student who has delved into the valuable technical works of other languages, and Colonel Dodge has conferred a genuine benefit in placing such valuable facts within the reach of English-speaking readers.

Beginning with an army "rotten in its organization, discipline and morale" and "as bad as the worst of the mercenaries of the Thirty Years' War", Dodge shows how the French, actuated by the subversive creeds of the Revolution, succeeded in holding head against the entire Continent in spite of the internal dissensions, the constant guillotining of incompetent commanders, and the radical faults of the system inaugurated by Carnot, who, though mediocre himself as a general, proved to be the "organizer of Victory". Although the lessons taught by Frederick the Great were almost entirely forgotten and the faulty dissemination of forces due to adherence to the "cordon system", the French nevertheless profited by the experience of the officers who had served in the American Revolution, consisting, as Dodge points out, of "the superiority of good marksmen in open order, each one taking advantage of the accidents of the ground, over seasoned regulars who fought elbow to elbow" (I, 24). Frederick the Great's disciple in France was Guibert, whose school won the day against the advocates of the deep formation, with the result that on August 1, 1791, the "Ordinance", which remained in technical force through the Napoleonic era, inaugurated a new method known as "skirmishers in great bands", which fostered "that forward swing whose normal effect so often leads to victory, and which was so thoroughly consistent with the French character" (II, 180). The result was that

The new French cry was "Audacity, more audacity, always audacity!" The French armies forded great rivers in the teeth of the enemy; they crossed vast mountain ranges with cavalry and artillery; they threw bridges under heavy artillery fire; they bivouacked without tents; they marched and fought without magazines; they waded through rivers breast-high; they made continuous marches in snow ankle-deep.

The "theory of the impossible" became a doctrine and brought into existence a military fervor and a nascent moral force which needed only the guiding hand of a master-spirit to be developed into irresistible power. The hour was ripe for the "man of Destiny".

Through the campaigns of 1796, 1797, Egypt, Marengo, the Ulm manœuvres which are among "the very finest in history", Austerlitz, "the first pattern of a great battle he had shown the world", Jena, and its masterful pursuit, in which the Prussians "lost all save honor", Pultusk, whose lesson should have prevented the disastrous events of 1812, Eylau, "the bloodiest battle since Malplaquet", Heilsberg, which gave evidence of Napoleon's belief in his seeming invincibility, and

Friedland, where he caught the Russians in a faulty position and practically destroyed them, Dodge traces the working of the great strategist in all its details. He contrasts his *modus operandi* with that of the other French generals who were governed by Carnot's plan of attacking two wings at one and the same time, and the allied generals who—with the one exception of Suwarrov who "had the soul of a great captain, but not the head", as Napoleon said—were wedded to the "cordon system" or hampered by the "blundering interference" of the Aulic Council, a "hide-bound", "hypercritical, antiquated", but "distinguished body of fossils" "to which from the days of Prince Eugene Austria had owed all her reverses". Furthermore Dodge demonstrates that even a Napoleon could not violate the fundamental laws of war without suffering the inevitable consequences, as he did at Marengo and in 1807, when he disseminated his forces and permitted Bennigsen temporarily to wrest from him the initiative and the control of "interior lines".

While Dodge contributes no material which has not already seen print and while he closely follows Jomini and Yorck von Wartenburg, he has nevertheless concentrated in admirable form the information previously scattered in hundreds of volumes, and his work bids fair to be the best military history of Napoleon in English. Unlike previous writers who have been possessed of the idea that men in war are mere automata, Dodge is wise not to neglect the "personal equation", and he has successfully endeavored to give a brief but complete picture of a Napoleonic army in all its details, taking care to show how they were fed and how the transport was furnished by the Breidt Company—facts of which most English readers know nothing. His summaries of political events are succinct and comprehensive, his descriptions of the various terrains—nearly all of which he has visited in person—are admirable, and his examination of the reasons which induced the First Consul in 1800 to give the principal strategical theater in Suabia to Moreau while he took the subordinate theater in Italy, his chapter on the "Formation for Battle", and his account of the causes which made the Gaul superior to the Teuton in the opening of the campaign of Jena, are the work of a master hand. He judiciously avoids many of the pitfalls abounding in this period by declining to be drawn into such fruitless discussions as whether Bonaparte was justified in administering poison to some of his plague-stricken men after Acre, whether he really intended to invade England, and whether the Third Coalition was originated by Russia or by England. His style is generally terse and direct, in all the mass of detail the principal point is never lost sight of, and the method of presentation is clear and convincing. The two volumes are profusely illustrated, but the portraits and cuts of uniforms, while interesting and usually well chosen—one of the best being those of the "guns of the period"—are seldom identified as to source or authenticity. Although Dodge emphasizes the fact that it was his strategy rather than his tactics which underlay Napoleon's successes, yet it seems to me that more detail would have been in keeping with a work professedly technical than is to

be found in the skeleton maps, stripped of all but the bald essentials, which illustrate the operations described ; and it is lamentable that more care should not have been taken in making the spelling of names on the maps agree with the spelling in the text — the most flagrant case being the map of the Mantua-Leoben country, in which no less than eighteen names differ from the orthography of the text. An error has also been made in saying that Marmont was created a marshal in 1804 and as such commanded one of the corps of the Grand Army in the Ulm-Austerlitz campaign, whereas he did not really obtain his baton until after Wagram.

Colonel Dodge has not sufficiently accentuated the three periods into which Wartenburg has divided Napoleon's career as a general, and it seems to me that he follows too closely the *Mémoires de Sainte-Hélène* which, although among the most remarkable writings in history, are not always to be relied upon unless thoroughly verified by more authoritative material ; Thiers's brilliant work errs for the same reason in that he followed too closely the *Bulletins*, which, as Napoleon wrote to Masséna on October 11, 1805, were "drawn up in haste and on the run". However it is asking too much to demand an absolutely accurate history until all the treasures of the war archives of the continent have been unearthed and treated in the manner of Foucart's *Campagne de Prusse*. Dodge has done a notable work, and the close of his second volume has left us at Tilsit, where the emperor's star shone its brightest. We shall anticipate with pleasure the remaining volumes, especially to see how he will treat of Eckmühl — where the manœuvres surpassed even those of Ulm — and of the campaign of France — where the titanic struggle again called forth the mightiest efforts of the genius who taught the world more of the art of war than any other captain of ancient or modern times.

FREDERIC L. HUIDEKOPER.

La Théophilanthropie et le Culte Décadaire, 1796-1801 : Essai sur l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution. Par ALBERT MATHIEZ. [Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, IV.] (Paris : Félix Alcan. 1904. Pp. 753.)

THIS volume and its companion, *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires, 1789-1792* (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1904), are the two theses presented by M. Mathiez, at the University of Paris for his doctorate. M. Mathiez, who was formerly a student at the École Normale Supérieure and later a student pensioner on the Thiers Foundation, is at present professor *agrégé* of history in the Lycée at Caen. He has for some time been a frequent contributor to historical reviews and an active member in French historical societies, and is one of the most brilliant of the younger generation of French historians. This volume recommends itself at first glance by the dedication to MM. Aulard and Bourgeois, the two eminent masters under whose friendly guidance M. Mathiez has pursued diligently the study of every phase of the religious history of the Revolution. These two theses and

various review articles are the first fruit of these extensive researches in a field which has hitherto been left too fully to the martyrologist. The excellence and completeness of these first essays, which treat of single episodes, will commend to a kindly consideration any future work of the author upon his chosen subject. The thorough documentation of the volumes is a guaranty of the exacting research and the patient accuracy of the author. The systematic arrangement of the book and the full index, so sadly wanting in too many French books, will especially commend this volume to every student who may use it.

While all will agree in testifying to the author's scholarship, many will differ with him in their attitude toward the subject. M. Mathiez, like his masters, is a convinced supporter of the Third Republic and takes a keen interest in its policies, especially those affecting the church and education, which are of such vast importance at this moment. He has studied the religious problem during the French Revolution as a part of the problem which confronts the France of to-day. To the American, happily long since accustomed to the separation of church and state and to their coexistence, anti-clericalism is something he cannot understand, especially when it extends to a complete rejection of Christianity or any possible revealed religion (p. 705). To the Frenchman of to-day the Revolution is, in the phrase of M. Clémenceau, a "bloc" which he must accept or reject as a whole. To him the questions which perplex the Third Republic are the same as those which troubled the First Republic, and the greatest of these is the religious and educational question, for not only have church and state been linked together in France but education and religion have seemed inseparable. Naturally the intimate relations of church and state, of royalty and clergy, under the *ancien régime* caused the revolutionists to hold the church jointly responsible with the old monarchy for all of the existing evils. The Revolution sought at first to subordinate the church to the state, but the ultramontanism of the clergy soon developed official indifference and even official persecution of the church. The revolutionist hated the church because of the enormous financial burdens, direct or indirect, which it had imposed; he distrusted it because it owed allegiance and demanded obedience to a foreign ruler whose interests were by no means consonant with the national welfare of France; he hated the presence of a privileged class, the clergy, which was the ever-present symbol of that obnoxious allegiance which it sought ever to make more exacting. In short, the financial, political, and moral power of the clergy seemed to be used for purposes hostile to the interests of both the people and the nation. It is little wonder that the religion professed by this clergy fell under the same condemnation as the clergy themselves. The Revolution taught men that some of the duties formerly entrusted to the church could be performed better, less expensively, and less dangerously by the state. Men then began to dream of replacing the discredited church by a new religion, pure, undefiled, and, above all, patriotic. The Revolution had destroyed and satisfactorily replaced the monarchy, why could

it not destroy and replace the church? The Church believed that its safety required the overthrow of the Republic and the undoing of the Revolution. The Revolution and its child, the Republic, were equally convinced that safety could be obtained only by destroying the power of the Church, if not the Church itself.

Just as Jeroboam realized that the people of Israel could not long be loyal to his kingdom if they continued to go Jerusalem, a foreign capital, to worship, so the revolutionists felt that the Republic was insecure as long as its citizens owed allegiance to a foreign pontiff; and like Jeroboam the revolutionists essayed to create a new, a national patriotic religion. The worship of reason, the worship of the Supreme Being, and the system of revolutionary festivals each abode their destined hour and went their way, while others were still-born. The *Culte Décadaire* was a purely political religion and fostered by Merlin of Douai and his fellow-directors from October, 1798, to July, 1800. It was in a measure a revival of the old system of Revolutionary festivals established in connection with the Revolutionary calendar during the Terror. Theophilanthropy was the longest-lived of these transient religions. It was invented by Chemin, a Parisian bookseller and freemason, and by Valentin Haüy, the famous friend and benefactor of the blind, in the winter of 1796-1797. Under the patronage of the director Larévellière-Lépeaux it secured official recognition. Its vogue was chiefly in Paris and in a few cities of the provinces, but it had ramifications in foreign countries, not excepting the United States, where the French of Gallipolis in Ohio and Thomas Paine each showed an active interest in it. It fell under the ban of the law in October, 1801. Thanks to MM. Aulard and Mathiez, we now possess satisfactory accounts of the different attempts of the Revolution to create a religion.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The Life of Nathaniel Macon. By WILLIAM E. DODD, Ph.D. (Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards and Broughton. 1903. Pp. xvi, 443.)

PROFESSOR DODD'S book is a welcome contribution to American political biography. As he tells us in the preface, it is the first comprehensive life of Macon yet attempted. While this famous North Carolinian is not accounted a great statesman, still his long public career during the formative period of our nation, his thirty-seven years of conspicuous service in Congress, his position as favorite representative of North Carolina, his relation to the secessionist school and to the great sectional struggle, his independence, and his Randolph democracy render his biography a work of much more than local or passing interest.

Professor Dodd has dealt with the subject very acceptably. The style, marred only by an occasional sentence that is loose, awkward, or obscure, is prevailingly clear, careful, and engaging. The material is drawn in part from published sources, but quite largely from manuscript letters and records. These sources, scattered and on many points scanty,

seem to have been used judiciously and to good advantage. In scope the book is more than a mere chronicle of events in Macon's life; it embraces as a background for its peculiar subject not a little of national history from the Revolution to the accession of Jackson, and more especially of North Carolina history as related to national affairs and to Macon's career. The author's attitude is temperate and scholarly, but sympathetic. He emphasizes, as cardinal points in Macon's political character, his integrity, his insistence upon economy, his ardent local patriotism, and his belief in democracy. He finds Macon's best expression of political faith in his declaration that "In proportion as men live easily and comfortably, in proportion as they are free from the burdens of taxation, they will be attached to the government in which they live" (p. 288). Macon's speech on the repeal of the Judiciary Act, printed in an appendix, is pronounced "the longest and most characteristic speech of his congressional career" (p. 404). Professor Dodd's general estimate of Macon is indicated by the following sentences from his concluding pages: "His place in history must be determined by his relations to the South as a distinct section of the nation. He believed . . . that next to the State the South had the first demands on his service . . . Macon must be regarded as Randolph's counterpart in founding the creed of the secessionists; he was a stronger and more influential man than 'his brilliant but flighty friend of Roanoke' . . . He was a Southern statesman in the sectional sense . . . *He actually believed in democracy*" (pp. 400-401).

In conclusion some matters of detail call for a word of comment. For instance, the Missouri Compromise line is given as "36 degrees 40 seconds" (p. 318). We read that "Importation of foreign slaves into the United States had been prohibited by the Constitution after January 1, 1808" (p. 212). We may question whether Monroe was "an exceedingly wise and able President" (p. 299) and Van Buren "the ablest of our public men of the second order" (p. 391). Still more may we dissent from the opinion that the slavery struggle culminating in the Civil War was merely a matter of dollars and to be explained on economic grounds alone (pp. 103, 213). Certainly it is a little surprising that Macon's speech upon the proposed government for newly-purchased Louisiana is not mentioned, while his opinions and utterances upon matters of much less present-day or permanent interest are given due attention.

PAUL S. PEIRCE.

The Lower South in American History. By WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1902. Pp. xi, 271.)

THIS volume is made up of eight papers. The substance of the first three was given as "public lectures at Harvard University and at various Southern colleges". The next three were published originally in *The Atlantic Monthly*, and only the last two appear for the first time. The

first three papers give title to the volume. Here the author concisely analyzes the conditions that he conceives made it possible for the lower South to exercise a controlling influence in national affairs from "the admission of Missouri in 1820 to the secession of South Carolina". He contrasts Alabama as typical of the lower south, with Virginia as representing the upper, and succinctly points out the social, religious, and industrial differences between them.

There were few if any racial differences, as the immigrants to the newer country came mainly from "the older seaboard Southern states". More than half of the population was made up of planters and farmers. Their industrial life differed from that in Virginia "chiefly in the concentration of land and slaves in fewer hands, in the greater immediate profitableness of agriculture, and in the greater rapidity with which lands were exhausted". Three-fourths of the 335,000 slaves in the state were owned "by less than ten thousand men". In "manufactures, banking, commerce, and all other industries" not more than 100,000 persons were engaged.

There was an intense religious life. The "richer planters and their associates" accepted the Episcopalian form of worship. The Baptists and Methodists were strong everywhere. In 1850 there were nearly fifteen hundred houses of worship. Popular education however languished. There was no organized public-school system until late in the fifties, and the percentage of illiterates was large. The best intellect of the state went into medicine or the ministry, "but oftener into the law, and through the law into politics". When Monroe retired from the Presidency in 1825, and the ascendancy of Virginia in national affairs came to an end, the influence Virginia had wielded was taken up and continued by the "Black Belt".

The author's analysis is interesting, but he probably claims too much for the lower South in controlling national action on the questions of tariff, internal improvements, and finance. And on the question of the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War his position is not wholly tenable. He says:

Slavery had to do with the seizure of Texas and the attempts upon Cuba. But we may not attribute to that alone this single act in the long drama which began before the first slave landed in Virginia and ended in 1898. The true cause of it was that old land hunger which half the world has not satisfied. . . . When the last act came on, and Mexico had to be conquered, it was mainly volunteers from the Cotton states, joined by a few of their Northern friends, like Franklin Pierce, who swelled our little army to the strength the enterprise demanded (pp. 77-78).

No doubt both causes played a part. It hardly can be gainsaid, however, that the interests of slavery were the immediate and dominant motives. Slavery explains the land-hunger of that time. The acquisition of new territory for the erection of new slave states to maintain the South's equality in the Senate to bolster up slavery was the controlling motive.

Of the remaining papers, one is on William Lowndes Yancey, "the orator of secession". Another is on the resources of the Confederacy. This is based on Professor John C. Schwab's excellent work on the financial and industrial history of the south during the Civil War. The third is a concise account of the origin and organization of the Kuklux movement in the first years following the war. The fourth, "A New Hero of an Old Type", is a rhetorical eulogy on Lieutenant Richard Hobson. The fifth and last is entitled "Shifting the White Man's Burden". In this paper the author considers the disfranchise movement in the south, but finds no solution of the problem. Mr. Brown has written an interesting and suggestive book. His treatment is fair; his statement is clear though at times he is somewhat too rhetorical. The book is not a history, but is an excellent beginning toward one. It makes little if any contribution of fact, and its chief value is in its suggestiveness.

JOHN WILLIAM PERRIN.

The Republican Party: A History of its Fifty Years' Existence and a Record of its Measures and Leaders, 1854-1904. By FRANCIS CURTIS. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. xxi, 532; v, 566.)

THESE volumes are written by a candid party advocate. The author, obviously, has believed in the Republican party in the past, believes in it to-day, and bids fair to continue to believe in it in time to come. The volumes contain a "Foreword" by President Roosevelt and "Introductions" by Hon. William P. Frye, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Hon. J. G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The work may be regarded, therefore, as a party history officially recognized. Though not impartial, the work may be said to be useful and fair, as it accomplishes very well its aim of setting forth fully and clearly, though without attempt at philosophical exposition, what the Republican party has accomplished during the fifty years of its history. The author does this with a good sense of proportion and selection. Whatever one may think of Republican policies, the life of one of our great parties will be recognized as a theme worthy of the party historian; and as a record of party creed and achievement Mr. Curtis's work is worthy of commendation and appreciation.

The author opens his work with the birth of the Republican party under the oaks at Jackson, the fiftieth anniversary of which event has recently been fittingly celebrated; yet half his first volume is taken up with a preliminary review of the great slavery controversy that brought the Republican party into being. The author goes at considerable length into the formative and heroic period of the Republican party, when it contended against the extension of slavery, when it required nerve, the severance of party ties, and the sacrifice of personal reputations and interests to stand for the cause; and he very properly gives large space to the complex party situation of 1854 and 1856. Scant attention is

given to the Liberty party in 1844, but partial recognition is made (due to Senator Hoar's example and mugwumpery of that day) of the Free-soil platform of 1848 as the forerunner of the Republican position of 1856. The Know-nothing movement is fully treated, and the beginnings of the Republican party in 1854, by spontaneous movements and meetings in various states in the north in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, are traced in considerable detail. To the special student of party history in America the material brought together from articles, letters, speeches, and reminiscences in this part of Mr. Curtis's work relating to the credit due for the origins of his party are of much interest and value.

Mr. Curtis denies the right of the present Democratic party to claim its ancestry in Jefferson. The founder of the Democratic party is referred to as an "ardent protectionist", and no distinction is made between the Anti-Federal party that opposed the adoption of the Constitution and the Democratic-Republican party of Jefferson that had its birth in a conflict over questions of Constitutional construction. The hyphenated word "Democratic-Republican" Mr. Curtis discards altogether, holding that the party of Jefferson was merely "Republican", as by that name alone Jefferson always sought to call his party. Jefferson's desire no doubt prevailed after his party came into unquestioned power and reputation, and it might be just as well to do as Mr. Curtis does, apply the single name "Republican" to the old party of Jefferson, if it were possible to change historical terminology. But the effort must be regarded as quite vain wherein the author seeks to make the Republican party of Jefferson the forebears, not of the modern Democratic party, but of the Whigs, and, therefore, by implication, of the modern Republicans. "The old Republican party, as such," he says, "was merged almost wholly into the Whig party"; "the campaign of 1828 can well be said to be a conflict between Republicans and Democrats"; "The name National Republican was retained until the campaign of 1832, when the party became known as the Anti-Mason party, afterwards the Whigs." Subsequently in speaking of the Antimasonic party the author says, with an apparent inconsistency, "The old Federalists were very glad of the opportunity to get together in a new organization, and eagerly welcomed the advent of the anti-Masonic party" (I, 80). The modern Democratic party, he thinks, finds its origin under Jackson in 1828, "now, for the first time, triumphant", and it was composed "largely of the inhabitants of the slaveholding States". All this is confusing, if not misleading, and it throws no light on the conflicting claims of the Jacksonian Democrats and the Clay Whigs to be the linear descendants of the Jeffersonian Republicans. A historical argument may be made for either view, but the burden of the argument is in favor of the Democrats, though evidently Mr. Curtis does not consider it his office to vindicate the claim of the opposing client.

The bulk of Mr. Curtis's volumes is very properly occupied with giving, in historical order, the record of the issues, platforms, and con-

tests with which the country has had to do since 1856. Here may be found, in large measure, the political history of the last fifty years. Special interest attaches to the conventions and campaigns of 1860, 1864, 1880, and 1884. Light notice is taken, very naturally, of the shortcomings of the party, either of the last generation or of this. But in the record of the party conventions many interesting nominating speeches and party discussions are given, and the proceedings and decisions are set forth by which the evolution of the unwritten party law is revealed. Some readers will be disappointed and surprised that more attention is not given to the development of party machinery and to the importance of party organization, practice, and usage in popular government; for on this line we find one of the most striking characteristics of our party life during the lifetime of the Republican party. The most recent events and issues in our party history are discussed from the Republican point of view, and the volumes may be regarded as a good and useful summary of Republican principles and policies, with the party defenses well and ably guarded.

In his closing chapter, on "Defections from the Party", which is largely a discussion of party ethics, Mr. Curtis makes a plea at length in favor of party fealty and against the spirit of the mugwump. Of the four historic Republican defections, the first, that of 1864, says Mr. Curtis, was "only a flash in the pan"; the second, that of 1872, was a failure that brought only ridicule to its cause and death to its candidate; the third, that of 1884, was based on a false charge, and he condemns its leader, Mr. George William Curtis, as "bound in honor to support the ticket and platform" (II, 472) which he helped to make; the fourth defection, that of the Silver Republicans in 1896, strengthened the party rather than weakened it. The mugwumps, the author declares, have in no way influenced party nominations or the course of party history; to the credit of electing Cleveland, if credit it be and if such credit can be claimed, the author allows the mugwumps to be entirely welcome. Considerable attention is given to Mr. George William Curtis and Mr. Carl Schurz as leaders of mugwump opinion, and severe criticism is meted out to the *Springfield Republican* as a typical mugwump journal, which is characterized as making "untruthful and unjust attacks . . . upon the nation's trusted officers" (II, 481).

The appendix of the work contains a good deal of good party material. Students and readers who are interested in American politics and party history will find cause of gratitude to Mr. Curtis for the result of his labor.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The History of Twenty-five Years. By Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B. Volume I, 1856-1865; Volume II, 1865-1870. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Two vols., pp. xviii, 529; xiv, 525.)

It is twenty years since Sir Spencer Walpole completed his six-

volume *History of England from 1815 to 1858*, a work to which the present history forms in some sort the sequel. But the author warns his reader that these later volumes aim at covering not merely the history of England but that of continental Europe and the United States between 1856 and 1881. And this gives them a peculiar interest and importance. They have no real competitor in English, for Fyffe's *Modern Europe* is constructed on a much smaller scale, and Mr. McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times* is both too exclusively British and too journalistic to compete either in scope or in style with Sir Spencer's work. The recently advertised history by Mr. Herbert Paul may intend to traverse the same ground, but anybody who is familiar with Mr. Paul's other books will hardly expect from him the large views, the judicial temper, the mellow and deliberate opinions, which make Sir Spencer a historian of unusual excellence.

Walpole's work consists practically of thirteen monographs, varying in length from sixty to one hundred pages, of which seven are directly concerned with British internal affairs, and one each with the union of Italy, with Poland and Denmark, with the American Civil War and the Mexican Empire, with the rise of Prussia, and with the collapse of the French Empire. It is particularly to those non-British chapters that attention should be called, because, so far as I am aware, there is nothing else in English so good, nothing that supplies their place. The account of the union of Italy, for instance, compresses into comparatively small compass diplomatic and political negotiations, many of which have only recently been revealed, which extended over seven years; and, what is more to the purpose, the treatment is as sympathetic as it is clear. So too the chapter on the American Civil War is written with a fine candor. Sir Spencer lays bare the truculence of Palmerston, the supercilious hostility of the British aristocracy toward the North, and the uncertain and often mistaken policy of the British Foreign Office; but he also shows the basis on which British prejudices rested, and the blunders, of which the seizure of Mason and Slidell was the greatest, in the American conduct. Throughout the work, indeed, he describes with scrupulous precision the state of mind which conditioned the acts of each of the parties to a dispute. As a specimen of his skill in disentangling the most snarly skein of modern diplomacy, the chapter on the Schleswig-Holstein affair may be recommended. Possibly, the portion of his history which some readers will concur in least is that which unfolds the rise of Prussia. Sir Spencer describes Bismarck's genius in all its strength, but with its utter ignoring of moral considerations when a political advantage was to be gained for Prussia.

The chapters devoted to Great Britain take up Parliamentary and party development, but they go much deeper than that, for Sir Spencer traces also the progress of inventions, the changes in social and religious ideals, and the altered views of man's relations to the universe which the teachings of Darwin and the evolutionists brought about. The great topics, such as the Reform Bill of 1867 or the Irish Question, are of

course given due attention; but you will find also very interesting accounts of the development of steamships, of the introduction of limited liability, of the construction of the Thames embankment and the metropolitan drainage system, and of the admission of Jews to Parliament. Special mention should be made of a general survey of civilization during the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, and of passages which summarize British conditions about 1860 in a manner recalling Macaulay's famous description of England under Charles II. But most stress should be laid, not upon the accuracy with which Sir Spencer states a case, nor on the abundance of his information, but on his eminently judicial temper, and on his sympathy, which enables him to understand and interpret men who differ absolutely in aims and deeds.

Posterity will in the main, I believe, confirm Sir Spencer's verdicts on the great issues and men that he takes up. But while his general outlines are lifelike, persons may not all agree on the lights and shades. Thus, the somewhat scant credit given to Grant as a commander would be modified if Sir Spencer took sufficiently into account Grant's immense achievement west of the Alleghenies before he commanded the Army of the Potomac. Sir Spencer, like many Americans even, forgets Shiloh and Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and the other work of three campaigns which resulted in wresting the Mississippi valley from the Confederacy. To imply that Grant was only a mediocre general because he pounded away, regardless of slaughter, in the Wilderness, and to forget all his record in the west, is unfair. Relatively, Vicksburg was as difficult to capture as Sebastopol, yet Grant captured it in a fifth of the time and with probably only an eighth of the cost in men and money required by the English and French for Sebastopol. So, too, such a move as Grant's cutting loose from his base revealed in him military qualities of a very high order. Wellington, for example, never equaled that. It is evident that Sir Spencer does not realize that, although the south had a much smaller population than the north, the southern country, with its roadless forests and mountains, its unbridged rivers, and its infrequent towns, made defense easy. Since recent experience showed that it took ten Englishmen to displace one Boer, the tremendous advantage which geography may give to one side in war ought to need no further demonstration. The Confederacy had only one soldier to every three Union soldiers, yet the advantage of position may well have been worth the numerical odds:

Sir Spencer's view of Napoleon III is that which de la Gorce, Ollivier, Thouvenel, and other French historians and memoirists have recently made popular. Instead of the unprincipled Machiavellian whom Kinglake and Hugo painted, we are now shown an amiable dreamer, selfish, indeed, and ready to shed a little blood if it seemed expedient, but on the whole benevolently disposed, and prevented from being a model father of his people by the perverseness of an ungrateful minority. Much stress is now laid on Napoleon's disease, and the date when it is supposed to have rendered him unequal to the task of giving his best talents to governing is set farther and farther back. The work of palliation, if not of

whitewashing, has, I suspect, been overdone; and the final portrait of Napoleon III will display a usurper unscrupulous and merciless when thwarted, but with a not uncommon desire to make people happy when by so doing he could add to his prestige and live more comfortably himself. His recent extenuators may be challenged to cite any act of his in which his first consideration was not the strengthening of his dynasty instead of the good of France. It is now so evident that after 1861 his empire was a bubble, ready to burst at the first pinch, that historians who, like Walpole, state the facts, find it hard to make modern readers realize that down to 1870 Napoleon's contemporaries in the world at large believed him to be really the arbiter of Europe, and that even statesmen behind the scenes acted on that assumption.

To only two other large matters is there space to refer. Sir Spencer thinks that Italy could hardly have been united without Lord John Russell's good-will. Nobody can wish to deprive Lord John of the gratitude which Italians owe to him for his favorable attitude in 1859 and 1860; but to suppose that, even had the Tories remained in office, Cavour would not have succeeded in drawing Napoleon III into the war with Austria, or in annexing Central Italy and Sicily, is to assign undue importance to England's moral support. Cavour knew perfectly well that English cabinets, whether led by Derby or by Palmerston, would never send a single British battalion to help or hinder the Italian cause; and, when the crisis came, Cavour would have gone ahead and risked a diplomatic censure, which would have affected him no more than it did Bismarck in 1864. Cavour and Bismarck were statesmen of such different caliber from that of any of the statesmen who have directed the British Foreign Office that an Englishman may well fail to recognize that they did not make the success of their policy contingent on the Foreign Office's consent.

The second point is the high position as statesman and organizer to which Sir Spencer lifts Jefferson Davis. Southern writers have hitherto extolled the military side of the Confederacy and neglected the political and administrative side, even suggesting that Davis's interference in military matters was a constant source of trouble. Until some Southerner, with the fairness of Mr. Rhodes, writes from full knowledge the history of the Confederacy, most Americans will at least suspend judgment in regard to Jefferson Davis's "great qualities".

In conclusion, it should be said that, although Sir Spencer's work deals primarily with political and social movements in a large impersonal way, it has several admirable characterizations of public men. The analysis of Disraeli, the portrait of Gladstone, the summing up of Palmerston cannot henceforth be overlooked, and there are incidental sketches of many others. The total effect of the history is such that it deserves to rank with Mr. Rhodes's. We may hope that the remaining volumes may soon be completed, and that the publishers will issue a popular edition, congenial to the taste and purses of American readers, who do not understand the English publishers' preference for selling a

few hundred copies at five dollars a volume instead of several thousand copies at two dollars a volume. The two markets are apparently so dissimilar that special provision should be made for supplying the American, especially when a book like Sir Spencer Walpole's is fitted for a large audience.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Abraham Lincoln and his Presidency. By JOSEPH HARTWELL BARRETT, LL.D. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company. 1904. Two vols., pp. xi, 379; vii, 411.)

THE author of these volumes wrote the biography of Lincoln used for campaign purposes in 1860. He has been studying his subject more or less ever since. He saw Lincoln on various occasions and knew a number of his friends. One might expect, therefore, both of the elements of a good biography: contributions to our specific knowledge of the hero, and a distinct personal impression of him. The volumes give us neither. They have added no facts, which is excusable, after the thorough gleanings that has been made, and they are remarkable for their failure to evoke the personality, whether as private individual, orator, diplomat, father, husband, boy, or man. A biographer need not be an artist to put into his papers a living being. Herndon did it for Lincoln, probably, more vividly than any writer who has followed. Inaccurate in many details, he yet drew a portrait that was Lincoln. Accurate in most details, Mr. Barrett has drawn no portrait at all.

Moreover, the title is not exact. "Abraham Lincoln and the Battles of the Civil War" would describe more justly the contents of the book, which gives an elementary account of almost every important battle in the war, with most of which Lincoln had nothing to do, and gives no idea of the immensely complicated problems, political, military, and personal, with which the President was in constant struggle. In scope, therefore, as in treatment, the book is commonplace. Nor does it have that instinct for evidence which would recommend it to the critical sense. It is of the familiar type which receives with awe the testimony of some reverend individual who once knew somebody who knew Lincoln's parents. A sentence like this, for instance, is enough to take from one at once any remaining seriousness: "The Captain's bearing and his power on this occasion, according to accounts from some of the men in after years, impressed them as almost supernaturally grand" (I, 33). Of course Mr. Barrett is convinced that Lincoln lived "most happily" with his wife until his death — not that it is so very important, historically, whether he did or not, but it expresses the attitude of militant decorum which characterizes the typical commonplace biography of a great man. The treatment of the whole Cameron episode, which is crowded into a very brief space, would give a reader as sharp an idea as any part of the book of the author's fear of not being respectful, if he should happen to express anything with clearness. Of the coarser side of Lincoln's humor Mr.

Barrett says: "Nor was there any respect in which his stories or jokes were less commendable than those of worthy people in general" (II, 378). The only place where this attribute of carefully arranged and meaningless propriety is for an instant forgotten is when, in treating of experiences at the bar, the biographer tells of a fugitive-slave case in which Lincoln represented the owner, and observes: "It can hardly be supposed that Lincoln was at all disappointed in losing his case. It is a relief, however, to have so good a proof—after all that has been told to the contrary—that he had no invincible objection to a good client with a bad cause" (I, 56). This seems to me a most unfortunate incident to seize upon for an attempted first plunge into unfettered thinking, and it is recorded here, merely in justice, as the one case observed in two long volumes.

Lincoln was a man peculiarly ill adapted to dull and formal treatment, and peculiarly inspiring to any American with live thought and the zest for life. It is surprising, perhaps, that a biographer with such exceptional opportunities should be able to narrate nothing that is exclusively his own, but it is hardly less surprising that he should have been able to tell the well-known circumstances once again, and with elaboration, without striking off one page that really reflects anything of the moving, swarming scenes in which Lincoln lived, or of his own extremely vital personality.

NORMAN HAPGOOD.

Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier, 1835-1900.
(Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.
1904. Two vols., pp. xi, 393; vi, 393.)

HENRY VILLARD, *né* Hilgard, having lived a rather gay life as a *Korps* student at Munich and thus incurred debts that he could not settle, was overcome by dread of the paternal wrath, of which he had already had much experience, and therefore migrated to America at the age of eighteen. His purpose was to repair his finances and on the basis of this to rehabilitate himself with the irate parent. The young man's chief equipment for his task seems to have been an abysmal ignorance of everything that could possibly contribute to a career in this country, beginning with the language. Yet forty years later he was able to commit to writing these memoirs, which embody the record of an influential participation in events, and a familiar intercourse with men whose mark has been most deeply impressed on the history not only of America but also of the whole civilized world.

The two volumes now published contain seven books devoted to his experiences, first in getting on his feet, as a law-student and general adventurer in the west, second as a newspaper reporter and correspondent in the same region, and third as a very successful war correspondent in both east and west during the Civil War. An eighth book covers the financial career through which he became so widely known in his later

years. This last book, written in the third person, is substantially his own version of a series of promoting exploits, with violent fluctuations of success and failure, in railroad enterprise. This version differs materially from others that have been current; but the whole matter is so largely concerned with purely private and personal affairs that it need not be examined at length in this place. The other parts of the *Memoirs*, on the other hand, written in the first person, contain matter that is of value to the general history of the times—in one or two instances of unique value. Not all the narrative of military events that appears in the volume, however, is the product of personal experience and observation. The account of the battle of Chickamauga, for example, which fills sixty-seven pages, represents merely Mr. Villard's interest in an affair at which he hoped to be present but which unfortunately took place while he was down with a severe illness. Moreover the military events which fell under his actual observation are described quite as much from the official records as from his own recollection. He displays none of that jaunty confidence, so often discernible in books of this kind, that the facts which came under his own eye were necessarily the essential features of a great battle or a prolonged campaign. He frankly assumes the character of a writer of history along with that of a writer of recollections. The result is that his narratives manifest exceedingly few of those vexatious errors of well-established fact which mar even the most entertaining books of reminiscence.

Mr. Villard's personal experience, in his capacity as war correspondent of first the *New York Herald* and then the *New York Tribune*, included the battles of first Bull Run, Shiloh, Perryville, Fredericksburg, and Chattanooga and the attack on the forts at Charleston by the fleet of monitors. All these are described with some fullness, but without important contribution to existing knowledge on the subject. Of distinctly greater suggestiveness from the historical point of view are his descriptions of life and general conditions in Illinois in the six years before the war, and his account of the famous Pike's Peak gold movement of 1859, by which the fortune of Colorado was determined.

Mr. Villard's most interesting experiences in Illinois were those in which he came in close contact with Lincoln and with Douglas. With the former he was brought casually into very close relations, and he tells a story of sitting alone with Lincoln on the floor of an empty freight-car for an hour and a half one showery evening, waiting for a train at a country station near Springfield. The conversation as described puts in most vivid light the element of clownishness that was never entirely suppressed in the make-up of the great President. But with all the evidence extant of his crudeness at this period, it is hard to believe that he, a man of forty-nine, should have confided to a strange newspaper reporter of twenty-three the ambitions of "Mary" (Mrs. Lincoln) and should have repudiated them with the remark, "Just think of such a sucker as me as President!" (I, 96).

For Douglas Mr. Villard conceived much greater respect than for

Lincoln. The "Little Giant" seems to have had the same charm for the young German that won so many young American followers to his cause. Villard's first meeting with Douglass was in Washington when, as the enthusiastic twenty-one-year-old Teutonic promoter of freedom for Kansas, he actually applied to Douglas for aid in getting a fund from the government for the purchase of land on which to locate settlers from the free states. Whether the reporter does full justice to the peremptoriness with which his proposition was rejected may be doubted. Later, Mr. Villard represented the *Staats-Zeitung* at four of the meetings in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. He records that "the unprejudiced mind felt at once" that Lincoln's arguments were "in consonance with the true spirit of American institutions". Villard's qualifications at that time for judging "American institutions" are set in a clear light by reference to his proposition to Douglas only two years before.

In addition to his experiences with Lincoln and Douglas in his earlier years, Mr. Villard records a particularly interesting visit to Bismarck after the latter's retirement from power. This meeting with the great nineteenth-century history-maker of Europe is no less vividly described than the earlier meetings with the great men of America, and the chapters dealing with Lincoln, Douglas, and Bismarck give to the *Memoirs*, without the aid of the other matter, an important place among historical material.

WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

The Life of John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, 1861-1865.

By HENRY GREENLEAF PEARSON. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1904. Two volumes, pp. xv, 324; iii, 358.)

THE long-delayed "authoritative" life of one of the most conspicuous Americans in the period of the Civil War comes out in these handsome volumes. The immediate friends of this adopted son of Massachusetts have strangely neglected the plain duty of giving to Andrew's own generation some proper account of his striking career. Our author says modestly that "transparent" as Andrew was in his essential nature, his complete quality cannot be set forth by the pen. It is well-nigh impossible for the modern school to comprehend the conditions under which Howe, Sumner, Andrew, Higginson, and others began their campaign against slavery in New England. The enslavement of the negro has come to be regarded as an enormous accident in the development of a great people and a powerful state. Then it was held to be a disturbing cause, as important as all the powers it was throwing out of balance. In the middle nineteenth century conditions of race, economic life, evolution of government, all must be subordinated to the philanthropic plea for the black man. The nation can hardly be grateful enough to those individuals who in some way sought to free the American people from the heavy incubus of slavery, to render into practical politics the overmastering philanthropic idea.

It is not Mr. Pearson's fault that the book is late. There was ample

material at hand; for Massachusetts has preserved her records much better than any other state, and the person treated left some thirty thousand pages of correspondence. The author has used these vast stores freely, and generally with good results. His own style is luminous and agreeable, producing a narrative which never halts, when it is the writer's own. His page is picturesque in the best sense; not imaginative, but pictured in the acts of humankind and colored by human passion. This portrait of Andrew is not an aggregate of personal features and peculiarities, but a dramatic rendering of the hero, acting under the profound and moving influence of the society around him.

The boy and student was rather inert than vigorous, though he was serious as well as jovial in temperament. Inheriting a religious mood from his mother, he was always conscious that life is serious. A talker rather than a worker, he manifested early the qualities of the advocate and orator. Yet he pursued law closely enough to obtain a good practice by his own efforts, and he married at thirty. In his twenty-third year he naturally drifted to the ministry of James Freeman Clarke, who was eight years older and whose guidance affected him materially. Clarke was wise, with a large mind — forecasting, seer-like, and prophetic in its insight. Clarke and the Howes must have positively influenced Andrew's whole career.

Andrew demonstrated that he could make emotion serve the reason in political agitation, and that he could lead audiences almost at will. That he was ahead of his time, on his nomination for governor in 1860, was shown clearly by Bowles in the *Springfield Republican* (I, 124): "His John Brown sympathies and speeches, his Garrisonian affiliations . . . and all that sort of extreme anti-slaveryism with which his record abounds, will . . . harm Lincoln". That such a man could absolutely lead the commonwealth of Webster and Everett, through four years of gigantic war, proved his honest and sincere character, as well as his intellectual power and ardent humanity.

Massachusetts in the Civil War is a fruitful theme well treated. Nothing could exceed the governor's energy, put forth in full beat with the throbbing might of the people. He drew to him at once the best men, like the sagacious Forbes, whose service was able and constant. Likewise, he could affiliate with some very indifferent citizens, appointing them to places of trust, to the disgust of his advisers. The gifted and patriotic Henry Lee voiced public sentiment in this severe reproof (II, 196): "if the Lord forgives knaves, he is equally forgiving to honest men, why will you therefore surround yourself with — . . . and a host of others to your great moral and mental woolgathering and to the disgust of your friends who are at least indifferent honest."

Mr. Pearson candidly admits that Andrew failed in comprehending Lincoln. The great descendant of the Puritans met the greater American, and the smaller vessel could not contain the larger. There was an ill-advised movement to put our hero into the President's cabinet in the spring of 1865.

He seriously considered the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio, to the "consternation" of his friends, in the words of the narrator. On the other hand, we may say, Forbes worked earnestly for it, believing it would open the way to the chief office of the nation, which Forbes thought was Andrew's due. It is perhaps useless to use the speculative "if"; but one nevertheless is tempted to say, that if Andrew could have prolonged his life in changed scenes, escaping the labor by which he earned \$30,000 per annum at the bar, and better escaping bores and beats whose persistence drove him to the grave, and if he could have lived in Ohio until 1876, he would have been President instead of Hayes.

Errors creep into careful work, as in the appearance of "B. F. Thomas, a well-known Democrat" (II, 43). The documentary citations are not felicitous, especially in the second volume. Page after page of Andrew's voluminous and hortatory matter do not forward a narrative. Such rhetoric should be digested by the masters, who can render "philosophy teaching by examples". The book is encumbered with too much historical detail. The subtitle justifies a history of the times of the Civil War; but other matters like the Know-nothing episode and the early history of antislavery in Massachusetts receive detailed treatment. Such tendency affects the author's narrative in many places. These are trifling defects, however, and on the whole the book justifies itself through its moving interest and its delightful story.

WM. B. WEEDEN.

The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction.

By PAUL SKEELS PEIRCE, PH.D. [The State University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History. Vol. III, No. 1.] (Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1904. Pp. vii, 200.)

MR. PEIRCE'S monograph is a useful and scholarly contribution to the history of one of the many phases of Southern Reconstruction—a field of historical study which he very properly says has not received adequate attention from investigators. His work shows both industry and discrimination in the use of the voluminous documentary materials from which most of his information has been drawn. He has attempted to write a concise account of the origin, growth, organization, and activity of the Freedmen's Bureau and the part which it played in the southern states during the confusion and wreck following the sudden emancipation of the slave population. Of all the agencies and instrumentalities of the Reconstructionists there was none in the opinion of the Southern whites that did so little good as the Freedmen's Bureau. Its expenditures were enormous, its ramifications extended to the remotest communities, it directed an army of officials, and the powers which it exercised for the relief and protection of the freedmen were almost unlimited. The Southern whites complained that by supplying lazy freedmen with gener-

ous rations the Bureau encouraged idleness at a time when the farms were lying waste for lack of labor, while, through the political activity of its agents, race hatred was stirred up to the injury of both blacks and whites. But, as Mr. Peirce shows, wherever the Bureau was judiciously administered by honest and tactful agents it not only brought needed relief to many unfortunate blacks who were left adrift in the chaos of the time, but did a real service to the white planters by using its vast influence with the ignorant freedmen to induce them to enter into labor contracts and perform their agreements faithfully. His discussion of both the merits and shortcomings of the Bureau is eminently fair and judicial. He has endeavored to present the truth and has for the most part left his own opinions in the background.

As a natural preface to his study, the author reviews the conditions which gave rise to the necessity for government intervention in behalf of the freedmen, which began with the exodus from the plantations to the military camps as soon as the Federal armies appeared in the south. The antecedents of the Bureau are described under the following heads: (1) the system of relief provided by the military commanders for the new "contrabands"; (2) the treasury agencies created in 1861 to collect abandoned lands and colonize the freedmen thereon; and (3) the activity of religious and benevolent associations. Mr. Peirce then reviews the long contest in Congress to create a bureau of emancipation, beginning in 1863 and ending in 1865 with the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, but without appropriation for its support and with its existence limited to one year. With a large income, however, from the lease of abandoned lands and the sale of confiscated property the Bureau justified its creation, and a bill was easily passed in 1866, in spite of the executive veto, to continue its existence. The bill was renewed from time to time until 1872, when the Bureau was finally abolished. Its various activities, educational, relief, financial, political, etc., are the subject of an interesting chapter. The Steedman-Fullerton investigation of the conduct of the Bureau and the charges against General Howard are carefully examined in the light of all the evidence. With regard to the charges against General Howard, the author concludes (p. 112) that "many of them were recklessly and extravagantly made and that some were without the slightest foundation", although he finds that the general "certainly was not a strict constructionist" when it came to interpreting his official powers (p. 128).

If a word of criticism may be passed upon Mr. Peirce's work, it should be said that he has not treated intimately the activity of the Freedmen's Bureau in its efforts to afford judicial protection to the blacks through special tribunals of its own, and the resulting conflicts with the civil authorities. This was a source of endless friction and sometimes of bloody riots. Had the author not relied too closely on the Congressional documents for his information, he might have been able to throw much more light on this important phase of the subject.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.

Writings on American History, 1902. By ERNEST C. RICHARDSON and A. E. MORSE. (Princeton: The Library book store. 1904. Pp. xxi, 294.)

THE beginning of this series of annual indexes to the literature of American history is an event upon which American historians are to be congratulated. Early in the history of the American Historical Association efforts were made by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, Mr. A. Howard Clark, and Professor John M. Vincent to supply a bibliography of the writings of the members of the Association, or a record of the current literature of American history. The result of this private research was necessarily fragmentary. Now, however, we have assurance of a continued and complete—or at least more complete—record, since the work which Dr. Richardson has inaugurated in the volume in hand has been assumed by the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution.

The first volume of the projected series of indexes is of singular interest. It consists of some 6,500 titles, comprising references to separate works and to articles in about 300 different periodicals. It includes, under the caption Periodicals and Transactions, an article on the serial literature of American history, which in some particulars supplements the very excellent list published by the New York Public Library in 1898. Under the general headings History, study, writing and teaching, Historical societies, Bibliography; under the geographical headings United States, Canada, Massachusetts, Virginia, Martinique, etc.; under the period headings Colonial period, American Revolution, Civil War, etc.; and under the special headings Education, Literature, Politics, Labor, etc., are numerous interesting references. Related subject headings are brought together in a classified index at the end of the volume. For example, under the heading American Revolution there is a reference not merely to the same heading in the alphabetical list, under which there are some eighty entries, but also to eighteen other heads, such as Boston siege, Declaration of Independence, and Loyalists, under which there are twenty-five additional entries. This is sufficient demonstration of the value of the contents of the work.

As to its method—and, as the editors say, the book is first of all an essay in method—there must of course be some difference of opinion. In the first place, as to the aim of the work: Should it be made of general use? and should it include references to general literature? or should it be an index to historical literature merely, for the use of historical students? The greater economy with which the work could be prepared and consulted, and the desirability of conformity to the plans for an international bibliography of the historical sciences make the latter, and a strict interpretation of the aim of the work, perhaps, preferable. And by a strict interpretation we mean one that shall exclude the great mass of popular narratives and descriptions, which are of little use to the student of to-day and will be of less use to the student of tomorrow; and

not only these, but the numerous descriptions of contemporary life and discussions of contemporary questions, which, although excellent material for the historian of the future, are of no value to the historian of the present and do not belong to a record of the historical activity of the present.

The description of the literature included within the purview of the compilers exhibits two notable features: definitions of the subjects, and appraisement of some of the books listed. The first of these renders the work of value as a dictionary as well as a bibliography, and the combination has its useful as well as its humorous aspects. But I am not sure that it is to be commended, and that, even in those cases where it has some use, better results could not be obtained by substituting a description of the book for the definition of the subject. The second feature of the entries, above referred to, is the appraisement of some of the books listed. These appraisements consist for the most part of quotations from reviews, more or less authoritative and more or less rhetorical. The result is interesting but somewhat disappointing. After reading a few pages of appraisement the felicitous phrases in common use among reviewers begin to cloy. Sentiment, moreover, tends to take the place of fact. For example, one work is described as complete, while another more complete but less popular work is simply described as interesting — "interesting from cover to cover", the phrase is. After Price's *Old Masters of the Blue Grass*, the note is, "Has sympathetically recalled the lives of six artists", but who the artists were the note does not tell. Of the author of another work we are informed on the authority of one reviewer that he did not make much use of the sources and on the authority of another that he depended mainly upon them. The trouble with this method, indeed, is similar to that with the older historical method, diction and secondary sources are allowed to take the place of science and the original sources. In elementary bibliographical works this is no doubt desirable and even necessary, but in a scientific work for reference use this seems unfortunate, the more so that the proper description of the literature listed is essential to its proper classification.

And the classification of the literature listed is as important a point as its selection and description. This the editors recognize. "For the special student," they say, "the classed form is usually counted best". Aiming at the instruction of the general reader, however, they have adopted in the present work the alphabetical subject form, with a classified index to supply in part the needs of the specialist. To speak frankly, this seems like putting the cart before the horse. Special bibliographies, like the International catalogue of scientific literature and like this, should be of most use to the specialist — indeed, their use by any one else should be discouraged. And to insure their use to the specialist they must be arranged as other scientific works are, by chapter and by paragraph, and indexed. In this way the literature relating to periods, to movements, and to institutions can be brought together as it cannot be either by duplication of entries or by a classified index. Students of American

history and antiquities are not generally interested in horse chairs, in Kansas post-offices, or in Oregon literature, but many are interested in the vehicles of colonial times, in the postal system, in American literature, and would prefer to see references to these subjects brought together in their logical place rather than scattered from A to Z. And unless one is to double the bulk of the work by duplication of entries, such an arrangement is necessary. For example, under the article Libraries in the classified index there are several entries referring to twenty-three different articles. But in the alphabetical list there are twenty-seven more of a similar character, among which are the most valuable contributions of the year, Mr. Larned's history of the Buffalo library and Mr. Foster's history of the libraries of Providence. Finally, there is this added advantage in a classified list, that classification requires a juster discrimination in the selection of material, and a more accurate description of it. One may doubt whether such articles as Bananas and Sponges would have crept into a classified list, and whether a work described as one of the most entertaining and instructive recollections of the antislavery conflict would not have been indexed under slavery as well as under Bowditch.

I have extended my remarks upon these questions of scope, description, and arrangement partly because the editors invited discussion of these points, and partly because of the importance of the work itself. As I said above, the beginning of this series of annual indexes to the literature of American history is an event upon which American historians are to be congratulated.

W. D. JOHNSTON.

A Short History of Ancient Peoples. By Robinson Souttar, M.A., D.C.L., with an introduction by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., D.D. (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1903, New York, imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904, pp. xxiv, 728.) This is a useful compendium of the histories of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, the Medes and Persians, the Hebrews, Phœnicia, Carthage, Greece, and Rome; of the 712 pages of text somewhat more than one-half is given to Greece and Rome. The style is clear, the narrative smooth and interesting; there are fourteen excellent maps and a tolerably good index. The history of each people is given separately; this plan occasions some repetitions, a necessary result of the interconnections of the various histories, but the repetitions are generally helpful. The best part of the book is that devoted to Greece and Rome. In the early history of Egypt and the Asiatic peoples the author appears to be less at home and not very well acquainted with modern critical methods and results. The statement (p. 26) that the mother of Amenhotep IV was a "princess of Northern Syria, and a worshipper of the solar disk" is incorrect. There is no "Egyptian legend of the Exodus" (p. 32): the author entirely misconceives the stele of Merenptah in which the name "Israel" occurs;

this Israel is settled in Canaan, and the inscription says merely that the king destroyed its crops. An Elamite king, Kudur-Lagamar, is spoken of (p. 85) as if the name appeared in inscriptions; but this is not the case. The description of Zoroastrianism (p. 147) is of the crudest, and in general the remarks on religious matters are of a primitive character. In regard to Hebrew political history the surprising statement is made (p. 206) that the Hebrew government was "republican in form, somewhat comparable to that of the United States"; the Hebrew monarchy was a despotism limited by revolt and assassination. It is hardly necessary to say that the Book of Daniel is not authority for the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (p. 97). The picture of Sparta (p. 353) does not do the city full justice. The unfortunate use of "transpired" for "occurred" is found on p. 656. In spite of these errors in details the volume is an excellent guide for the general reader.

C. H. TOY.

Keltic Researches: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples. By Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, A.M. (Oxford and New York, Henry Frowde, 1904, pp. xviii, 212.) Mr. Nicholson's volume — partly a republication of earlier investigations and partly a continuation of them — deals principally with matters of philology, but certain historical considerations are involved. His main theses are the following: that Pictish was a Celtic language of the Goidelic branch, and the parent of modern Highland Gaelic; that the Belgæ also spoke Goidelic, and that the Belgic element in the British Isles was more wide-spread than has been hitherto supposed; and finally that the Goidelic language was spoken on the continent "with more or less continuity from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine". In examining traces of the Belgæ in the British Isles Mr. Nicholson advances theories about the origin of the Manx Gaels and about the Firbolg of Irish legendary history; and as a kind of corollary to his doctrine of the Pictish origin of Highland Gaelic he denies the usual statement that the Pictish kingdom was conquered by the Dalriad Scots. His historical conclusions, for the most part, stand or fall with his linguistic arguments, and these are bold in conjecture, to say the least. The evidences for continental Goidelic are chiefly derived from a few inscriptions of which both the interpretation and the etymological analysis are extremely uncertain. The materials in hand must be regarded as too meager to afford a basis for any classification of Gaulish dialects. The data seem also insufficient, or at any rate remain too doubtful in character, for the settlement of the problem with regard to the insular Picts. The view has even gained acceptance of late that their language was not Indo-European, and Professor Rhys, working upon that theory, has tried to find in their vocabulary elements akin to the Basque. Mr. Nicholson has now restated the case for Celtic, and some of the arguments on his side are certainly hard to meet, though there are many difficulties in his interpretations of the inscriptions. For

the rest of his doctrine, however — that Pictish is the direct source of Scottish Gaelic — he produces no evidence of importance.

F. N. ROBINSON.

Asser's Life of King Alfred; together with the Annals of Saint Neots, erroneously ascribed to Asser. Edited, with introduction and commentary, by William Henry Stevenson, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Henry Frowde, 1904, pp. cxxxi, 386.) At last we have the long-sighed-for critical edition of Asser. It is not a disappointment. With the sure hand of the scholar Mr. Stevenson establishes and explains the text and defends its authenticity. That by dint of scholarship such certainty can be reached as to the true reading of a work whose one manuscript, itself corrupt, was long ago destroyed, and whose printed editions abound in alterations and interpolations, is most gratifying; but what especially gladdens the historian's heart is the cogent conclusiveness with which Mr. Stevenson brushes away the doubts that have assailed the authorship and the worth of the biography of Alfred. It was a happy thought to print in the same volume, for the use of the critical student, the worthless annals of Saint Neots, whence were drawn most of the interpolations which have discredited Asser's work. Mr. Stevenson's syntax, alas! lags sadly behind his scholarship. His sentences, often clumsy to obscurity, are sometimes hopelessly ambiguous.

G. L. BURR.

The well-known work of Ferdinand Gregorovius on Lucretia Borgia has lately been published in English: *Lucretia Borgia*, translated from the third German edition by John Leslie Garner. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1904, pp. xxiii, 378.) Written from material that was almost all new, and by a scholar of keen human sympathies, this work was recognized, from its appearance in 1874, as a distinct and interesting contribution to knowledge of the Borgias and of Renaissance Italy. The translation, which reads well and seems faithful, reproduces only the body of the original, together with small reductions of two of the three facsimiles accompanying it; the appendix of one hundred sixty-eight pages, containing sixty-five of the principal documents used by Gregorovius, is omitted. On the other hand some twenty-five full-page illustrations are given in the English edition, adding at least to its popular interest; and there is a table of chapters, and an index — neither of which virtues marks the German volume.

E. W. D.

Beginnings of Maryland. By Bernard C. Steiner, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXI, Nos. 8, 9, and 10.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1903, pp. 112.) The beginnings of a political unit appeal to students of history with such a peculiar interest that an account of them, even though recited

in somewhat minute detail, is sure to attract more than mere local attention, and accordingly we welcome the announcement in the introductory note of the monograph under review by a well-known writer on Maryland history that in the light of much new material he purposes to trace the *Beginnings of Maryland* "with the same minute care with which the citizens of Massachusetts have traced the beginnings of their Commonwealth".

It is especially upon the career of that picturesque personality and "evil genius", William Claiborne, in his relations both to the government of Maryland and to Cloberry and Company, that Dr. Steiner entertains his readers with new matter; but he also carefully examines the incidents of the first voyage, the selection of a site for the first planting, the colonists' first experience with the red men, their first impressions of the soil, the climate, and the bounty of nature in fruits and game, the first trade for furs, fish, and other commodities, the procuring of the first domestic animals, the first granting of land, the early relations between Catholics and Protestants, the complaints and claims of such characters as the Jesuits and Cornwallis to the lord proprietor, the activities of the first three legislative assemblies, the legal proceedings of the first courts of justice, and the earliest relations between Maryland and Virginia.

Dr. Steiner writes almost exclusively from material at first hand and cites copious references. Although he confines himself quite closely to the bare narrative, he at the same time makes his pages entertaining by manifesting a sympathetic spirit for most of the leading actors in the drama and a freedom from unfairness toward both friend and foe. Some of his readers, however, will wish that he had woven more of the fragmentary items of his foot-notes into the narrative.

N. D. M.

White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820, by E. I. McCormac [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXII, Nos. 3 and 4] (Baltimore, 1904, pp. 112), is the third of a series of monographs upon this important phase of colonial history. The first thorough investigation was made by Ballagh's *White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia* (J. H. U. Series XIII, Vols. 6 and 7, 1895); this was later followed by *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania*. (Supplement to *Yale Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1901) by K. F. Geiser.

Dr. McCormac's work may be said practically to complete the history of the institution of indentured service in America; for Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were the three great servant-importing colonies. The three monographs agree in general conclusions, and, as might be expected, are somewhat similar in treatment. Yet a comparison shows differences existing in the different colonies. In Virginia the population was almost entirely English, and it is here that we must seek the origin of the institution; in Maryland there was a greater infusion of Irish immigrants, and the convicts formed a larger proportion of the

servant class; Pennsylvania had a still more heterogeneous population, but the Germans predominated, while the industrial interests were less in slaves and tobacco than in the other two colonies. Furthermore, the land system in Pennsylvania, though used to encourage immigration, was not so intimately connected with the importation of servants as in Maryland. This is shown in the second chapter of the monograph, which is an excellent account of the early land system in Maryland and its intimate connection with the beginnings of white servitude. "Up to 1682 the distribution of land was based almost entirely upon the importation of servants. There was no such thing as the direct purchase of land from the proprietor. Each settler who came into the province received 100 acres of land, but if he wished more he could only obtain it by importing servants."

The number and importance of the servants is shown in another chapter. The majority came from Great Britain, Ireland, and Virginia. Of the original inhabitants, the ratio of servants to freemen is estimated at about 6 to 1. Gradually the number of freemen increases over that of servants, due, in a measure, to the constant addition of freedmen. Contradicting the statement of Fiske that the lives of servants were protected only in theory, he states that "servants were protected in practice as well as in theory" (pp. 65-66) and cites court records to justify his statements. It is doubtful if, on the whole, the condition of the servant was as favorable as the chapter would indicate. However, he makes exceptions to his general statement, and a little later in the same chapter admits that between the extreme opinions as to their condition — and there were many — "a middle ground seems to be nearer the truth". A chapter on "Convicts" shows that Maryland "was especially the dumping-ground for English jails, and received more convicts than any other plantation on the continent". The whole number of convicts from Great Britain and Ireland between 1717 and 1775 is estimated at 50,000. The conclusion, which is justified by the chapters preceding it, states the important part that the institution played in the industrial history of Maryland and its effect upon the servants and the colony.

The work is based throughout upon original sources, largely from the archives of Maryland, contemporary letters, and pamphlets. Although without a proper bibliography, the monograph on the whole forms an important contribution to the literature upon this subject, and can be highly commended to the student of colonial history.

KARL F. GEISER.

The English Statutes in Maryland, by St. George Leakin Sioussat, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXI, Nos. 11 and 12], (Baltimore, 1903, pp. 111), is a study of arguments on a phase of the legal relations of mother-country and colony in an English proprietary province in which the theory of those relations early became a leading question of public law; and Professor Sioussat has given the subject the close attention commensurate

with its importance. Unfortunately, however, his introduction to the matter is accompanied with a superfluity of verbiage.

After noting very briefly the early practice in Maryland with respect to the English statutes, he tells of the decisions of English judges, the opinions of crown lawyers, and the popular attitude toward the question in the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Jamaica, showing in every instance cited — except that of the popular attitude of Jamaica, where the conditions were decidedly different — that the drift of the controversy was in the main counter to the contention of the popular party in Maryland. The heated discussions in Maryland, lasting from 1722 to 1732, is next passed in review, and the conclusion is reached that the popular party won the substance of its contentions. Then the study closes with an effort to discover the effect of the dispute on the later history of the province; and here Professor Sioussat is pleased to find presented, at so early a day, the political theory of natural right and government by consent. The English of the book is unfortunately marked by a want of accuracy and precision in the choice of words and by a want of fluency in expression.

N. D. M.

Die Staatsumwälzung in Dänemark im Jahre 1660. Von John O. Evjen. (Leipzig, Emil Glausch, 1903, pp. 186.) The theme of this inaugural dissertation is the Danish revolution of 1660, by which the monarchy lost its elective character and was made hereditary and practically absolute. Up to the present time historians have generally agreed that this was the result of an action long and carefully planned, the work of a conspiracy, the principal members of which were the king, the chief magistrate of Copenhagen, and the bishop of Zealand. Dr. Evjen, however, takes a radically different view: there was no conspiracy, no previous plan; the whole movement was spontaneous and rose out of the necessities of the situation. Angered by the refusal of the nobility to agree to reasonable economic reforms, the lower estates determined to humble the aristocracy by increasing the royal power. According to Dr. Evjen's understanding of the sources, this determination dates from October 4; nine days later Frederick III was declared a hereditary monarch.

The author gives a fairly sufficient summary of the political and economic situation in 1660, he traces the course of events through the autumn months of that year, and discusses fully the significance of the royal decrees that grew out of the action taken by the estates. But the really important part of his work is an excursus in which he discusses certain questionable sources from which writers have drawn at some time or other. One of these is Nils Slange's account of this event, which contains a document purporting to be a letter written by the king himself on September 26 to some of his associates in the plot. This letter has been accepted as genuine by reputable writers for more than a century. As everything hinges on the authenticity of this document, the author

makes a vigorous effort to show that it is merely a very successful forgery. It must be admitted that his analysis of the letter, as well as of the general situation at the time of its supposed date, reveals a thorough knowledge of the entire movement, and the reader will be likely to accept his conclusions. The argument is, however, not wholly convincing, and the part played by Frederick III in this event, so important to himself and to his kingdom, is still somewhat of a mystery.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Books about Scotland written by Englishmen before the Union are not too numerous; and among the best of them will now have to be included *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland*, by Joseph Taylor, late of the Inner Temple, with notes by William Cowan (Edinburgh, William Brown). The book is not a reprint. It is from Taylor's original manuscript; and the manuscript having been unearthed, it was certainly worth the care which has been given to it by the editor and the printer. Only a portion of it deals with Scotland; for Taylor describes the towns and country he went through in this journey in 1705 from London to Edinburgh. There are many good pictures of social life in England two centuries ago, and here and there glimpses of some municipal conditions which are not to be found in histories of municipal England or even in the histories of the particular cities and towns which Taylor visited. He gives most attention to such conditions at York and Newcastle-on-Tyne. At Newcastle the municipality in the early years of the eighteenth century had a revenue of nearly £10,000 a year, arising chiefly out of the sale of coal and the handling of ballast, "which makes it", Taylor states, "the most flourishing town in the North of England". "They have", he adds, "a very advantageous proverb amongst them, which is, that they pay nothing for the Way, the Word, nor the Water; for the Ministers are maintained, the streets paved, and the conduits kept up at the public charge of the Town". The mayor was allowed £700 a year for his table, and an additional £100 for entertaining the judges when they came on circuit to Newcastle. It is, however, the Scotch part of Taylor's narrative which gives it its principal value. Taylor was a barrister. He was in attendance as a visitor in the old Parliament House when it was determined to come into the Union, and when it was decided that the negotiations for the Union should be by commissioners, a form of procedure which resulted in such advantages to Scotland; and he sets down his notes of these historic proceedings with all the detail, precision, and care of a man trained in the law. Typographically the book shows Edinburgh printing in its highest excellence; and it is perhaps because it is so beautifully printed that the edition is limited to 425 copies.

E. P.

Steps in the Expansion of our Territory. By Oscar P. Austin. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1903, pp. x, 258.) This volume is evidently intended as a summary of the "Expansion of the

Republic" series, in which it has been included. In little more than two hundred pages of coarsely printed text the author reviews the Spanish, French, and English colonization of North America; all of our wars, from the French and Indian War to the war with Spain; all of our accessions of territory, from the Louisiana purchase to the cession of the Philippines; the history of the controversies over public lands and slavery; the organization of all of our territories and the admission of all of our states. . . It goes without saying that the attempt to cover so much ground in so small a space results in nothing more than a very superficial sketch. If such a sketch is needed, the present one could hardly be improved. If, however, the author had confined himself to his principal subject and devoted his entire space to the political considerations which have either secured or delayed the admission of the various states, he would have presented a body of material which has not been brought together and have made a useful book.

The most serious error in the text is the confusion of the Floridas. Mr. Austin originally distinguishes correctly between East and West Florida, but later loses sight of the distinction, uses the terms in varying senses, and finally makes the wholly erroneous statement that "Spain sold West Florida to France in 1795". The reference to the charter of Georgia of a clause which it does not contain in the form quoted betrays his dependence upon secondary sources. The text is illustrated by over thirty maps, which fill about an eighth of the total number of pages. The text and maps repeat the errors in the author's report on "The Territorial Expansion of the United States", contained in the *Summary of Commerce and Finance* for September, 1901. These errors respect, first, the original division of the Northwest Territory; second, the boundaries of Michigan Territory as first established; third, the extent of Indiana Territory, after the organization of Illinois Territory in 1809; and fourth, the status of the territory roughly coterminous with the present state of Wyoming, after the creation of Montana Territory. These errors were explained at length in a notice of Gannett's *Boundaries of the United States* printed in the REVIEW for April, 1902.

F. H. HODDER.

In a translation by Mr. Arthur G. Chater, Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons offer to American readers *The Plot of the Placards at Rennes, 1802*, by Gilbert Augustin-Thierry. (London, Smith, Elder, and Company, 1903, pp. viii, 311.) The French original, *Le Complot des Libelles*, appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 15-December 1, 1902. Later it was issued as a volume with many confirmatory documents, omitted in this translation. When the referendum concerning Bonaparte's life consulate was before the French people, placards inciting the army against him were printed at Rennes and mailed from Paris to officers throughout France. The movement was soon traced to Rennes and crushed. Whether it contained the seed of a serious danger to Bonaparte seems doubtful. Bonaparte wished to ascribe the plot to Moreau.

Dubois, the prefect of police, convinced him however that it sprang from Bernadotte, a view in which the author concurs. The ostensible conductor of the conspiracy was Bernadotte's aide-de-camp, General Simon. Whether he acted on behalf of his chief, or, as he claimed, independently, was left at the time an open question and remains one still. Bonaparte, once the conspiracy was dead, lost interest; and Fouché, already in disfavor, feared to compromise himself in other directions if he brought home the plot either to Moreau, whom he suspected, or to Bernadotte. This work is the first of a series projected by the author on *Conspirators and Police*, and, aside from its narrower subject which it exhausts, it illustrates effectively these and kindred features of the Consular administration. Though based on research, the narrative is in popular style, and, well translated, it offers at once entertainment and instruction.

H. M. BOWMAN.

I Martiri Cosentini del 1844. Documenti inediti. Per Stanislao De Chiara. (Milan, Albrighi, Segati e C., 1904, pp. xxxviii, 157.) Few episodes in the history of Italy's struggles for unity have been made known so fully by the publication of documents, both official and unofficial, as the insurrection of Cosenza and the heroic expedition of the Bandiera brothers of 1844. This episode was comparatively unimportant in the extent of territory affected and in the number of its victims, but in the retrospect of history it stands sublimely great in its moral influence and in the heroic patriotism of its leaders in a forlorn hope. Mazzini published extracts from the letters of the Bandiera brothers immediately after their summary execution in 1844. Guardione published a much larger collection of their letters in 1894, and Silingardi another collection in 1896. Storino in his *La Sommosa Cosentina* (Cosenza, 1898) gives many documents upon the insurrection of March 15, including the despatches of B. di Battifarano, *intendente* of Calabria Citra, drawn from the state archives of Cosenza. Bonafede in *Sugli Avvenimenti de' Fratelli Bandiera* (Naples, 1848) and Ricciardi and Lattari in *Storia dei Fratelli Bandiera* (Florence, 1863) give many important documents upon the expedition, trial, and execution of the Bandiera, and Conflenti, *I Fratelli Bandiera* (Cosenza, 1862), gives other important documents, including the correspondence of Donadeo, commissary of police in Cosenza. Now the documents of De Chiara, drawn from the state archives and the royal *procura* of Cosenza, and for the most part unpublished, may be said to complete the historian's evidence upon both the insurrection and the Bandiera expedition; on the former De Chiara gives seventy-three documents, on the latter thirty-two; they consist in great part of the correspondence of Dalia, *procuratore generale* of the grand criminal court of Cosenza; on the Bandiera expedition some of the documents are reports of Giovanni De Giovanni, royal judge in San Giovanni in Fiore. Dalia was a conscientious magistrate, and the moderation which characterized the fulfilment of his duties in 1844 appears clearly in his reports. They are exceptionally trustworthy and of the first importance. De Giovanni

appears in striking contrast to Dalia. His zeal against the insurgents was such that he wished to give himself the pleasure "of escorting the prisoners from San Giovanni in Fiore to Cosenza, marching with a musket on his shoulder at the head of the police" — peculiar conduct this for a judge, but worthily representing Bourbon justice, which rewarded him with the decoration of *cavaliere* of the royal order of Francis I. His reports illustrate perfectly the spirit of the justice which emanated from Naples.

De Chiara's introduction had been previously published in the *Rivista Storica del Risorgimento*, III (Turin, 1900). It is of considerable interest, but is by no means a complete and definitive monograph such as it is now possible for a historian to write with these new documents at his disposal. The volume is published as number three in the fourth series of the *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, an important collection of monographs of which the publication had been suspended for two years, and has only now been resumed.

H. NELSON GAY.

Mr. Rollo Ogden's *William Hickling Prescott*, in the "American Men of Letters" series (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1904, pp. x, 239), makes no pretensions to being anything more than an appendix to Ticknor's life of the historian. Mr. Ogden has had access to the Prescott family papers, including the long series of diaries and "Literary Memorandum Books", and he prints extracts from these, from correspondence not used by Ticknor, and quotations from a wide variety of other sources relating to his subject. It is a welcome addition to the all too little material available in regard to the man who did more than almost any other in his generation to win recognition and respect for American literary effort in Europe.

G. P. W.

Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia, with some Account of the Life of the Author and some History of the People amongst whom his Lot was cast. By John Herbert Claiborne, M.A., M.D., lately Major and Surgeon of the Twelfth Virginia Infantry, etc. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1904, pp. xvi, 360.) These are the reminiscences of an original secessionist of Petersburg, Virginia. The author was in a position during the latter years of the war to see and hear much that would interest the historian and a good deal of what he saw and heard has been put into his book. He is unreconstructed and therefore views everything through partizan eyes; yet he is not vindictive nor even uncharitable to the "real" soldiers whose business it was to conquer him.

The chapters dealing with Petersburg just prior to the war, "Politics of the Ante-Bellum Period", and the fall of Richmond and Petersburg, with the surrender at Appomattox, in which he had a part, are the most important. He was a member of the legislature in 1859-1860, and in describing his own share in the movement looking towards secession he says (p. 145):

But the position which I took, and which the Secessionists, one with me, assumed, seemed the only safe exit out of the difficulties which environed the State. It was reasonable and consonant with all experience to say that the time to oppose any difficulty was in its inception, and that a bold, determined front, and a readiness for the fray, was the surest road to safety. Had the people of Virginia shown their unity of purpose, instead of division and instead of tampering with compromise, occasion would never have arisen for the exercise of armed resistance.

Doctor Claiborne believes in and defends the caste system which slavery engendered, and he speaks of the ancient Southern civilization as follows :

Capital did not seek to throttle labor, labor did not strike for protection. There was no Socialist . . . the anarchist did not stand with pistol and stiletto ready to stab any representative of honest government in his way . . . It is difficult for one who has witnessed the desolation of a country . . . who has seen the highest order of civilization, the structure of the bravest men and of the fairest women of all time, go down in a darkness upon which day can never again break ; who has felt the steel in his own body and the iron in his own soul, to submit with meekness to it all, and to suffer in silence.

While the author is thus uncompromisingly Southern, his work has decided value to the student of Virginia history, especially on its local side, and the two speeches made in January, 1860, show well what his party, then in the minority in Virginia, decided to do.

W. E. D.

Custoza, 1866. Per Maggior Generale Alberto Pollio. (Turin, Roux e Viarengo, 1903, pp. 439.) The present volume is the first complete critical military study published in Italy upon this first phase of the Austro-Italian campaign of 1866. It is based largely upon published sources, and makes no contribution of new documents ; but it is an excellent piece of work, exhaustive and profound in its examination of conditions and events, and impartial and frank in its criticisms. Pollio praises Austrian valor almost to excess and eulogizes most of the Austrian generals. Italy lost, he says, because of errors of direction, and for want of firmness or obstinacy. Her failure to scout thoroughly on June 23 was fatal. Had the Austrian positions been known, the Italian troops would have been differently placed, and large bodies of troops would not have been out of action on the twenty-fourth. Had the battle been resumed on the twenty-fifth as Victor Emmanuel with his good sense wished, a great error would not have been committed. Archduke Albert strove for a tactical success. That this became a disaster for the Italians was not his merit but their fault. Pollio charges La Marmora with gross incompetence as commander-in-chief, and Della Rocca with having completely failed to understand the situation. However, Brignone acted "as a true general of battle", and Govone, Cugia, and others distinguished themselves for intelligence as well as for bravery.

The volume in its moderation, its elevated patriotism, and its pro-

found knowledge of military science does high honor to the Italian army of to-day, in which Pollio holds the grade of major-general. The last word is for the future: "Let the day of supreme test come when and how it will. We believe that then a cry will recall the memories of the past, but will obliterate their sadness — the cry of victory!"

H. NELSON GAY.

A biography of a member of an old English Catholic landed family usually has a peculiar interest; for if it is well done it cannot fail to supplement Amherst's *History of Catholic Emancipation*. Amherst's was a labor of love, and he laid students of English religious, political, and social history under a debt for his two volumes. Still he could not cover the whole field, particularly on the social and educational sides; and much new matter has come to light since Amherst published his history in 1886. The *Memoirs of Sir Edward Blount, K. C. B.* (edited by Stuart J. Reid and published by Longmans, Green, and Co., London and New York, 1902, pp. vi, 308) are consequently welcome from this and other points of view. Blount was for a short time in the diplomatic service; but his working life was spent as a banker and railway director in Paris. English capital built the early French railways. They were equipped with English plant, and manned with English locomotive engineers. Blount was a director of railways so constructed and worked; and perhaps the most generally valuable chapters of his reminiscences are those which show to what a great extent the railways of France were influenced by English control and English management. Blount was British consul in Paris during the siege, and not the least interesting part of his good-humoredly written memoirs is that which tells how he handled affairs after Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador, and the British military attaché as well as the British consul, had deemed it expedient to betake themselves out of the beleaguered city.

John Addington Symonds; a Biography. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903, pp. xxiv, 495.) The chief criticism made upon Mr. H. F. Brown's biography of Symonds, first published in 1895, was that it was too uniformly gloomy; that while setting forth the picture which Symonds drew of himself in his diaries and letters and autobiography, it did not after all present him as he really appeared to those who knew him. This criticism, with others of less importance, Mr. Brown took into careful account when it became his duty to make revisions for a new edition, but decided that he at least could present no other portrait. He must leave the lines as already drawn, especially since those living conversations in which Symonds seemed "youthfully enthusiastic, enthusiastically youthful" were never recorded. So the second edition of the biography differs in no essential respects from the first. It appears now, however, in less expensive form, in one rather than two volumes, and has at the end, instead of the heraldic note and list of writings, an index.

E. W. D.

COMMUNICATIONS

To the editors of THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW :

I would not ask for a hearing in reply to the criticism of my *History of the United States for Secondary Schools*, which appeared in the July number of the REVIEW, (IX, 792-794) if I did not find errors in it that do me injustice, and which I have no doubt that you will wish to correct.

(1.) My "account of political development in Massachusetts Bay (pp. 65-66)" is said to be "crammed with errors", and the reviewer specifies four, represented as appearing in the following passage :

At the outset, the general body of the "freemen" of the colony could exercise their political franchise only by being present at the meetings called the "general court." They elected the twelve "assistants provided for in the charter;" the assistants elected the governor; the governor and assistants made and executed laws. But in the second year of the colony the yearly election of the governor was taken from the assistants and given to the general body of freemen; and in the third year a representative legislature was created, formed of deputies from each town.

On these statements the reviewer remarks, first, that "the charter did not provide for 'twelve' assistants, but for eighteen", in which he is correct; my error is indubitable; but in the comment that follows I find my critic less accurate. He says :

"At the outset" the assistants did not elect the governor—not until after a great unconstitutional usurpation, which is ignored in the account. The representative legislature was not created in the "third year" but in the fifth; and it was not composed as stated by Mr. Larned.

Now, the facts, as they appear in the *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, are these : At the first general court which assembled the whole company, held on October 19, 1630,

It was propounded if it were not the best course that the freemen should have the power of choosing assistants when there are to be chosen, and the assistants from amongst themselves to choose a governor and deputy governor, who with the assistants should have the power of making laws and choosing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented unto by the general vote of the people, and erection of hands. (*Records*, I, 79.)

As this action was on the occasion of the first meeting of the "general body of the freemen of the colony"; only four months after their landing, and as it was the first exercise of "their political franchise", I claim strict correctness in my reference to it as being "at the outset" of the political development of the colony in Massachusetts Bay.

At a meeting of the general court held May 9, 1632 (in the second year of the colony),

It was generally agreed upon, by erection of hands, that the governor, deputy governor, and assistants should be chosen by the whole court of governor, deputy governor, assistants, and freemen, and that the governor shall always be chosen out of the assistants. (*Records*, I, 95.)

Relative to the creation of the representative legislature, the testimony of the colony *Records* is this: The colonists began to arrive in Massachusetts Bay during June, 1630. That was the beginning of the existence of the colony they came to found, and the third year of the colony ended in June, 1633. I am wrong, therefore, in stating that the representative legislature was created in the third year, and my critic is equally wrong in ascribing it to the fifth year; for it was actually in the fourth year—on May 14, 1634—that the first general court of delegates was held. At that meeting it was

Ordered, that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town before every general court, to confer of and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next general court, and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of [the] several plantations, to deal in their behalf, in the public affairs of the commonwealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen, derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, etc. (*Records*, I, 118.)

Plainly this authenticates my statement of the composition of the representative legislature, and does not sustain your reviewer's contradiction.

(2.) It is said by the reviewer that "The false idea that the Massachusetts Bay Company's charter was exceptional and liberal in character is strongly emphasized" in my account of it (p. 39). Against this construction of my treatment of the charter I appeal to the text. The single sentence that can seem to bear that emphasis is one which speaks of the charter as being "drawn in such terms that, by shrewd and bold management, a degree of independence which the king had not dreamed of was secured". I think you will agree with me that those terms of the charter which made it possible for the "governor and company" to carry it to New England and establish their seat of government there had precisely the effect I described.

(3.) I appeal again to the text of my book against the statement that "'English' ships, in the meaning of the Navigation Acts, are represented as excluding colonial ships". If my description of the navigation acts (pp. 111-112) is faulty, it is because I have made no representation whatever as to the meaning of the term "English ships".

(4.) Still further, I appeal to my own text for defense against a disparaging remark in the review, that "The great Intercolonial Committees [of correspondence] inaugurated by Virginia (p. 173) ought not to be confused in character or origin with the merely local committees within Massachusetts, or within any other colony". I cannot discover such confusion, in the slightest degree. After mentioning the institution of the local committees of correspondence in Massachusetts, in November, 1772, I have said that "A little later, in the spring of 1773, the

idea of the committees of correspondence was taken up in Virginia, and developed into an inter-colonial system of consultation and agreement"; and this is a statement of simple fact.

(5.) I am unjustly represented by such a remark in the review as this: "Foolish as were the acts of the government of George III., we hardly expect in this day to hear a sober text-book apply to them the epithet of 'atrocious despotism' ". Your readers will understand from this that I have so characterized "the acts of the government of George III." in some general way; whereas the fact is that I apply the epithet "atrocious despotism" (p. 175) specifically and only to those acts of Parliament that were adopted for the punishment of Boston and Massachusetts after the doings of the "tea-party". Mr. Fiske has characterized those acts as "measures for enslaving peaceful and law-abiding Englishmen", and as "edicts" that "one would naturally expect" "from the autocratic mouth of an Artaxerxes or an Abderrahman" (Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, 98); and the latest English historian of the Revolution speaks of them as "bills for the restraint or the suppression of liberty", and as being a "baleful harvest", when they were passed (Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, I, 186, 189). I judge that neither of these historians would find fault with my epithet.

(6.) To my statement that, in 1775, "the Scotch-Irish inhabitants of Mecklenburg County [N. C.] adopted resolutions which are claimed to have been the first demand for independence that was uttered by any assembly of people", the critic objects that it "will countenance the exploded legend". Apparently he does not know that what has been "exploded" in the legend is not the fact of the adoption of such resolutions, but the claim that they contained phrases which Jefferson used afterward in drafting the Declaration in 1776.

(7.) It is objected to my account of the conflict of 1771 with the "Regulators" of the Carolinas, that the Regulators "appear as warring solely against 'royal' authorities". The Carolinas were crown colonies, and the judicial and executive authorities in them which the Regulators resisted were "royal" authorities, strictly so; and the source of the trouble with them was in the higher "royal" authority, exercised in England, where attempts by the provincial assemblies to redress the grievances of the "up country" settlers were hindered by the king and the privy council.

(8.) Alluding to my remark that the Virginia Assembly of 1619 was "probably the first colonial legislature in the world since those of the ancient Greeks", the reviewer observes with some sarcasm of tone that it "flatters the Greeks and depreciates the later Romans and the very much later English colonists in Ireland". This intimates, of course, that my critic has sure knowledge of the existence in the Roman colonies of legislatures comparable with those of the English colonies in America; but I beg leave to doubt his ability to produce good evidence of the fact. Greenidge says of the Roman colonies:

None of these communities of Roman citizens possessed a true civic organisation of its own. We cannot define the rights of their town-councils, we cannot assert the absolute non-existence of popular gatherings for certain purposes ; but the absence of the *imperium* and of a true judicial magistracy is clearly discerned. (Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, 301.)

As for Ireland, it does not come legitimately within the category of colonies. It was a conquered country, occupied by some of the conquerors, and governed as a "lordship" of the English kings, until declared to be a kingdom, appertaining to those kings.

On these points I find the criticism of my book by your reviewer erroneous and unjust to it. On some others I question the soundness of opinions expressed by the reviewer ; but I ask no space for discussing those. On the other hand, in several instances of inaccurate statement I stand corrected by the writer of the review, and am grateful to him for pointing them out. The Massachusetts charter provided for eighteen assistants, not twelve. It was not the "old royal charter of Rhode Island", but legislation under it, that restricted the suffrage so long in Rhode Island. It was not in 1619, but in 1618, that the London Company gave the Virginia planters "a hand in the government of themselves". It is not a correct use of terms to describe the Stamp Act as one imposing "a direct tax". It was not till March, 1787, that Washington consented fully to be a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. It was a plurality, not a majority of the second votes in 1789, that made John Adams vice-president. The Constitution did not "require", but permitted Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves after 1808. My foot-note on the ordinance of 1784 is inaccurate. I trust you will permit me to acknowledge these errors, and to express my thanks for the detection of them.

Moreover, I wish to confess that your reviewer, in his characterization of myself and my work, rests his criticisms on a basis of truth. I have never been a teacher, and to call me a "historian" would be using that title, I admit, in too liberal a sense ; for I have not given to any particular section of history the minute, close, searching, special study which produces the authoritative historian of that section, and which qualifies the teacher for exactness of teaching in some special field. My want of such a specialization of historical knowledge exposes me, no doubt, to small inaccuracies, of the kind noted by your reviewer, and sometimes, perhaps, to mistaken views ; and the consciousness of this would have deterred me from undertaking to prepare any text-book of history, if I had not seen reason to conclude that, when the specialists in particular fields of history put their knowledge into books, they labor under disadvantages that differ from mine, but that may be quite as serious in the result. It seems to be very difficult for a writer whose mind is filled with the minutiae of a historical subject to see it in perspective, clearly, and to be able to present it effectively to readers and students, not in its details, but as a whole. I see evidence of this in text-books that, prob-

ably, have no such flaws as your reviewer finds in mine. Of the two kinds of defect, which mars a school-book more? I may be wrong, but I would not willingly lose the commendation given to my book in the first six lines of your review, if I could escape thereby all the criticism that comes after.

J. N. LARNED.

To the editors of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In regard to the above communication from Mr. Larned I call attention to the following points:

(1) After notice has been drawn to the matter, Mr. Larned reiterates that the "representative legislature" of 1634 in Massachusetts was composed of "deputies from each town". He even quotes from the *Records* to substantiate what might otherwise be considered merely a careless statement. Of course that "legislature" in fact was composed (1) of a necessary quorum, at least, of the "Assistants" (who were elected "at large") and (2) of the "deputies from each town." Moreover, the first element, which Mr. Larned omits, was in practice the controlling one for many years, and much important history turns upon the contests in the General Court between the Assistants and deputies. Mr. Larned's extract from the *Records* is correct, but his interpretation of it is not—apparently because he does not connect it with the charter organization of the General Court and because he fails to get the historical connection between that and the organization in 1634.

(2) As to the Mecklenburg Resolutions, Mr. Larned, to use his own words, "apparently does not know" that what has been exploded is just the claim he sanctions—that they constitute any kind of a demand for "independence".

(3) Mr. Larned defends the passage in which he styles the Virginia Assembly of 1619 "probably the first colonial legislature in the world since those of the ancient Greeks". He throws out the Roman colonies because their civic organization lacked the "*imperium*" and "a true judicial magistracy"! Does Mr. Larned hold, then, that the Virginia Assembly of 1619 had any power corresponding to the *imperium*, or that the settlers in any capacity at that time had "a true judicial magistracy"? If his objection throws out the Roman colonies, much more does it throw out his original statement.

I wish to be brief; and I take these points because they are susceptible of compact statement. I am confident that, with somewhat extended space, I could defend every other statement to which Mr. Larned objects, but I shall trespass no further upon your indulgence.

Respectfully,
WILLIS M. WEST.

NOTES AND NEWS

The twentieth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Chicago on December 28, 29, and 30, 1904. Most of the sessions will take place at the University of Chicago, headquarters being established in the Reynolds Club House. Apart from the business meeting there will be but six sessions, one each morning and each evening. The meeting will be held jointly with the American Economic Association and with the newly formed American Political Science Association. It will open on Wednesday morning with the inaugural address of the first president of the new society, Professor Goodnow of Columbia, after which the three societies will separate for their remaining sessions, except that those of Wednesday and Friday evenings will be joint sessions of the historians and economists. At the former, held in the hall of the Chicago Historical Society, the presidential addresses will be delivered before these two societies; and there will be an exhibition of rare Americana from the libraries of Mr. Edward E. Ayer and the Society. The principal feature of Thursday's sessions will be a group of round-table conferences upon topics of interest to teachers and to the workers in state and local historical societies. It is expected that railroad arrangements of the usual sort will be effected, with perhaps a special train from the east. Professor J. Franklin Jameson of the University of Chicago is chairman of the Committee on Programme and secretary of the Committee on Local Arrangements, and may be addressed at 5551 Lexington Avenue.

The death of M. Auguste Molinier, which occurred rather suddenly, on May 19, brings a heavy loss to history. Beginning with his thesis at the École des Chartes in 1873 he has written almost continuously, producing books and articles which will be of lasting service; and since 1893, when he became a professor in the École des Chartes, he has been an especially useful teacher. The principal monument of his earlier scientific activity is his laborious and fruitful revision of the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, on which he spent the greater part of ten years. Of his later work, the most generally serviceable portion will be the *Manuel des Sources de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge*, which he was happily able to finish, though the last fascicle and the index are not yet published. Of special moment among his other productions are *Les Obituaires Français au Moyen Âge* (1887) and the *Correspondance Administrative d'Alphonse de Poitiers*, two volumes (1894, 1900); while readers of the *Revue Historique* will recall his admirable "bulletins" of publications relating to medieval France. Leaving life at not quite fifty-three, he had much work in hand — such as two volumes of obituaries of the province of Sens and a popular general history of France in the Middle Ages — and many plans still to carry out, not the least of

them being a book on the communes of southern France. In the July number of the *Revue Historique* there is an appreciative account of the man and his work, by MM. Bémont and Monod.

Several historical scholars of Germany have died recently, among them Professors Konstantin Höhlbaum, of Giessen, Ottokar Lorenz, of Jena, and Friedrich Schirrmacher, of Rostock. Professor Höhlbaum devoted himself chiefly to the history of the Hansa. He had a large part in the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, three volumes of which he compiled himself, and he furthered in other ways the studies in this field, notably by his two volumes of inventories of sixteenth century acts in the archives of Cologne. It was announced some years ago that he would write a comprehensive history of guilds in western Europe, but this work, for which he had exceptional preparation, is now left to others. He was yet in his fifty-fifth year. Dr. Lorenz had a longer and more rounded career. After some years in archive work he became professor of history in the University of Vienna in 1862, and shortly afterward published his *Deutsche Geschichte im xiii. und xiv. Jahrhundert* and his *Geschichte Ottokars ii. von Böhmen*. Among the numerous works he has produced since, one is necessarily of exceptionally general service, the manual of the sources of German history for the period following that covered by Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, from the middle of the thirteenth century, the third edition of which appeared in 1886-1887. In these last years we have had his *Kaiser Wilhelm und die Begründung des Reiches 1866-1871*, according to writings and communications of princes and statesmen that took part in it. He removed from Vienna to Jena in 1885. Professor Schirrmacher, also of the older generation, was one of the last survivors of the inner circle that gathered around Ranke; and his writings, being chiefly concerned with great personalities, bear witness to his master's inspiration. He gained the attention of the learned world by his *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, and afterward, when in the prime of his powers, produced *Johann Albrecht I., Herzog von Mecklenberg*. In later life he was occupied with the *Geschichte von Spanien*, in the Heeren-Ukert-Lamprecht series. He had been in the faculty at Rostock for thirty-eight years.

Frederick Alexander Inderwick, who died this summer, was one of those Englishmen who find time, notwithstanding their professional labors, to devote considerable attention to historical studies. An eminent lawyer, his *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, *The Interregnum, 1648-1660*, and *The King's Peace; a Historical Sketch of the English Law Courts*, have made him known as a historian as well.

It is proposed to erect within the precincts of Trinity College, Dublin, a statue as a memorial to the late W. E. H. Lecky. Contributions to this memorial may be sent to the "Honorary Treasurer, Lecky Memorial Fund," No. 36, Molesworth Street, Dublin, or to Henry C. Lea, 2000 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Mr. C. H. Firth has been made Regius Professor at Oxford, succeeding Frederick York Powell.

Dr. Thomas Walker Page has been appointed Associate Professor of Mediaeval History in the University of California.

Mr. Frederic Jesup Stimson has been elected Professor of Comparative Legislation, in Harvard University.

Among other appointments we note: Dr. William Bennett Munro, formerly of Williams College, and Dr. Francis Samuel Philbrick, to be instructors in government at Harvard; Mr. R. M. Johnston to be Lecturer on Modern Italian History at Harvard; Dr. Guy Hall Roberts to be assistant professor of history at Bowdoin; Dr. H. R. Shipman to be instructor in history at Dartmouth; Dr. Everett Kimball to be instructor in history at Smith; and Dr. A. H. Shearer to be instructor in history at Trinity, Hartford.

Harvard University has received the sum of \$100,000, from the estate of Dorman B. Eaton for the establishment of the Eaton Professorship of Civil Government, to which Professor A. Lawrence Lowell has been elected.

An announcement has been issued by the Germanic department of the University of Chicago concerning the Conrad Seipp Memorial German prizes, which are offered for the three best monographs on the subject: "The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence." The prizes are \$3,000, \$2,000 and \$1,000. The monographs which may be written in either German or English, are to be handed in on or before March 22, 1907. It is expected that the monograph selected for publication will make a book of 800 printed pages and that it will be published under the auspices of the university. The judges are also authorized to buy essays on special topics such as "Emigration from the Palatinate to the United States." Full information can be obtained by writing to Dr. H. K. Becker, of the University of Chicago.

Johns Hopkins University has awarded its John Marshall medal, for the best work in historical or political science, produced during the year by a graduate, to Professor Davis R. Dewey, in recognition of his *Financial History of the United States*.

Plans are under way for the formation of an American Bibliographical Society at the annual meeting of the American Library Association, which will be held at St. Louis, commencing October 17. The Bibliographical Society of Chicago has chosen an organization committee of which Worthington C. Ford is chairman, and which will call a meeting of those interested in bibliography.

An Archive Bureau has been organized in Stockholm, to be under the management of Dr. Rosm n, in connection with the Royal Archives, and of G. Hedin. The co peration of many of the ablest scholars in Sweden has been secured and the object of the bureau is to furnish information and material from libraries, archives and other sources, for historical, genealogical and statistical purposes.

The *Educational Review* for June contains a classified "Bibliography of Education for 1903" compiled by Isabel Ely Lord and James I. Wyer, Jr. The September number of the same periodical contains "The degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the United States", by Edward D. Perry, a statistical and historical survey.

Professor George P. Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History* is so well known that the revised edition which appeared lately needs here scarcely more than a mention. Corrections have been made, brief statements woven in here and there, reference lists freshened and additions made to the chapter on most recent history (New York, American Book Company).

"In *Success Among Nations* the attempt has been made to initiate the reader into the psychological view of History, by giving, in outline and by means of a few illustrations, a birds-eye view of the human forces that have raised some nations to the glory of success, while their absence has prevented other nations from holding their own in the battle for historic existence." So runs the first sentence of the preface to a new volume by Emil Reich (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1904, pp. xi, 293). Having studied both "numerous books and historic 'sources'", and "about a dozen highly differentiated modern nations, each in its own country", Dr. Reich makes bold, "after a *résumé* of success in the past", to try "to sketch the probable national successes of the future". He treats through eight chapters, of economic, political, intellectual and religious success; and then, through five more chapters, surveys in order, the Latin and the Slav nations, the Germans, Britain and the United States.

Two new volumes in "The World's Epoch-Makers" have lately come to hand. In *Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy*, James Iverach, of the United Free Church College, Aberdeen, has set forth, on the basis of wide reading, the main ideas of each of these thinkers to the neglect of less important matters. Thus the more theological part of Spinoza's writings and the main part of his political philosophy has been left aside. In *Rousseau and Naturalism in Life and Thought*, by W. H. Hudson, first the story of Rousseau's career is retold, naturally with much succinctness, and then, with this to elucidate his writings, in the second part of the book is given a broad outline of Rousseau's philosophy, with an indication of the nature and direction of its influence. (New York, imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903 and 1904 respectively).

Dr. Theodor Lindner, whose *Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung* has been noticed, so far as it has appeared, in the REVIEW, was recently made Rector of the University of Halle-Wittenberg. His inaugural address, on *Allgemeinesgeschichtliche Entwicklung* (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1904, pp. 24), contains an uncommonly well expressed discussion of the relation between the forces of continuity and those of change as fundamental in history. The recent development and successes of Japan furnish an interesting concrete text for the more abstract thinking. We note also, in the field of historical theory, "*Le Problème des Idées dans la*

Synthèse Historique, à propos d'Ouvrages Récents", by H. Beer, in the April and June numbers of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*; "La Causalité dans la Succession" by A. D. Xénopol, in the June number of the same periodical; and "Geschichte, Völkerkunde und historische Perspektive", by Friedrich Ratzel, in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (XCIII., 1).

The title of *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History*, by Antonio Labriola, professor in the University of Rome, translated by Charles H. Kerr (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1904, pp. 246), is not definitely descriptive. The translator explains in a preface, however, that this is an English version of a work published at Rome in 1896, in which Labriola set forth socialist preconceptions in such a manner that his exposition has been held to mark a date in the history of socialism. There are two "essays", one commemorating the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the other treating of "Historical Materialism".

Among recent evidences of interest in ideas associated with the word solidarity are two papers read before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and published, together with observations by several members of the Academy, in a special pamphlet: *La Solidarité Sociale, ses Nouvelles Formules*, by E. d'Eichthal; *La Solidarité Sociale comme Principe des Lois*, by C. Brunot (Paris, Picard, 1903, pp. 155). These papers treat especially of the bearing of present conceptions of solidarity upon individual liberty. M. d'Eichthal sets forth that solidarity in the form of a principle of law is pregnant with collectivism; M. Brunot endeavors to define the veritable doctrine of solidarity and maintains that it fortifies rather than menaces the liberty of individuals.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

A history of Rome during the later Republic and the early Principate, in six volumes, by A. H. J. Greenidge, is announced by Messrs. Methuen, London. The first volume will cover the years 133-104 B. C.

A revised edition of Myers's *Ancient History* is among the late textbook publications. The part of the work relating to the Orient has been almost wholly rewritten; the Greek and Roman parts have been based respectively on the author's texts on Greece and Rome; a fourth part has been added on "The Romano-German or Transition Age"; and the book has been improved by selected lists of references and topics for study, and by many new maps and illustrations. With all its changes, however, it still bears the distinctive features of the old well-known work (New York, Ginn and Company).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Ferguson, *The Oligarchic Revolution at Athens of the Year 103/2 B. C.* (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, IV, 1); C. Callewaert, *Les premiers Chrétiens et l'Accusation de Lèse-Majesté* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

A collection of texts relating to the history of Christianity has been undertaken by the house of Picard, Paris: *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, under the direction of P. Lejay and H. Hemmer. It will comprise such works and documents as are considered most useful to students of the subject; the Greek texts and the most difficult Latin pieces will be accompanied by a French translation; and the several numbers are to include no more than five hundred pages, each duodecimo, and are to be sold at no more than three-and-a-half francs. Eusebius's history, which opens the collection, is promised for this October.

The *Analecta Bollandiana*, which long since rendered itself indispensable to every student of hagiographical questions, is now facilitating its use by giving an index to its first twenty volumes. This index is being published in installments, beginning in the third fascicle of volume twenty-two, and comprises four parts; a simple table of contents of each volume; an alphabetical index of saints; an index of places and things; and an index of authors. There is in the current issue of the *Analecta* (XXIII., 2-3) a catalogue, with a number of appendices, of Latin hagiographical manuscripts in the public library of Rouen, by A. Poncelet.

A new edition of Bryce's classic *Holy Roman Empire*, revised and largely rewritten, and containing two new chapters and three maps, is announced for fall publication by Messrs. Macmillan.

An important work on the history of southern Italy and the Eastern Roman Empire from the accession of Basil I to the capture of Bari by the Normans, forms the ninetyeth fascicle of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*: "L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantine (867-1071)", by J. Gay (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Cartellieri, *Die Staufischen Kaiser und die Auffassung ihrer allgemeinen Politik* (Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, XIII); E. Bertaux, *Les Français d'outre-mer, en Apulie et en Épire, au temps des Hohenstaufen d'Italie* (Revue Historique, July); G. Mollat, *Jean XXII (1316-1334) fut-il un Avare*, I (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July).

MODERN HISTORY.

A second volume has lately appeared in the great collection of documents relating to the Council of Trent which has been undertaken by the Görresgesellschaft: *Diariorum, Actorum, Epistolarum, Tractatum nova Collectio*. T. IV. *Actorum Pars Prima: Monumenta Concilium Præcedentia, Trium Priorum Sessionum Acta*, prepared by S. Ehses (Freiburg, i. Br., Herder).

Some students of military history may be interested in four volumes of manuscript in possession of the American Philosophical Society, at

Philadelphia, and described by Mr. J. G. Rosengarten in Vol. XLII of the *Proceedings* of the society: "The Earl of Crawford's MS. History in the Library of the American Philosophical Society". The volumes contain journals and maps concerning voyages and campaigns of the years 1689 to 1739, materials which were drawn up by or at the dictation of John Lindsay, twentieth Earl of Crawford, and which were utilized, though only in large measure, for Rolt's *Memoirs* of the Earl.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. de la Roncière, *Les Routes de l'Inde. Le Passage par les Poles et l'Isthme de Panama au Temps de Henri IV* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July); A. Sorel, *Les Alliés et la Paix en 1813* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, from July 1).

GREAT BRITAIN.

Dr. A. C. Tilton has compiled, and published in the Wisconsin State Historical Societies "Bulletin of Information No. 21", *A Descriptive List of the Works on English History in the Library of the Society* (pp. 32). This list is selective, directing attention chiefly to works containing sources. The entire collection, it is estimated, numbers about fifteen thousand volumes.

A useful bit of work has been done in *Roman Roads in Britain*, by Thomas Codrington, which was added recently to the series on "Early Britain", published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (London, 1903, pp. 392). Resting on a combination of extensive personal observations with the other sources of information, Mr. Codrington takes up each of the great roads in order, beginning with Watling Street, and traces its course, together with the courses of smaller roads closely connected with it, in detail and with as much certainty as the evidence available seems to him to permit. He accompanies his descriptions with small maps in the text and with a large map at the end, in which we observe a number of differences from the map by Mr. Haverfield in the *Oxford Atlas* and from that on "Brittania" (revised by Mr. Haverfield) in the new Murray series: to mention but one case, in the matter of certainty as to the courses of roads between London, Colchester and Braughing.

A general review, by C. Petit-Dutaillis, of work relating to the history of England in the Middle Ages was begun in the June number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*.

Professor Paul Vinogradoff, whose *Villainage in England* is known to every student of early English history, has written a sequel to that work, a volume on *Growth of the Manor*, which is announced for publication this fall by Swan, Sonnenschein and Company.

A society for the publication of Episcopal registers and of other ecclesiastical documents of importance for English history has been founded in England: The Canterbury and York Society, with the archbishops of Canterbury and York as presidents. The registers, some of which go back to the thirteenth century, have been little utilized so far, save those of Lincoln and London.

The articles in the *English Historical Review* for July comprise continuations of Mrs. Armitage's "Early Norman Castles of England" and Professor Firth's "Clarendon's History of the Rebellion"; also a short account of Charles I's pepper transaction with the East India Company in 1640, by William Foster, and a tribute to Frederick York Powell by one of his former students, R. S. Rait.

The fifteenth century translation of the charters and deeds of Godstow Nunnery is being prepared for publication by the Early English Text Society, by the Rev. Andrew Clark.

An important book on *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, by G. Unwin, has been issued by the Oxford University Press. The author has utilized the archives of several of the industrial corporations of London.

The *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for August contains a short article on "The Authorship of the 'Book of Husbandry' and the 'Book of Surveying'," in which Professor E. F. Gay summarizes "this minor controversy" and adds some new items which he thinks strengthen the case for John Fitzherbert as against his brother, Sir Anthony.

The series of "Historical Monographs" edited by F. P. Barnard and published, in London, by Messrs. Jack, begins auspiciously with a biography of Elizabeth's chief minister: *William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, by Augustus Jessopp.

The first number of the papers of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution is *The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy, 1787-1798*, by E. D. Adams.

The Office of Justice of the Peace in England in its Origin and Development, by Charles Austin Beard, has been published as No. 1 of the twentieth volume of the Columbia University "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

A further series of the *Diaries of Henry Greville*, edited by the Countess of Strafford (formerly Viscountess Enfield), is to be published by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. R. Scott, *Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union*. I. (*Scottish Historical Review*, July); Walpole's "History of Twenty-five Years", (*Blackwood's Magazine*, August); H. A. L. Fisher, *The Last Generation: A Review of Walpole's "The History of Twenty-five Years"* (*Independent Review*, September).

FRANCE.

MM. Picard et Fils, Paris, propose to publish a *Collection de Cartulaires*, and thus, virtually, continue the now long interrupted series in the *Documents Inédits*. The new series is to begin with a bibliography of French cartularies, by H. Stein; and the other numbers already arranged for include the cartularies of the churches of Apt and Laon, of the abbey of Bonnevaux, the bishopric of Avignon, and Mont St.

Michel; also "La Pancarte Noire de Saint-Martin de Tours", and "Cartulaire Navarrais de Philippe III". Publication is to begin as soon as enough subscriptions are received.

The investigations and discussions which the recent work of Flach on *Les Origines d' l' Ancienne France* was destined to arouse have definitely begun. Students of feudal France will be interested in a criticism, by L. Halphen, of one of M. Flach's chief points: "La Royauté Française au XI^e Siècle", in the *Revue Historique* for July.

The concluding (twenty-fourth) volume of the folio series of the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* was issued this year. It contains, especially, administrative inquests of the reign of St. Louis. It will be recalled that this collection is being continued in a quarto series.

Two of the articles of the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* bear upon the history of Protestantism, on its Calvinistic side: "Procès de huit Évêques Français suspects de Calvinisme", by A. Degert, and "Les Églises Calvinistes du Midi, le Cardinal Mazarin et Cromwell", by A. Cochin.

The Bishop of Beauvais, M. C. Douais, has in his possession a complete manuscript copy of a "Relation" covering the mission of M. Toussaint de Forbin-Janson to Italy in 1673, performed at the request of Louis XIV, with the object of bringing about a reconciliation between the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosmo III, and the Grand Duchess, Marguerite of Orleans. This document, M. Douais advises, contains many descriptions relating to Italy; it could not be utilized by M. Rodocanachi for his volume of two years ago on the unfortunate Marguerite; and it would not make such a bad figure among the literary works of the *grand siècle*. In order to make it known and if possible lead to its publication, he has lately brought out an account of the mission in which he gives considerable quotations from the "Relation": *La Mission de M. de Forbin-Janson Évêque de Marseille, plus tard Évêque de Beauvais, auprès du Grand Duc et de la Grande Duchesse de Toscane*. In the same volume he includes forty-two new pieces relating to the mission, being a selection from a much larger number in which he wishes to arouse similar interest (Paris, Picard, 1904, pp. vii, 204).

A collection of documents which will serve to clarify the history of early modern art in one of the principal centers of southern France will be found in a recent volume entitled *L' Art à Toulouse : Matériaux pour servir à son Histoire du XV^e au XVIII^e Siècle*, by C. Douais (Paris, Picard, 1904, pp. 214). These pieces were first published in the *Revue des Pyrénées*, rather out of the reach of most students, but are now easily accessible. They are drawn from the notarial archives of Toulouse, number in all eighty-eight, apply to the years 1452-1725, and offer information on both religious and civil architecture, sculpture, metal-work, embroidery, and glass-painting. Their collector has not utilized them, save to suggest one conclusion: that art at Toulouse in the period of the Renaissance was rather indigenous than of Italian origin.

The Oxford University Press, which sent out a dozen years ago the *Orators of the French Revolution*, edited by H. Morse Stephens, now has in preparation a collection of documents on the history of the Constituent Assembly, drawn mainly from Paris newspapers of the period. There are to be two volumes, edited by L. G. W. Legg.

The collection of documents on the history of public opinion at Paris which is being edited by M. Aulard attained lately to a second volume: *Paris sous le Consulat*, Vol. II. (November 22, 1800, to April 20, 1802) (Paris, Cerf).

Professor Frank M. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, has just brought out, through the H. W. Wilson Company, of Minneapolis, a collection of documents which will be welcomed by many teachers and students of modern French history: *The Constitutions and other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France, 1789-1901*. There are in all one hundred and thirty-seven numbers, many of which include several pieces.

The second number in the series of publications of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* upon "Les Régions de la France" is devoted to the historical material pertaining to the Lyonnais. It is by S. Charlét, professor in the University of Lyons and editor of the *Revue d' Histoire de Lyon*. A brief introduction points out some of the difficulties and peculiarities of the history of this region owing to its lack of natural boundaries. The third number in the same series treats of Burgundy, and is by Professor Kleinclausz, of the University of Dijon. The first installment of it appeared in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* for June.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Grand, *Les Chartes de Commune de la Ville d'Allanche (1438-1490)* (*Revue de la Haute-Auvergne*, VI., 1); P. Grachon, *Le Conseil Royal et les Protestants en 1698. L'Enquête, la Question de la Messe et le Rôle de Bâville*. I. (*Revue Historique*, July); W. Bröcking, *Zur Forschung über die "Eiserne Maske"* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, July); Kaunitz, *Mémoire sur la Cour de France (1752)* (*Revue de Paris*, August 1, 15).

ITALY.

A hearty welcome will be given to the new index of the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, from 1884 to 1901, in two volumes, compiled by the editor of the *Rivista*, C. Rinaudo. It will render convenient the use of a periodical which has given such full indications of publications and such a collection of reviews as make it an indispensable organ to students of Italian history.

We announce with pleasure that the publication of the new edition of the Muratori *Corpus* is renewed and promises to continue, at regular intervals, through the house of S. Lapi at Città di Castello. Four new fascicles appeared recently, bringing the total number now ready to twenty-five. The work of revision, which includes much amplification and correction, is being carried on by a number of scholars, under the direction of G. Carducci and V. Fiorini.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Guggenheim, *Marsilius von Padua und die Staatslehre des Aristoteles* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, July); G. Bourgin, *La Familia pontificia sotto Eugenio IV* (Archivio della R. Società Romana, XXVII, 1-2); E. Rodocanachi, *Le Mariage en Italie à l'Époque de la Renaissance* (Revue des Questions Historique, July).

GERMANY.

A new volume (XXXI) has been added this year to the "Scriptores" series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and with it the size of this series is changed, happily, from folio to quarto. It contains writings of Italian provenance, edited by O. Holder-Egger.

Dr. Georg Steinhausen, editor of the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, has written a history of German civilization, that is now issuing, in fascicles, from the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig: *Geschichte der deutschen Kultur*.

A systematically arranged list of books and treatises relating to the German universities is now appearing through the house of Teubner, Leipzig: *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten*. This list aims to include all pieces published to the end of the year 1899, and is divided into three parts, the first of which, of over eight hundred and fifty pages, is now ready.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Ritter, *Wallensteins Eroberungspläne gegen Venedig, 1629* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIII, 1); G. F. Preuss, *König Wilhelm III, Bayern und die grosse Allianz 1701* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIII, 2); A. Stern, *Die Mutter des Freiherrn vom Stein und Lavater. Nach ihrem Briefwechsel* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIII, 2); E. Wertheimer, *Die Revolutionierung Tirols im Jahre 1813* (Deutsche Rundschau, July and August); H. Freiherrn von Egloffstein, *Kaiser Wilhelm I. und Leopold von Orlich* (Deutsche Rundschau, June and August); F. Lorenz, *Zur Geschichte der Zensur und des Schriftwesens in Bayern* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, II, 3); Julius Kaerst, *Theodor Mommsen* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, July).

BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS.

We received only lately a copy of G. des Marez's *La Lettre de Foire à Ypres au XIII^e Siècle, Contribution à l'Étude des Papiers de Crédit* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1901, pp. 292), printed separately from volume LX of the "Mémoires Couronnés et autres Mémoires" published by the Belgian Royal Academy. This substantial contribution to the study of matters of money and credit followed the author's discovery, in the archives of Ypres, of a collection of some eight thousand documents, ranging between the years 1249 and 1291. Over one hundred and fifty of these pieces he publishes here, in justification of many conclusions relating partly to the extrinsic features of the obligatory papers used at Ypres in the thirteenth century and partly to the legal and economic

demands they satisfied. Since the papers in question witnessed a debt payable at such or such a fair, M. des Marez has denominated them "lettres de foire", but it seems that he might better have termed them simply "lettres obligatoires", or "reconnaisances". Students who make use of the work should consult, in connection therewith, the long and competent review of it by P. Huvelin, in the *Revue Historique* for September-October, 1901. In the *Lettre de Foire* and the more recent *Organisation du Travail à Bruxelles au XV^e Siècle* M. des Marez has begun a comprehensive work on commerce and industry in Belgium from the rise of the towns to the end of the old régime.

The royal commission founded in Holland in 1902 for the purpose of offering centralized, efficient guidance in the publication of historical sources has already demonstrated its usefulness in an eminent manner, by producing a survey of the gaps now existing in the national historiography and indicating, for successive periods, the sources it is most important to publish in order best to fill these gaps: *Overzicht van de door Bronnenpublicatie aan te vullen Leemten der Nederlandsche Geschiedkennis* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1904, pp. ix, 103).

RUSSIA.

Among the new books to which contemporary developments in the Far East lend special interest, we note *Russia, her Strength and her Weakness*, by Wolf von Schierbrand (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, pp. xv, 304, with two maps). The writer of it depends on information derived mainly from an extensive tour through European and Asiatic Russia and from "the best available and original resources, Russian by preference, and very largely official". From this and some other material he makes a study of the present conditions of the Russian empire—treating such matters as expansion, finances, industry, agriculture and the peasantry, church and morals, internal race strife, bureaucracy—and contends, by way of forecast, "that by pursuing for another considerable length of time the present policy of foreign aggression and utter disregard of internal needs, Russia is on the road to national perdition".

AMERICA.

Among the fall announcements not otherwise noted in this number of the REVIEW, the following are of interest: By Macmillan: *Reminiscences of Peace and War*, by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor; *The Declaration of Independence*, "an interpretation and an analysis", by Herbert Friedenwald; *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, in twenty volumes; *The Industrial History of the United States*, by Katharine Coman. — By Houghton, Mifflin and Company: *Autobiography, Memories, and Experiences of Daniel Conway*; *The Evolution of the United States Constitution and the History of the Monroe Doctrine*, by John A. Kasson. — By A. S. Barnes and Company: a new and revised edition in two volumes of *Barnes' Popular History of the United States*. — By

G. P. Putnam's Sons: *The Story of the United States*, by Edwin Earle Sparks. — By A. C. McClurg and Company: Lahontan's *New Voyages to North America*, edited by R. G. Thwaites; Gass's *Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, edited by James K. Hosmer; *History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in that State, 1719-1864*, by N. Dwight Harris. — By Fox, Duffield, and Company: first volume of *Virginia County Records*. — By the American Unitarian Association: a new edition of *The Works of William Ellery Channing*, with a biographical and critical introduction by John W. Chadwick.

The five volumes comprising "group I, — Foundations of the Nation", in *The American Nation* edited by Professor A. B. Hart (Harpers), are announced for immediate publication: they are *European Background of American History*, by E. P. Cheyney; *American Conditions of American History*, by Livingston Farrand; *Spain in America*, by E. G. Bourne; *England in America*, by L. G. Tyler, and *Colonial Self-Government*, by Charles M. Andrews.

The first volume of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* is announced by Macmillan. The entire work is to be completed in several volumes, and marks the first attempt, since the beginning of Bancroft's work, on the part of a scholar of reputation to produce an extended comprehensive and critical study of the entire period, commencing with the early voyages. The first volume extends to 1660.

The first volume of *The United States: a History of Three Centuries*, by William Estabrook Chancellor and Fletcher Willis Hewes (Putnam's Sons), has just appeared. It covers the years 1607-1697. It is divided into four parts — population and politics, war and conquest, industry and commerce, and civilization.

A History of the Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States, by David Yancey Thomas, in the Columbia University Studies, is a timely work in an important and interesting field.

The Department of Justice, its History and Functions, by James S. Easby-Smith (Washington, Lowdermilk, 1904), is the only historical and descriptive sketch of the Department of Justice yet published. Mr. Easby-Smith is the pardon-attorney of the Department of Justice, and has prepared an exhaustive history of the department, soon to be published, of which this little volume is but a much abridged fore-runner. In its forty-seven pages, however, a brief sketch of the office of Attorney-General from 1789 to 1904, and accounts of the history and duties of each office and bureau in the department since 1870, the date when the Department of Justice was established, are to be found, while an appendix contains lists of the principal officers of the department, since the establishment of their respective offices, together with the dates of their terms of service.

The Library of Congress has published during the summer several reference lists compiled under the direction of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, the

chief bibliographer. *A List of Works relating to the Germans in the United States*, contains over two hundred entries, covering colonial settlements, as well as modern migrations, but excluding biographies of distinguished Germans. *A List of Books (with References to Periodicals) relating to Proportional Representation*, contains about 120 book references, many of them amply annotated, with something over ninety references to articles in periodicals, scattered through the years from 1835 to date. Some titles on direct legislation and apportionment are included, but the initiative and referendum are not touched upon. The introduction, by Mr. Griffin, is a brief historical review of the literature of the subject. The *List of References on the Popular Election of Senators*, is a reprint, with additions, of Senate Document 404, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session, which was compiled by the Library, and has an appendix containing the debates in the Federal Convention on the election of senators, and extracts from the *Federalist*.

The Library of Congress has issued as No. 5 of its "Notes for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition" a brief general description of the principal historical collections in the Division of Manuscripts. Among the more important recent accessions, not heretofore noted in the REVIEW are the Van Buren papers (about 10,000 pieces); the Andrew Johnson papers (all later than 1861, about 15,000 pieces); the Webster papers, being the 2,500 manuscripts selected for biographical purposes and not included in the New Hampshire Historical Society's collection; the papers of Commodore Edward Preble; the Ambler manuscripts, relating to Jamestown, Virginia, and vicinity, 1649-1774; the Robert Morris papers; papers of David Porter and John Barry; and the Spanish and Mexican archives from Santa Fé.

A list of the *Papers of James Monroe* "in chronological order from the original manuscripts in the Library of Congress" is already in press, as is also a list of the *Vernon-Wager MSS.* The Vernon-Wager manuscripts were obtained in the Peter Force purchase of 1867, and relate to British naval operations in the West Indies and on the coast of North America, about the time of the Revolution. Three facsimile reproductions will accompany this latter list, while with the former will be included a facsimile of Monroe's journal of the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana.

Another and very important publication which the Library of Congress has under way is the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, edited by Worthington C. Ford. The first volume, covering the year 1774, is about to appear, and Mr. Ford has already issued separately "Bibliographical Notes on the Issues of the Continental Congress, 1774", reprinted from the forthcoming volume.

An eight-volume series on "The American State", under the editorship of W. W. Willoughby, is announced by the Century Company. Three volumes are already published: *The American Constitutional Sys-*

tem, by the editor, *City Government in the United States*, by F. J. Goodnow, and *Party Organization*, by Jesse Macy. The remaining five are announced as being in active preparation; they are *The American Executive and Executive Methods*, by J. H. Finley; *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods*, by Paul R. Reinsch; *The American Judiciary*, by Simeon E. Baldwin; *Territories and Colonies*, by W. F. Willoughby; and *Local Government in the United States*, by John A. Fairlie.

Les États-Unis au XX^e Siècle, by Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu (Paris, Armand Colin) is mainly descriptive; the work of a statistician chiefly interested in the industrial phases of American life.

Archer Butler Hulbert has under preparation a series of photographic reproductions of maps relating to America. The first volume will consist of about fifty maps of rivers, from the British Museum. Maps of towns, fortifications, battlefields, etc., will be included in subsequent volumes, and the series will be called *The Crown Collection of Historical Maps*.

The *New York Public Library Bulletin* for June and July contains Parts I and II of "A selected list of works in the New York Public Library relating to Naval History, Naval Administration, etc."

In an article on the "Voyages of the Cabots and of the Corte-Reals to North America and Greenland, 1497-1503", contributed by Mr. H. P. Biggar to the *Revue Hispanique*, for the latter half of 1903, the Cabot voyages are set in a new light. The phrase "E al tornor aldreto a visto do ixole" in Pasqualigo's despatch of August 13, 1497, is shown to mean merely "and on his way back he saw two islands", not "two islands to starboard", as many have supposed. In his first voyage of 1497, Cabot is made to land at Cape Breton. As to the second voyage Mr. Biggar shows that the "Cape Labrador", referred to by Gomara, was Cape Farewell, and that the region explored by Cabot in 1498, and named by him Labrador, was the east coast of Greenland. Since neither the Cabots nor the Corte-Reals in their voyages of 1500-1502, explored Davis Strait, they took that body of water to be merely a gulf. When, then, the Zeno map appeared in 1558, giving Greenland under its own name, the identity of the old Labrador with Greenland was forgotten. The article is illustrated with reproductions of twelve old maps.

We have received the first volume of *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, edited by Harry Alonzo Cushing (Putnam's Sons). It covers the period 1764-1769, and contains much valuable material, notwithstanding the fact that many of Adams's papers have been destroyed. The work will be completed in two or three more volumes and will receive an extended review in a later number.

We understand that the manuscript index to the official papers, in European archives, relating to the American Revolution, has been at last completed, through the efforts of Mrs. Stevens and Henry John Brown, her late husband's partner. This index, which includes the documents

in the English archives and private collections in Great Britain, and in Spanish, French and Dutch archives, comprises 180 folio volumes of 500 pages each; it is in three series: the first, of fifty volumes, gives the list of documents in the order they occupy in the archives; the second, of one hundred volumes, is chronological and descriptive, while the third, in thirty volumes, is alphabetical.

The Government Printing Office is publishing a facsimile of Thomas Jefferson's compilation, *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, Extracted textually from the Gospels in Greek, Latin, French and English*.

Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer is preparing for George W. Jacobs & Company an edition of the *Diary and Writings of Robert Morris*. The collection will include the important papers in the John Meredith Read "letter books", lately acquired by the Library of Congress, and letters preserved in other libraries, private and public. But a few of them have ever been published, and they will throw much new light upon the history of the Revolution. There will be several volumes, taking the form of a memorial edition, to be issued upon the centennial anniversary of the death of the long-neglected patriot.

Letters from an American Farmer, by John Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, reprinted from the original London edition of 1782, with a prefatory note by W. P. Trent, and an introduction by Ludwig Lewisohn, has been published by Fox, Duffield and Company. This is the only edition that has appeared since the Philadelphia reprint by Matthew Carey in 1793.

The *Revue Historique* for July-August contains an article of more than usual interest to students of American history: "Une Page peu connue de l'Histoire de France: la Guerre Franco-Américaine (1798-1801)", by George-Nestler Tricoche. It is pointed out that during "ce curieux incident diplomatique" France lost about ninety vessels of all kinds and a total of 700 guns.

In the *Monthly Bulletin of Books added to the Public Library of the City of Boston*, for August, is "A List of Regimental Histories and Official Records of Individual States in the Civil War", to be found in the Boston Public Library.

In the series of "American Crisis Biographies" (George W. Jacobs and Company, Philadelphia) the first volume to appear will be *Abraham Lincoln*, by the general editor, Ellis P. Oberholtzer. *Sherman*, by Edward Robbins, and *Frederick Douglass*, by Booker T. Washington, will follow.

The United Service, for July, has reprinted from its first series "Confederate Documents relating to Fort Sumter". The documents are from the records of the Executive Council of South Carolina, January 5-April 10, 1861, and consist of resolutions and decisions of the council and of correspondents with agents in Washington and the south. There is an introduction by Montgomery Blair.

A biography of Edwin M. Stanton, by Frank Abial Flower is to be brought out by the Saalfeld Publishing Company. It is said to contain some new material.

The fifth volume of James Ford Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, soon to appear (Macmillan), commences with a recapitulation of the events of the Civil War, as far as 1864, and ends with the elections of 1866.

Numbers IV and V of "West Virginia University Documents Relating to Reconstruction", edited by Professor Walter L. Fleming, appear together. They contain "Public Frauds in South Carolina", "The Constitution of the Council of Safety", "A Local Ku Klux Constitution", and "The '76 Association".

An interesting picture of local and domestic life in a New Hampshire town of the eighteenth century is contained in *The Diary of Matthew Patten*, recently published by the town of Bedford. Patten was a justice of the peace in Bedford from 1751 to his death in 1795, and was also at various times judge of probate, representative to the general court, and member of the governor's council; the diary covers the years 1754-1788.

In *Old-Time Schools and School Books* (Macmillan) Clifton Johnson has brought together a great mass of curious and interesting information about early school buildings, appliances and text-books in America. Illustrations in the form of facsimiles are lavishly scattered throughout the text and the volume is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of this important, but obscure phase of social history. The schools of Massachusetts receive a large share of the author's attention.

Starting with the premise that "Boston is a state of mind", M. A. DeWolfe Howe, in *Boston, the Place and the People* (Macmillan), endeavors to illustrate the spirit of the New England metropolis, to show, by an account of its history, its personages and its institutions, just what elements make up the mental state called by its name. The book is largely historical; chapters on "Foundation and Early Years", "Colonial Boston", "Provincial Boston" and "Revolutionary Boston", narrate events, but particularly describe leading characters. In "The Hub and the Wheel" the beginnings of Boston's shipping are described, while other chapters take up certain phrases of Boston life and history, such as "The Boston Religion", "The 'Literary Center'", "The Slave and the Union".

In the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for July is an article by Robert S. Rantoul on "The Date of the Founding of Salem", which he believes to be about 1626, instead of 1630, the date given in the *Manual of the General Court*.

Half a Century with the Providence Journal, "being a record of the events and associates connected with the past fifty years of the life of Henry R. Davis, secretary of the company", issued by the Journal Company, is neither a history of Rhode Island or Providence, nor a com-

plete history of the *Providence Journal*; but the fifty years covered have seen a revolution in the methods of journalism, and all the stages in this forward movement are adequately narrated. Much attention is given to the men who have made the paper, and to the influence upon its development exercised by Brown University.

A list of all the imprints (books, pamphlets and newspapers) from the seventy printing presses established in Connecticut between 1709 and 1800, has recently been published by the Acorn Club. This bibliography was prepared some twenty years ago by the late Dr. J. H. Trumbull, first librarian of the Watkinson Library, at Hartford. Along with it is a biographical sketch of Dr. Trumbull by Miss Annie E. Trumbull. The list contains 1,738 entries; it shows fewer political pamphlets of the Revolutionary period than might be expected, but gives twenty-six newspapers between 1755 and 1800.

The New York State Historical Association held its sixth annual meeting at Lake George, commencing August 16. One session was devoted to a symposium on "The Battle of Bennington-Walloomsac". Papers were read by Professor Herbert D. Foster, Nelson Gillespie, Robert R. Law, William O. Stillman and George G. Benedict.

Dodd, Mead and Company published in the spring *John Peter Zenger*, by Livingston Rutherford. This volume contains an account of Zenger's press and trial, and a bibliography of his imprints. A reprint of the first edition of the trial, as well as a number of portraits and facsimiles is also included.

The third and fourth volumes of *The Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, translated from the Dutch under the direction of Dr. E. T. Corwin and published by the state, have recently appeared. They cover the period between 1701 and 1750, and contain not only the translated records, but many others arranged under the direction of Mr. Hugh Hastings, the state historian.

The second volume of *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, edited for the New Jersey Historical Society by Francis B. Lee, covers the year 1778. It is composed of newspaper clippings, arranged chronologically. Many of these clippings are of value, as, for example, Washington's letters describing the Battle of Monmouth published in *The Pennsylvania Packet*; others are curious, as advertisements relating to slaves, school announcements, the weather record, etc.

The opening article in the July number of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is "George Washington in Pennsylvania", the address delivered before the University of Pennsylvania on "University Day", by Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker. In "A great Philadelphian: Robert Morris", Dr. Oberholtzer states the importance of the financier's services, gives a brief sketch of his life, and, through extracts from his recently accessible writings, presents an entertaining picture of his personality. A second installment of letters from Jefferson to Charles

Wilson Peale, contributed by Horace W. Sellers covers the years 1805-1809. The thirty letters are chiefly concerned with Jefferson's attempts to secure a satisfactory "Polygraph" or writing machine.

The eighth volume of *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society* (Wilkesbarre, 1904) contains two noteworthy historical contributions, "Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupancy of the Wyoming Valley, 1742-1763", by Dr. F. C. Johnson, and "The Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham, 1750-1834", edited by Rev. Horace E. Hayden.

"The Harmony Society. A Chapter in German American Culture History" is running in the *German American Annals*. The August number contains an account of the interesting industrial community of Economy, Pennsylvania, during the years 1825-1868.

The articles in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July cover a broad field, but there are several of historical interest. "Theodore Mommsen: His Place in Modern Scholarship", by William Kenneth Boyd, is an appreciative sketch of nine pages. In "Maryland in the Revolution", Dr. Bernard C. Steiner furnishes a eulogistic account of the way in which that state supplied its quota of men for the Revolutionary army. The article is evidently a by-product of his work as editor of the *Muster Rolls*, in the Maryland Archives. W. G. Brown contributes a brief review of "Senator Hoar's Reminiscences". Dr. Walter L. Fleming has an unique article on "Industrial Development in Alabama During the Civil War", in which he gives an account of the "Military Industries", "Private Manufacturing Enterprises", "Salt-Making", etc. The expedients resorted to in order to obtain nitre for the manufacture of gunpowder remind one of stories of the Napoleonic wars.

The most interesting contribution in *Publications of the Southern History Association* for July is the "Journal of James Auld, 1765-1779". The document is rather fragmentary but contains an entertaining account of travels in Maryland and a good deal of genealogical material. The "Reconstruction Document" printed in this issue is a letter from Judge David Noggle to Senator J. R. Doolittle, May 30, 1862, discussing, among other matters, the emancipation of the slaves.

The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States, by Winfield H. Collins (Broadway Publishing Company, New York), is a brief treatment of the subject, with full references to the original and secondary material examined.

The Government Printing Office has recently put forth the second volume of Glenn Brown's *History of the United States Capitol*. It deals chiefly with the additions made to the capitol since 1850 and with the great improvement of the grounds under the late Frederick Law Olmstead, and includes an account of the works of painting and sculpture in the building and grounds, a list of all the innumerable appropriations made for the capitol by Congress, biographies of the architects, engineers

and superintendents employed, and a bibliography of the building. Thus is brought to a close a remarkable and authoritative work of no little interest. The first volume was issued in 1900.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for July is composed wholly of continuations, with the exception of the "Census of Gloucester County, 1782-83", the first installment of which is communicated by Edward Wilson James.

The Political History of Virginia during the Reconstruction Period, by Hamilton James Eckenrode, is a recent addition to the "Johns Hopkins Studies".

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* for July prints a first installment of "Extracts from the Diary of Col. Landon Carter." Colonel Carter lived at "Sabine Hall" on the Rappahannock and left a very minute diary of his plantation life. The extracts in this number cover the year 1770. The other contributions to the July *Quarterly* are chiefly continuations.

Aside from continuations the July issue of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains a genealogical account, by Theodore D. Jervey, of the Hayne family of South Carolina, in which is included a brief biographical sketch of Robert Y. Hayne.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History has just published the first *Official and Statistical Register* of that State. This *Register* is to be issued every four years; this first volume, an octavo of 700 pages, constitutes a useful and valuable manual of the history and government of Mississippi. Biographies of state and national officers are included as well as a summary of Mississippi history from De Soto to the present time.

Among the Louisiana exhibits at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition is *Louisiana Writers*, a list some sixty pages long, compiled by Thomas P. Thompson, of the writers, both "native and resident, including others, whose books belong to a bibliography of that State". The titles of the works of these writers are included.

Under the title *Documents relating to the Purchase and Exploration of Louisiana*, Houghton, Mifflin and Company have just brought out, in a handsome volume, two hitherto unpublished documents. The first of these, "The Limits and Bounds of Louisiana", by Thomas Jefferson, is of comparatively little value, but the second, the journal of an exploration of the Red, the Black, and the Washita Rivers, in 1804, by William Dunbar, is of considerable interest for the light it throws on the social conditions of the peoples encountered. The manuscript of this document was given to the American Philosophical Society in 1817. A map is included, as well as portraits of Jefferson and Dunbar, but most unfortunately the publishers saw fit to omit an index.

A *Brief History of the Louisiana Territory*, by Walter Robinson Smith (The St. Louis News Company, 1904) consists of four lectures

delivered before the Washington University Association on the Mary Hemenway Foundation. It is not based so much upon original sources as upon secondary material, but is a convenient summary of the history of the region included in the Louisiana Purchase, from the original discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto to the erection of the various states formed out of the territory acquired from Napoleon.

The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association for April contains the "Journal of the Permanent Council (October 11-27, 1835)" edited from "Records, Volume I., Archives of Texas", by Eugene C. Barker. The "Journal of Stephen F. Austin on His First Trip to Texas, 1821" presents an interesting picture of the country and conditions of life, and contains a good deal about Indians. "Concerning Philip Nolan", is a collection of letters by Thomas Jefferson, Daniel Clark, James Wilkinson and William Dunbar, from the archives of the Department of State, relative to this leader of this "first Anglo-American invasion of Texas". They are dated between 1798 and 1801.

Of most general interest in *The "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly* for July is "Captain James Duncan's Diary of the Siege of Yorktown", contributed by W. F. Boogher of Washington. Captain Duncan was in Colonel Moses Hazen's regiment of Canadians, known as "Congress Own". He was an educated man and a good observer; the entries, some of which are very full are from October 2 to 15 inclusive.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has completed its series of indexes to its records, for 1849 to 1901. The last index, prepared by Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Haines, is to the *Proceedings* from 1874 to 1901.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July contains four maps illustrative of the boundary history of Iowa, with historical comments by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. In the same number is "A Bibliography of Iowa State Publications for 1898 and 1899", by Margaret Budington. This is the second installment of what will become a complete bibliography, the publication for 1900 and 1901 having been listed in the *Journal* for July, 1904.

Among the contents of *Annals of Iowa* for July, we note: "The Louisiana Purchase in Correspondence of the Time", letters selected by Dr. William Salter, from printed material; "The Charge at Farmington", by Col. Charles C. Horton; and "Transplanting Iowa's Laws to Oregon", by Dr. Frank I. Herriott.

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites continues his series of "Early Western Travels" (Arthur H. Clark Company), with volume IV, *Cuming's Tour to the Western Country, 1807-1809*. Fortescue Cuming was an Englishman who had purchased land in Ohio, and who desired to look over his property. He went on foot from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, thence by boat on the Ohio to Maysville, and from there through Kentucky. Afterwards he went down the Mississippi as far as Bayou Pierre, and then visited West Florida. Mr. Thwaites says of his narrative "In

a plain, dispassionate style he has given us a picture of American life in the West . . . that for clear cut outlines and fidelity of presentation has the effect of a series of photographic representations . . . We miss entirely those evidences of assumed tolerance and superficial criticisms that characterize so many books of his day recounting travels in the United States". Volume V contains *Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America, 1809-1811*. John Bradbury was commissioned by the Botanical Society of Liverpool to make researches into plant life in the United States. He arrived at St. Louis in 1809, made several excursions from there and then joined the overland Astorian expedition. Returning down the Missouri he went to New Orleans in charge of a boat laden with lead, and from there travelled somewhat in the southwest. The interest of Bradbury's account is chiefly for the region west of the Mississippi; he met Daniel Boone and John Colter, observed closely life among the Indians, Spanish influence, and other conditions. Volume VI contains *Brackenridge's Journal up the Missouri, 1811*, and *Franchère's Voyage to the Northwest Coast, 1811-1814*.

In two copiously illustrated volumes, bearing the title *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904* (Putnam's Sons), Mr. Olin D. Wheeler has brought together a great wealth of information regarding the history and route, as well as the personnel of this first great overland expedition. His opening chapter contains a survey of the Louisiana Purchase and its subsequent development; next comes an account of the origin and organization of the expedition, followed by sketches of the leaders in it, which contain much information relating to their later careers. A full narrative of the journey of the expedition compiled from the journals of Floyd and Gass as well as of Lewis and Clark, and interspersed with detailed discussions as to the location of disputed points, is included, as is also much supplementary archæological and ethnological information.

In the *Boston Evening Transcript*, for September 7, is an account by R. W. Child of the great collection of books, documents and manuscripts left by the late Adolph Sutro, of San Francisco, which, since the death of its owner, intestate, has been involved, together with the rest of the property, in litigation, and hence wholly inaccessible. Among these treasures thus hidden for the last seven years is reported to be a very large collection of manuscripts and old chronicles from Mexico, which should be of great value for Mexican and California history, as well as for Aztec and Indian ethnology, and the doings of the Jesuits in the southwest.

We note a new edition of *Labor Evangelica de los Obreros de la Compania de Jesus en las Islas Filipinas*, by Le P. Francisco Colin (three volumes, Paris, 1904).

A seventy-six page edition of the *Toronto Globe* was published on July 2, to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the paper's founding. Especial attention is given to the political, social, and economic development of the Dominion.

The Brazilian Legation at Washington has sent us *Brazil and Bolivia Boundary Settlement*; containing the treaty signed at Petropolis, November 17, 1903, the report of Baron Rio Branco, Minister for Foreign Relations of Brazil, and two large scale maps.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. G. Bradley, *The Fight for North America* (running in The Canadian Magazine); George F. Hoar, *Rufus Putnam* (Independent, July 7); Albert Perry Brigham, *The Geographic Importance of the Louisiana Purchase* (Journal of Geography, June); John Greenville McNeel, *American Prisoners at Dartmoor* (Harper's Magazine, September); A. T. Mahan, *The War of 1812* (Scribner's Magazine, July and September); Ulrich B. Phillips, *The Plantation as a Civilizing Factor* (Sewanee Review, July); *Washington in Wartime*, from the journal of Ralph Waldo Emerson (Atlantic, July); Louise W. Wright, *Memories of the Beginning and End of the Southern Confederacy* (McClure's Magazine, September); Grover Cleveland, *The American Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894* (Fortnightly Review, July); John Bassett Moore, *Freedom of the Seas* (Harper's Magazine, July); Brig. Gen. George B. Davis, Judge Advocate U. S. A., *International Law, its Past and Future* (Harper's Magazine, September); M. le marquis de Barral-Montferrat, *La Doctrine de Monroe*, concluded (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, July); Vize Admiral z. D. Valois, *Monroe-Doktrin und Weltfrieden* (Deutsche Revue, July); James Hannay, *The Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Canadian Magazine, August); D. Pedro Torres Lanzas, *Relación descriptiva de los Mapas Planos, etc., de las antiguas Audiencias de Panamá, Santa Fe y Quito, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, May).

The
American Historical Review

THE POLICY OF FRANCE TOWARD THE MISSISSIPPI
VALLEY IN THE PERIOD OF WASHINGTON
AND ADAMS¹

THE interest of France in the Mississippi valley extended over nearly two centuries. It falls into three main periods: (1) the unsuccessful attempt to outrival England as mistress of this region in the struggles of the colonial era; (2) the alliance with the United States in order to disrupt the British empire in our War for Independence; (3) the efforts to render the United States subservient to France and to rebuild French power in the interior of North America, ending with the cession of Louisiana. There is a striking continuity in the efforts of France to unite the fortunes of the region beyond the Allegheny mountains with those of the province of Louisiana and to control the Mississippi valley. This she desired to do, as a bar to the advance of England; as a means of supplying the French West Indies; as a lever by which to compel the United States to serve the interests of France; and as a means of promoting French ascendancy over Spanish America. France recognized that the effective boundary of Louisiana must be the Allegheny mountains, not the Mississippi river.

It is desired here to present some of the evidences of this policy, to exhibit the various forms which it took at different periods, and to explain the causes that affected the desire of France to control this important region. As will appear, the problem was a part of the larger problem of successorship to the power of Spain in the

¹ This paper makes free use of two articles by the present writer, published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May and June, 1904, under the title, "The Diplomatic Contest for the Mississippi Valley." The principal purpose of this paper is to furnish the necessary citations for some of the assertions made in these articles and to consider more fully the French side of these diplomatic intrigues.

New World, but the specific forms that French policy assumed were more immediately dependent upon the Louisiana question.

The suggestion made by France in the peace proposals of 1761, that a barrier country, or Indian reservation, should be formed between Louisiana and the Allegheny mountains, exhibits an early form of her desire to prevent the encroachments of English-speaking people into the valley,¹ and the use to be made of the Indians as a means of holding this region open to the purposes of France and Spain, closely allied in the family compact of that year. The refusal of England and the final defeat of the allies led to the readjustment of 1763, by which France yielded her American possessions east of the Mississippi to England. She ceded New Orleans with the province of Louisiana to Spain.² The cession of Florida to England by Spain left the Gulf of Mexico divided between these last-named powers. Doubtless France yielded the province without keen reluctance, for it had been an unprofitable possession; but the intimate connection between Spain and France seemed to make the transfer something less than an absolute relinquishment.

The English policy with regard to the interior must certainly have been acceptable to her recent enemies, for, by the proclamation of 1763, the king reserved the lands beyond the Alleghenies to the Indians, and declared that until the crown was ready to extinguish the Indian title, lands should not be patented within that area, nor settlers enter it. Although the Indian line was changed by purchases, and the colony of Vandalia was all but organized at the opening of the Revolution,³ yet, when France had to determine her attitude toward the United States at the outbreak of that war, the trans-Allegheny region was still, in the eyes of the English law, almost entirely Indian country.

It is impossible here to review the connection of France with the colonies during the Revolution; but some of the essential features of the policy of Vergennes must be stated in order to understand later events, and to perceive the continuity of French policy.

There was published in Paris, in 1802, a *Mémoire historique et politique sur la Louisiane*, par M. de Vergennes.⁴ This document

¹ Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*, 416.

² See the important paper, based on Spanish documents, by Dr. William R. Shepherd, in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1904 (XIX, 439-458), "The Cession of Louisiana to Spain."

³ G. H. Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghenies*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics, Political Science and History Series, II, 19 ff., 38 ff.; V. Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, *ibid.*, I, 398-431.

⁴ There are copies in the library of Harvard University, in the Library of Congress, and in the Wisconsin State Historical Library. John Quincy Adams notes in his diary

was found, according to the statement of its editor, among the minister's papers after his death, with his coat of arms at the head of the memoir. It is not known whether this memoir is to be found in the French archives, and, without further proof of its authenticity, doubts may be raised concerning it. Nevertheless, apparently both French and American bibliographers have accepted its genuineness.¹ The memoir was written prior to the alliance of 1778, and it includes not only a survey of the resources and history of Louisiana, but also an examination of the proper policy for France toward the United States, in the event of the independence of the latter power. Apprehending that the new republic would prove harmful to the interests of France and Spain in America, Vergennes (assuming that he was, indeed, its author) advised the king to insist, in the treaty which France expected to dictate to England at the conclusion of hostilities, that the territory beyond the Alleghenies and east of the Mississippi should revert to herself. He contended that this territory was properly a part of Louisiana, and not rightfully to be claimed by the American colonies under their charters. To carry out this idea he proposed the plan of a treaty to be imposed upon England at the termination of the war. This provided for the cession to France by England of the trans-Allegheny territory and for such a partition of Canada as would insure Louisiana from attack by way of the Great Lakes. The proposed boundaries were outlined in the document.² The territory thus to be acquired was to be joined with

(IV, 126) in 1818 that de Neuville, the French minister to the United States, "returned the Memoir of Count de Vergennes upon Louisiana, which he had some time since borrowed of me".

¹ In his *Voyage à la Louisiane* (Paris, 1802), 4-5 Bandry des Lozières, influenced, possibly, by the apprehension of a competing account of Louisiana, expresses doubts of the authenticity of this memoir in the following passage:

"Mais instruit que la Louisiane allait nous être rendue, je me ressouvins de mes notes, et je travaillais à en tirer quelque parti pour la chose publique, quand parut un ouvrage intitulé: *Mémoires de M. de Vergennes, ministre des affaires étrangères*. Je le lus d'abord rapidement; je le parcourus de nouveau, et je m'en voulais à moi-même de ne pas le trouver digne de son auteur. Enfin, après l'avoir bien examiné, je me décidai à croire que le nom de l'auteur était supposé. Si M. de Vergennes a quelque part à ces mémoires, ce n'est que pour très-peu, et le reste est d'une obscurité telle qu'il est impossible d'avoir, d'après cette lecture, une idée nette de la Louisiane.

Cependant je dois dire que celui qui a été sur les lieux, supplée aisément à ce qui manque à ces mémoires, et que ce qu'on y voit n'est obscur que faute d'avoir été rédigé par une personne qui connaisse l'objet qu'on traite. Néanmoins cet ouvrage n'est pas sans mérite pour l'homme d'état; et quel que soit celui qui se cache sous le nom imposant de M. de Vergennes, il ne rend pas moins des services par plusieurs de ses vues qui sont très-sages. Persuadé que ces mémoires ne pouvaient faire de tort à mon projet, je continuai mon travail, et ce que je vais dire n'est que le développement des notes que j'avais déjà prises dans mes voyages."

² The substance of this project is as follows (*Mémoire*, 108-114):

ARTICLE I. England shall restore to France all the conquests which she made in

Louisiana, which, he proposed, should be retroceded to France. Thus a revived French colonial empire would be created on both banks of the Mississippi, reaching to the Great Lakes and dominating the Gulf of Mexico. He warned the king that when the people of the United States once obtained their independence, they would not rest content with having defended their own hearth-fires, but would desire to expand over Louisiana, Florida, and Mexico, in order to master all the approaches to the sea. On the other hand, if France possessed the Mississippi valley, the Great Lakes, and the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and if she allied herself with the Indians of the interior, she could restrain the ambitions of the Americans. Such were the proposals of this interesting memoir.

It is obvious that, if the work was that of Vergennes, M. Doniol has omitted an essential document for understanding the connection

North America during the last war. ARTICLE II. France shall reserve Louisburg and other specified areas about the mouth of the St. Lawrence and to the north. ARTICLE III. The English are forbidden to fortify within ten leagues near the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, etc. "ART. IV. Que la France rentrera aussi en possession de toute la partie occidentale du Canada, à la réserve du pays concédé à l'ouest des montagnes Apalaches; c'est-à-dire, le pays des Iroquois, les terres et rivières au sud de l'Ohio et de son cours, depuis ses sources jusqu'à la Rivière-Neuve inclusivement; dans lequel pays les Anglais ne pourront non plus conserver, ni avoir d'autres fortifications, que le fort d'Oswego, sur la rivière Chouagen, ni sur l'Ohio, que celui qu'ils ont bâti à la place du fort du Quesne. ART. V. La France conservera pour bornes au nord du pays des Iroquois et de la Nouvelle-York, la rivière à la Plance et le lac du Saint-Sacrement, et à l'ouest le lac Ontario et le lac Crié [Erie], avec la propriété de toutes les terres et rivières au nord de l'Ohio, ainsi que la propriété du pays au sud de cette rivière; c'est-à-dire, des terres et rivières au-dessous, et depuis la Rivière-Neuve exclusivement jusqu'à l'embouchure de l'Ohio dans le Mississippi. ART. VI. Que pour prévenir les discussions que pourraient occasionner entre les sujets de sa majesté Très-Chrétienne et ceux de sa majesté Britannique, la trop grande proximité de leurs établissemens, dans cette patrie, les Français ne pourront en aucun temps et sous aucuns prétextes, construire ni bâtir aucuns forts sur la Belle-Rivière, entre ses sources et l'embouchure de la Rivière-Neuve, qui se dégorge à cent quatre-vingts lieues au-dessous du fort du Quesne, n'y établir les terres qui se trouvent entre le lac Crié [Erie] et la rive septentrionale de l'Ohio, depuis la rivière Casconchiagou jusqu'à l'embouchure de la rivière Souhiato; c'est-à-dire, que toute cette étendue de pays restera inculte, inhabitée et en désert. ART. VII. Qu'afin néanmoins que la France puisse mettre ses sujets et ses possessions à l'abri et à couvert des incursions des sauvages, cette couronne conservera, de son côté, le fort de Catarakoui, ou Frontenac sur le lac Ontario et le fort de Niagara, au nord du lac Crié, comme aussi le droit de se fortifier dans les autres limites, lors et ainsi qu'elle le trouvera à propos. ART. VIII. Il sera libre à toutes les nations et peuples sauvages, sous quelques dominations qu'ils soient, de changer à leur volonté de domicile, et de se retirer et de s'établir suivant leurs goûts et leurs caprices sur les domaines de l'Angleterre ou de la France, sans qu'aucune de ces deux puissances puisse jamais y porter obstacles ou s'en formaliser. *Nota.* Cet article est fondé sur l'amour de la liberté, inné chez tous les sauvages, et l'on ne peut, sans injustice, leur ôter le droit primitif de propriété sur les terres où la providence les a fait naître et placés." ARTICLE IX. Freedom of the Indians to trade with either power, but prohibition of the passage of traders of either country into the territory assigned to the other. ARTICLES X, XI, and XII provide arrangements regarding fugitives from justice among the Indians.

of France with the American Revolution.¹ The subsequent actions of Vergennes are entirely consistent with the view that he was the author of this memoir. It is true that, by the treaty of alliance of 1778, France renounced the possession of territories in North America that had belonged to England, but the student of French diplomatic relations with the United States during the Revolution will remember that the French ministers to the United States supported the Spanish contention that American rights did not extend beyond the Alleghenies, and tried to get from Congress a renunciation of the claim to that region. Vergennes instructed his representatives, also, that France did not intend to raise the United States to a position where she would be independent of French support. The proposal shown by Rayneval, the secretary of Vergennes, to Jay in 1782 presented the ideas of France. Roughly speaking, this provided that the land south of the Ohio, between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, should be free Indian country divided by the Cumberland river into two spheres of influence, the northern to fall under the protection of the United States, and the southern under that of Spain.² The argument for this proposal submitted by Rayneval, and approved by Vergennes,³ was based upon the recognition of the independence of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi. England was held to have admitted this by her proposals in regard to limits in 1755, and by her proclamation of 1763. By the latter document the colonies were held to be debarred from claiming to the Mississippi, and it was argued that neither Spain nor the United States had the least right of sovereignty over the savages in question.

The system of France becomes clearer when it is remembered that, under pressure from that court, in 1781, Congress had rescinded its ultimatum with regard to a Mississippi boundary, and had instructed its representatives to be guided by the advice of France as to the terms of peace. What this advice would be is shown in the *Mémoire*⁴ and in the proposition of Rayneval. By this proposal of

¹ Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*.

² Wharton (ed.), *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, VI, 25 ff.; *Secret Journals of Congress*, IV, 74-78; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VII, 118, 148.

³ Circourt, *Histoire de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des États-Unis*, III, 290.

⁴ Besides the projects of the *Mémoire* itself, note this significant passage (p. 103):

"Quelque soit l'issue de la guerre des Anglais et des Américains, la fin de cette révolution ne peut finir sans que les puissances belligérantes de l'Europe ne se mêlent de la querelle, ou ne servent de médiateurs. Dans ces deux cas, un congrès général peut changer les dispositions du traité de Versailles; et, en supposant que les Provinces-Unies de l'Amérique soient séparées de leur métropole, la France est en mesure pour réclamer ses anciennes possessions."

an independent Indian country Vergennes would avoid breaking the terms of the treaty of 1778, in regard to acquisition of English territory, and at the same time he expected effectually to withdraw the region from the Americans. Although Oswald, the English representative in the American negotiations, did not possess full information as to this device of France, nor as to her readiness to make concessions to England north of the Ohio, his construction of her policy in his letter to Shelburne, September 11, 1782, was not unfounded. He writes:

"M. de Vergennes has sent an agent [Rayneval] over to London on some particular negotiation, it is thought in favour of Spain. That Court wishes to have the whole of the country from West Florida of a certain width quite up to Canada, so as to have both banks of the Mississippi clear, and would wish to have such a cession from England, before a cession to the Colonies takes place."¹

So far, then, the actions of Vergennes accord with the ideas set forth in the memoir. A further striking evidence of the consistency of his policy with this document is the fact that he also tried to acquire Louisiana from Spain. Godoy, the Prince of Peace, declares that Vergennes, counting upon the close union of the two cabinets connected by the family compact, employed every means of persuasion "to induce Spain, already so rich in possessions beyond the sea, to give to France her ancient colony". Charles III and the count of Florida Blanca were not averse to consenting to this demand, but under the condition of reimbursement of the expenses which Spain had made for preserving and improving Louisiana. "The lack of money", says Godoy, "was the only difficulty which suspended the course of the negotiation."² It is clear, therefore, that the essential elements in the policy outlined by the memoir were followed by Vergennes in his diplomacy. The anxiety of Vergennes to protect the interests of Spain in the country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, when interpreted by the memoir and by his efforts to procure Louisiana from Spain, proves to be in reality an anxiety to promote the interests of France. Expecting to be put in possession of Louisiana, France herself was vitally interested in the disposal of the lands between the Mississippi and the Alleghenies. Vergennes believed that in assenting to a Mississippi boundary for the United States England had given a territory which

¹ Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, III, 258. For Rayneval's interview with Shelburne, and his suggestion that England would find in the negotiations of 1754 relating to the Ohio the boundaries that England then saw fit to assign the colonies, see Circourt, III, 46, and Doniol, V, 133.

² J. B. D'Esménard, *Mémoires du Prince de la Paix, Don Manuel Godoy* (Brussels, 1836); III, 113.

she did not possess, and which, in fact, belonged in part to Spain and in part to the Indians.¹ The matter is important inasmuch as it reveals the emphasis which France at this period laid upon the connection of the trans-Allegheny country with Louisiana. It puts in a strong light her desire to become an American power, to place boundaries to the expansion of the United States, and to hold that country in a position of subordination to her policy. The system of Vergennes in the American Revolution cannot be rightly understood so long as the historians of the negotiations fail to comprehend his expectation that France would replace Spain in Louisiana.²

The close of this war which France had waged against England left her without the financial resources to achieve the possession of Louisiana, and her interest turned to domestic affairs: Anticipating the possibility of the dissolution of the Union, England and Spain

¹ Doniol, V, 362-365. Compare treaty of alliance, 1778, articles VI and XI.

² There are some grounds for suspecting France of desiring to evade the pledges regarding conquest in the Revolution. The question of the Canada invasion and the occupation of Detroit is one. See D'Estaing's proclamation to the French, and Lafayette's to the Indians, Kingsford's *Canada*, VI, 342, VII, 13; Washington's fears are in Sparks's *Washington*, VI, 106; cf. *Secret Journals of Congress*, II, 125; Lafayette to Vergennes, July 18, 1779, *Stevens's Facsimiles*, vol. XVII, no. 1609, from Archives des Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, IX, no. 42, fo. 154: "Shall we free our oppressed brethren, recover the fur trade, our intercourse with the Indians, and all the profits of our former establishments without their expenses and losses? Shall we throw into the balance of the new world a fourteenth state, which would be always attached to us, and which by its situation would give us a superiority in the troubles that may at some future day set America at variance? Opinions are very much divided on this point; I know yours, Monsieur le Comte, and my own inclination is not unknown to you. I do not therefore dwell on it in any sense, and regard this idea only as a means of deceiving and embarrassing the enemy." But Vergennes's policy seems to have been to leave Canada to England (Doniol, III, 566).

Colonel La Balme's attempt to take Detroit in the fall of 1780 with a force of Illinois and Indiana Frenchmen who proclaimed that they would not recognize any authority but that of the king of France, and who were aroused against the American rule by La Balme, is certainly suspicious. La Balme was in 1777 inspector of horse in Armand's legion. He was relieved from service under Congress in 1778. On June 27, 1780, from Fort Pitt, he gave a report to Luzerne, the French minister, of his proposed western visit, figuring in his talks to the Indians as a French chief, who had come to learn the real inclinations of the children of the king of France (*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1888, 865). On his arrival in Vincennes and the Illinois settlements he encouraged the Frenchmen to resist American authority; they were "buoyed up with the flattering hopes of being again subject to the King of France", according to reports by Americans resident in the French villages. Indeed, he was reported to have told the Indians that in the spring there would be French troops in the Illinois country. His expedition against Detroit miscarried, and he was killed and his papers sent to Canada. Had Detroit been taken by Frenchmen of the Illinois country, who professed independence of the United States, complications to the advantage of France might have been raised in the discussion of the terms of peace. See *Michigan Pioneer Colls.*, IX, 641; *Canadian Archives*, Series B, vol. 122, p. 569; vol. 123, p. 3; vol. 182, p. 489; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1887, 228; 1888, 865, 882; George Rogers Clark MSS., vol. 50, pp. 51, 66, 71; *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, I, 380.

took measures to keep in touch with the western communities. Spain, having acquired Florida from England as a result of the war, gained the control of the navigation of the Mississippi and opened and closed the door to Western prosperity at her pleasure. She established her ascendancy over the Southwestern Indians by treaties of alliance and protection, and used them to check the American advance. Hoping to add the Kentucky, Franklin, and Cumberland settlements to the Spanish empire, she intrigued with their leaders to bring about secession.¹ England, also retaining her posts on the Great Lakes, held the Northwestern Indians under her influence and was able to infuse some degree of unanimity into their councils and into their dealings with the Americans. Her influence and the material aid furnished to the Indians enabled them to resist the American advance across the Ohio. While Spain intrigued with the West, England also sounded the leaders of that region, and in the fall of 1789 instructed Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, that it was desirable that the western settlements should be kept distinct from the United States and in connection with Great Britain.² The Lords of Trade, in a report of 1790, declared that it would be for England's interest "to prevent Vermont and Kentucky and all the other Settlements now forming in the Interior parts of the great Continent of North America, from becoming dependent on the Government of the United States, or on that of any other Foreign Country, and to preserve them on the contrary in a State of Independence, and to induce them to form Treaties of Commerce and Friendship with Great Britain".³

France, at the same period, was not free from interest in Western affairs. Her archives have not been sufficiently explored to make

¹ For material on this subject the reader should consult Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III; Winsor, *Westward Movement*; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, III; T. M. Green, *Spanish Conspiracy*. McGillivray, the half-breed chief of the Creeks, informed White, the Indian agent of the United States in 1787, that if Congress would form a new state south of the Altamaha (presumably composed of the Indians), he would agree to take the oath of allegiance to it and to cede the Oconee lands to Georgia: *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 20-22. Compare AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII, 283, for evidence that the state of Franklin considered the proposition of admitting the Cherokees to representation in her legislature. For the Spanish attitude regarding the independence of the Indians, see *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 278-280 280; *Indian Affairs*, I, 17-19. Instructions were given to the governor of Louisiana by Spain, May 24, 1793, that the Americans should be kept from the Mississippi and the mouth of the Ohio, and that the Cumberland settlers should be restrained to the north of the Cumberland river: George Rogers Clark MSS., XL, 63. By her Indian treaties of 1792, Spain professed to have extended her limits on the east bank of the Mississippi forty leagues in one direction and sixty leagues in the other: George Rogers Clark MSS., A.

² Canadian Archives, Series Q, vol. 42, p. 153.

³ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII, 84.

clear how far she adhered to the desire to regain Louisiana. De Moustier, the French minister to the United States, was instructed in 1787 by Montmorin, minister of foreign affairs, that principles were in favor of Spain in the matter of the navigation of the Mississippi, and that it would pain the king if the United States should embroil themselves with that power over the question: but he was not to offer the good offices of the king, lest all parties should be compromised. This minister was further instructed that it was for the interest of France that the United States should remain in their actual condition rather than form a new constitution, because, if they secured the unity of which they were capable, they would soon acquire a force and power which they would probably be very ready to abuse.¹

Various memoirs were transmitted to the government at the close of the Confederation, describing the advantages which France would gain by recovering Louisiana,² and De Moustier sent a despatch to his court reciting the advantages which would come to France by the retrocession of Louisiana. By this France would obtain, he argued, a continental colony which would guarantee the West Indies, the most beautiful entrepôt of North America, for her commerce, and an almost complete monopoly of the products of the states situated on the Mississippi, and, in fine, the solution of the problem of French influence upon the United States, by furnishing a means of holding the government by the party which was the most sensible of its interest and its prejudices.³

It was in these closing years of the Confederation, also, that various French travelers visited the United States and reported the conditions of the lands beyond the Alleghenies. Of these the most important were Brissot and Clavière, the former afterward the real master of the foreign policy of France during the ascendancy of the Brissotins or Girondists, the latter the minister of finance in the

¹ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII, 713. Cf. page 252, *ante*.

² See the intercepted memorial written about 1787, Chatham MSS., 345, and in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, 108-119. Dorchester informed his government that De Moustier forwarded it to his court. It is possible that this was the work of Pierre Lyonnet; see *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 946.

³ See the letter of Fauchet, February 4, 1795, in *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II. Jefferson had evidently received hints of De Moustier's project, for he wrote to our representative, Mr. Short, August 10, 1790, warning him to be on his guard even in communications to France. "It is believed here, that the Count de Moustier, during his residence with us, conceived the project of again engaging France in a colony upon our continent, and that he directed his views to some of the country on the Mississippi, and obtained and communicated a good deal of matter on the subject to his court." *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), V, 220.

period of the dominance of that party.¹ Brissot's opinion was that the Westerners would resent the attempt of Spain to shut them off from the sea, and that "if ever the Americans shall march toward New Orleans, it will infallibly fall into their hands".

When, in the spring of 1790, war seemed imminent between England and Spain over the Nootka Sound affair,² there was every prospect that a descent would be made by the former power upon New Orleans. Indeed, Pitt listened to the plan of Miranda, the Venezuelan revolutionist, for an attack upon Spain's American possessions with a view of giving freedom to those colonies, and thereby opening their commerce to England and insuring to her a predominance in their political relations. Jefferson, seeing the danger to the United States, menaced by the possibility of England's acquiring Louisiana and Florida and thus completely surrounding us in the rear and flanks while her fleet threatened our seaboard, turned to France for assistance and instructed our representative there to attempt to secure the good offices of that nation to induce Spain to yield to us the island of New Orleans; or, since that idea might seem extreme, to urge her, at first, to recommend to Spain the cession of "a port near the mouth of the river with a circumadjacent territory sufficient for its support, well defined and extra-territorial to Spain, leaving the idea to future growth". He instructed our minister to Spain to ask for New Orleans and Florida and to argue that thus we could protect for Spain what lay beyond the Mississippi.³ His policy was, in brief, to make advances to France and Spain, but at the same time to offer neutrality to England, if she would carry out the treaty of 1783 and attempt no conquests adjoining us.

But France had other plans. After considerable discussion she finally proposed to Spain a new national pact in place of the family compact, and sent Bourgoing in 1790 to negotiate. He suggested to Spain as a consecration of their proposed new alliance the restitution of Louisiana to France.⁴ But Spain was not ready to agree to such terms; she distrusted the revolutionary advances and came to terms with England. France, perceiving the family compact no longer applicable to the new conditions, adjusted her policy to the prospect of a complete rupture with Spain. This had a most important bearing upon the New World; for France, with the fires of

¹ Brissot de Warville, *Nouveau Voyage dans les États-Unis* (Paris, 1791); Brissot et Clavière, *De la France et des États-Unis* (London, 1787); Brissot and Clavière, *Commerce of America with Europe* (New York, 1795).

² AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII, 706 ff.; *Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 680.

³ *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), V, 220, 229.

⁴ Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, II, 94.

the Revolution destroying the old order of things, saw the opportunity to rebuild her colonial empire at the expense of Spain.

In 1792 Talleyrand and other French agents negotiated with England informally to withdraw her from the formidable list of enemies that were uniting against France. If England joined them, the French islands would be exposed to her attack. The instructions to these agents, drawn by Dumouriez, argued that the New World was large enough for partition. Has not the time come, it was asked, to form a great combination between France and Great Britain, including, if necessary, the United States, by which the commerce of the Spanish possessions should be opened to these three powers?¹ But England was in no mood to accept the alliance of antimonarchical France, and turned a cold shoulder to these advances. France, in isolation, took up the revolutionary projects which Miranda had in 1790 unfolded to Pitt, and turned to the United States for assistance.

The need was great, for the French islands were likely to fall a prey to England in case of war, and French commerce would be exposed to the fleets of the same power. The time was also favorable, for, before the close of 1792, Washington, realizing the dangers to which the United States was exposed, with England and Spain both holding unfriendly relations with the Indians on the flanks of the United States, broached to Jefferson the question of a closer connection with France. Jefferson caught eagerly at the proposal, for, as he said, a French alliance was his "polar star".² Fortunately, however, Washington's policy turned eventually to a strict neutrality and complete freedom from foreign entanglements.

The result was Genet's mission to the United States, which has been discussed in a previous paper in the REVIEW.³ Here only the essential elements of French policy in respect to the mission can be given. In the inception of the plan, Brissot proposed to send Miranda⁴ to San Domingo, where the French garrisons, together with

¹ *Ibid.*, 384 ff., 418 ff., III, 17-21. Compare Robinet, *Danton Émigré*, 243; G. Pallain, *Le Ministère de Talleyrand sous le Directoire*, pp. xii, xlii.

² *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), I, 212.

³ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 650: "The Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas." The documentary material, edited by the present writer, is in the *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 930-1107; 1897, 569-679; and 1903, II, 201-286; and in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, II, 474, and III, 490. See also the additional material cited in the introduction to the documents in the *Reports* above mentioned.

⁴ See Antepara, *South American Emancipation Documents* (London, 1810); Marquis de Rojas, *El General Miranda*; A. Rojas, *Miranda dans la Révolution Française*; Tejera, *Life of Miranda*; AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 655, 674, 711, VI, 508; *Edinburgh Review*, XIII, 288; *Athenæum*, April 19, 1902; Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, III, 175, et passim.

local troops, would serve as the nucleus for inaugurating a revolution among the Spanish colonies. Other forces were to be raised in the United States.¹ Lebrun, minister of foreign relations, sent word to Washington, in November of 1792, that France would revolutionize Spanish America, and that forty-five ships of the line would leave in the spring for that purpose, under command of Miranda. According to the further statement of Colonel Smith (the son-in-law of Vice-President Adams), who was the bearer of this news, they intended to begin the attack at the mouth of the Mississippi, and to sweep along the bay of Mexico southwardly, and would have no objection to our incorporating the two Floridas.² Under the influence of this information, Jefferson drafted new instructions for our commissioners to Spain, wherein he countermanded the proposal to guarantee Louisiana to Spain on condition of the cession of the Floridas. The former proposal, made in 1790, would have interfered with the freedom of the United States to act according to the new circumstances.

France, however, hesitated to plunge into this vast enterprise of Spanish-American revolution until she had overcome Holland and made herself the mistress of the Dutch marine. Then, in the opinion of Dumouriez, it would be possible to crush England and execute Miranda's project. This general, therefore, left to participate in the operations in the Netherlands and to suffer the loss of prestige which his disastrous defeat brought about. It is doubtful whether the Gironde leaders had reached an exact conclusion regarding the disposal of Louisiana and the Floridas when Genet³ was sent to the United States.⁴ The memoirs found in the archives show

¹ See A. Rojas and Antepara for the early ideas of a general movement against Spanish America on the lines of Miranda's proposals in 1790 to Pitt.

² *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), I, 216-217. Compare *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 144; A. Rojas, 9; Antepara, 172.

³ Genet was born in 1763. He was the son of the head of the bureau of translation in the foreign office. He studied international law at Giessen, was attached to embassies at Berlin and Vienna, and was made chief of the bureau of translation at the death of his father, in 1781. He went to London in 1783 as secretary of a special embassy. In 1787 he became secretary of legation, and afterward chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg. His revolutionary enthusiasm was so violent, however, that the Empress Catherine dubbed him "un démagogue enragé", and in the summer of 1792 he was obliged to leave the country. On his arrival at Paris, he was selected for the ministry to Holland, but it was finally determined to send him to the United States, possibly because of his relations to the king through his sister, Madame Campan, who was lady-in waiting to the queen. The Girondists had seriously considered the banishment of the king to the United States, and it was thought that Genet might accompany the family. See *Washington, Jefferson, and "Citizen" Genet, 1793*, a pamphlet privately printed in 1899 by the late George C. Genet, son of the minister; see also *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III, 656.

⁴ *Report of American Historical Association, 1896*, I, 946, note, 949, 952, 953.

that the alternatives were considered of giving them to the United States, of establishing them as independent republics, and of making them a French possession; but there can be little doubt as to what the action of France would have been in case of successful occupation of New Orleans.

Genet's instructions of December, 1792, and January, 1793,¹ written when the prospect of a war on the part of France against both Spain and England was imminent,² required him to endeavor to secure a treaty with the United States, which should guarantee the sovereignty of the people and punish the powers which had an exclusive commercial and colonial system, by declaring that the vessels of these powers should not be received in the ports of the contracting nations. This compact, in the opinion of the ministers, "would conduce rapidly to the freeing of Spanish America, to opening the navigation of the Mississippi to the inhabitants of Kentucky, to delivering our ancient brothers of Louisiana from the tyrannical yoke of Spain, and perhaps to reuniting the fair star of Canada to the American constellation". It will be observed that Canada alone was indicated as a possible acquisition by the United States. Genet was further authorized, in case of timidity on the part of the American government, to take all measures which comported with his position to arouse in Louisiana and in the other provinces of America adjacent to the United States the principles of liberty and independence. It was pointed out that Kentucky would probably second his efforts without compromising Congress, and he was authorized to send agents there and to Louisiana.

From these instructions it is clear that the conquest of Louisiana was a fundamental purpose in Genet's mission, and that he was even to proceed by an intrigue with the frontiersmen in case the American government should not connive at his designs. Under the guise of neutrality, the United States was expected to furnish in fact an effective basis for French operations. Moreover, he was instructed to make use of the Indians, "the ancient friends of the French nation", against the enemies of France. By combining the large French population of Canada and of Louisiana, where the seeds of revolution were already sown, with the frontiersmen and the Indians in the interior, there was reason to hope for a successful outcome of the enterprise.

On his arrival in Charleston, early in April, 1793, Genet found

¹ *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 957-967; 1903, II, 201-211.

² War was declared against England February 1, 1793, and against Spain, March 9, 1793.

an efficient lieutenant in Mangourit, the French consul at that city.¹ The frontiersmen of Georgia and the Carolinas had suffered from the hostility of the Cherokees and the Creeks on their frontiers, and were eager to destroy the influence by which Spain supported them in their resistance to American advance. Mangourit was therefore able to enlist the services of important leaders. One of them, Samuel Hammond² of Georgia, was assigned the task of making treaties with the Creek Indians³ and of rallying the Georgia frontiersmen for an attack upon East Florida. William Tate⁴, another frontier leader, was to negotiate with the Cherokees and the Choc-taws, and to collect the frontiersmen of the Carolinas for a descent upon New Orleans by way of the Tennessee and the Mississippi. The draft of the Indian treaties⁵ provided for an alliance between France and these nations, and guaranteed to the Indians the free and peaceable possession of their lands. Genet afterward, while denying that he had authorized the collection of forces against Spain on territory of the United States, admitted that he had granted commissions to men who desired to go among "the independent Indian tribes,

¹ See F. Masson, *Le Département des Affaires Étrangères pendant la Révolution*, 323-325. Mangourit's career illustrates the fact that the representatives of France in America were influential persons. In 1789 he edited for a few months *Le Héraut de la Nation*, and was the orator of his section in the National Assembly. He came to Charleston March 2, 1792, as consul. Returning after the downfall of Genet, he was sent on a mission to consider the situation of France in regard to the Two Sicilies and Spain. He was nominated as one of the members of the new commission of foreign relations in 1794, but refused the position, and was subsequently appointed first secretary of legation in Spain. Instructions were made out for him to succeed Adet in the United States in 1796, but, probably owing to the representations of Monroe against this appointment, it was not made. He afterward held various positions in the foreign service of France, among other missions being one to incite the Greeks to insurrection. Mangourit's correspondence during Genet's mission is published in the *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 569-679.

² He had been a colonel of cavalry in the Revolution and surveyor-general at Savannah, and was afterward a member of Congress.

³ *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 591 ff.

⁴ If we may believe Mangourit, Tate had "all the virtues of the adventurers who conquered the two Indies, without their vices and ignorance; extremely severe to himself, drinking nothing but water; . . . a firm disciplinarian and having in his brain the coolness and the heat necessary to execute a great enterprise with small means. He conceives in the minute, decides on the instant; he carves in the right joint." *Ibid.*, 646. Tate afterward led a band of free-lances in the service of France, whither he went after the failure of Genet's plans. One of his expeditions was the descent upon Ireland (the Fishguard Bay incident) in 1797. See E. Desbrière, *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Îles Britanniques* (Paris, 1900), 238; and M. E. James, *The Fishguard Invasion by the French in 1797*. See the index to *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, under "Tate". In the Archives Nationales, A. F., iii, 186b, are interesting letters from Tate to [Elijah] Clarke, proposing a descent upon the Bermudas in 1796.

⁵ *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 591 ff.

ancient . . . allies of France," to retaliate on the Spaniards and English.¹ The connivance of Governor Moultrie, of South Carolina, seems to have been secured. Thus Genet and his lieutenants had initiated plans for the filibustering enterprise before he had broken definitely with Washington. The Southern part of the plot was seriously interfered with later by an investigation by the legislature of South Carolina, and by the discovery that the Girondists, and Genet in particular, were "friends of the blacks".

On his arrival at Philadelphia, Genet found much popular discontent with Washington's proclamation of neutrality issued on April 27, and he came to the conclusion that he would be able to reverse the executive policy by procuring a majority in Congress favorable to his plans. The "appeal to the people" which he proposed was rather an attempt to secure a majority friendly to France in Congress, for he believed that in that body rested the sovereignty. Determining to accept the propositions of George Rogers Clark, of Kentucky, for a frontier attack upon New Orleans by way of the Mississippi, he appointed him "Major General of the Independent and Revolutionary Legion of the Mississippi". In July, 1793, Genet made known his plans to Jefferson.² Expecting war with Spain and understanding Genet's proposition to be that of giving freedom to Louisiana and the Floridas, Jefferson made only a formal protest against the implied violation of our neutrality; and he intimated that a little spontaneous uprising in New Orleans might prove to the advantage of the American plans.

Genet's project involved not only the organization of the frontiersmen and the "independent" Indians of the southwest against the Floridas, while George Rogers Clark rallied the Kentuckians against New Orleans, but he proposed to block the mouth of the Mississippi by a French naval force at the same time. It was for this reason that, on July 12, 1793, he so recklessly sent the *Little Democrat* to sea, against the protest of the administration.³ At the same time he made preparations for the use of a fleet against Canada.⁴ It is unnecessary here to relate the misfortunes that befell Genet's projects. His plan of securing an advance on the indebted-

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 311.

² *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 948; *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), I, 235.

³ *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 990.

⁴ For Genet's activity in respect to Canada, see the *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1891, Note D, pp. 57-84. There is considerable material throughout the reports of 1891 and 1894. The connection of Vermonters with this intrigue called out a mass of material; but it is not the purpose of the present paper to discuss the Canadian side of the French activity.

ness due to France by the United States failed. Lacking financial resources, the operations in the interior were delayed, and the use of parts of the fleet was prevented by mutinous crews. Washington prepared to use the military forces of the United States to prevent a violation of our neutrality, and Genet himself lost his following, even among the more radical of the democratic leaders. France, under the Reign of Terror, fully occupied on her own borders and torn by internal party dissension, was unable to carry out her American plans, and Genet was superseded and disavowed.

The new embassy to the United States consisted of Fauchet,¹ as minister plenipotentiary, La Forest,² consul-general, Pètry, consul for Pennsylvania, and Le Blanc, secretary of legation. By the terms of the instructions³ given November 25, 1793, no measure which interested the republic could be undertaken without the agreement of a majority of the commissioners. By this it was desired to avoid the indiscretions into which Genet had fallen. The commission, in accordance with these instructions, disavowed the conduct of Genet. By the proclamation of March 6, 1794, Fauchet, not without regret, revoked the commissions of the filibusters and forbade the violation of the neutrality of the United States. But, in spite of the fact that under the Jacobin administration France was ready to disavow the proceedings of the Girondists in respect to the violation of American neutrality, she by no means abandoned her interests in the Mississippi valley. By their instructions the new commissioners were required to inform the officers of the American government

¹ Jean-Antoine-Joseph Fauchet was born in 1761 and died in 1834. He was chief of the bureau of administration of war (1791), secretary of the mayor of Paris (1792), and, in the same year, secretary of the executive power. After his mission to the United States (1794-1795), he became a partizan of Napoleon, and was prefect of the Var and of the Gironde successively. In 1810 he was made a baron. *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II, 288.

² Antoine-René-Charles-Mathurin de la Forest, son of the Marquis de Paulmy, was born in 1756. He became an attaché in the French legation to the United States in 1778, and was made vice-consul at Savannah in 1783. In 1785 he was charged with the management of the affairs of the *consulat général* in the United States. He replaced Barbé-Marbois in this place March 2, 1792. Recalled November 17, 1792, with the other agents who had served the crown, he desired to remain in America, but finally returned in order to avoid complications between France and the United States. Returning as consul-general with Fauchet, he fell under the suspicion of that minister, and was recalled. On his return to France, he received from Talleyrand the appointment of chief of the *Direction des Fondes*, where he served until 1799. He was connected with the negotiations of the treaty of 1800 with the United States, and also served in the negotiations of the treaty of Lunéville. In 1801 he was minister plenipotentiary at Munich, and was a counselor of state for foreign relations under the Empire. See Masson, *Le Département des Affaires Étrangères pendant la Révolution*, 320, 321, 407-408, 455-464.

³ *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II, 288-294.

that negotiations with Spain regarding the navigation of the Mississippi would be incompatible with the ties which bound the United States to France. In the earlier part of his mission, Fauchet devoted himself to a policy of "wise delay and useful temporizing", conceiving that the interest of the republic was to obtain from the United States a prolonged inertia. He therefore contented himself with observing the development of our domestic policy, and particularly the events on our frontiers during the period of Indian wars and the Whiskey Rebellion. Of all of this, as well as of the English policy in the northwest, he gave detailed accounts to his government. He was active in sending provision fleets to France, and in protests against English violations of our neutral commerce. At this period other interests were entirely subordinated to the important consideration of the provisioning of France by the United States. The insurrection in the French West Indies gave him concern; but, on the other hand, he pointed out that the revolution of the blacks had established an eternal seed of repulsion between the West Indies and slaveholding America, so that there was less danger of American acquisition of these islands. It was not until the news of Jay's treaty reached him that he turned to the subject of Louisiana. As soon as he was fairly well informed of the purport of this treaty (in February, 1795), he proposed a radical programme for meeting the situation.¹ He reminded his government that he had energetically protested against our failure to enforce the rights of neutral commerce against England; but now Jay's treaty threatened even more unfavorable conditions by its concessions to Great Britain in the matter of neutral rights, and the alliance of 1778 had become worse than useless. Yet, as Fauchet pointed out, France had no means of intimidating the United States. The ocean separated the two powers, and the French West Indies, far from threatening the United States, were actually in danger of starvation in time of war if American trade was cut off. He quoted Jefferson's remark, "France enjoys their sovereignty and we their profit." A war to compel the Union to follow French policy would deprive the republic of the indispensable trade of America. Some other means must be found, and the solution of the problem, in Fauchet's opinion, was the acquisition of a continental colony in America: "Louisiana opens her arms to us." This province would furnish France the best entrepôt in North America, raw material, and a market for her manufactures, a monopoly of the products of the American states

¹ *Ibid.*, Fauchet's despatch of February 4, 1795.

on the Mississippi, and a means of pressure upon the United States. He predicted that, unless a revolution occurred in Spanish policy, the force of events would unite Louisiana to the United States, and in the course of time would bring about a new confederation between this province and the western states, which would not remain within the United States fifty years. In this new union the superior institutions and power of the American element would give to it the sovereignty. But if France or any power less feeble than Spain possessed Louisiana, it would establish there the sovereignty over all the countries on the Mississippi. If a nation with adequate resources, said he, understood how to manage the control of the river, it could hold in dependence the western states of America, and might at pleasure advance or retard the rate of their growth. What, then, he asks, might not France do with so many warm friends among the Western settlers? The leaven of insurrection had been recently manifested in the Whiskey Rebellion; it would depend upon France to decide the question of dismemberment. In this way, by pressure on our borders, she could bend the United States to her will, or in the possession of the Mississippi valley find a means of freeing herself and her islands from their economic dependence upon the United States. Such was the line of thought presented by Fauchet to the French authorities; he preferred diplomatic negotiation to war or the filibustering system of Genet.

How far this despatch of Fauchet may have affected the policy of France in the negotiations at Basel is not certain, but these negotiations, by which Spain came to terms with France, were exceedingly important for the Mississippi valley. Barthélemy was instructed¹ May 10, 1795, to demand from Spain certain cessions as the price of peace. The Spanish portion of San Domingo, the Basque province of Guipuscoa, and Louisiana were desired, but upon Louisiana he was ordered to insist: "the rest would be easy." "C'est sur la Louisiane qu'il faut insister et le citoyen Barthélemy aura soin de diriger tous ces efforts vers ce but." In support of her demand, France argued that it would be a great gain to Spain to place a strong power between her American possessions and those of the United States, particularly since England had by Jay's treaty guaranteed to the United States the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi, and it was to be feared that these new allies would seize Louisiana.

At this juncture Godoy, the duke of Alcudia, was in control of the foreign policy of Spain. Alarmed by conditions in Europe, and

¹Sorel, in *Revue Historique*, XIII, 46. See also XII, 295, XIII, 274, and D'Esménard, *Mémoires du Prince de la Paix*.

chagrined at England's arrangements with the United States at a moment when Spain trembled for the fate of Louisiana,¹ he made peace with France at Basel (July, 1795); but he refused to yield Louisiana, preferring to abandon the Spanish portion of San Domingo. This only rendered France the more determined to secure the continental colony needed to support her West Indian possessions; and in the negotiations later over the terms of alliance she pressed hard for the additional cession.

It is this situation which explains the treaty that Godoy made with the United States not long after. He was most reluctant to give up Louisiana, but France demanded it as a condition of her alliance. Threatened thus with isolation, and confronted by the prospect of a war with England, he was disposed to conciliate the United States, lest she join England and take Louisiana by force. When, therefore, Pinckney's threat to leave for London was made, Godoy interpreted it as an indication that Jay's treaty had made contingent provision for a joint attack by England and the United States against Louisiana. He had previously tried in vain to persuade Pinckney to engage the United States in an alliance with France and Spain. In alarm he hastily came to the American terms, and in the treaty of San Lorenzo (October 27, 1795)² he conceded the navigation of the Mississippi and our boundary on that river, and agreed to give up the Spanish posts north of New Orleans within the disputed territory. Thus relieved of the danger of an American invasion, Godoy was in a better position to resist the efforts of France to force him to cede Louisiana.

By the close of the year 1795, therefore, Washington's administration had by Jay's treaty secured possession of the northwest, and by Pinckney's treaty had received the promise of the evacuation of the disputed posts on the east of the Mississippi by Spain. The flanks of the Mississippi valley were apparently insured to the United States. But the former diplomatic conditions were reversed after Jay's treaty and the treaty of Basel. France and Spain were no longer enemies. Spain had broken with England; and the United States, swinging away from the French alliance, was embracing the friendship of England. To Spain and France there seemed to be a menace, in these new relationships, against the Spanish-American

¹ In a letter of December 29, 1794, Short informed the Secretary of State of Godoy's mortification at Jay's treaty and of his bitterness against England. Godoy intimated that the points for a treaty between the United States and Spain might easily be arranged. Nevertheless he continued to procrastinate. See Morrissy, "William Short's Career" (Cornell, Thesis, M.S., 1900, p. 530).

² D'Esménard, *Mémoires du Prince de la Paix*, II, ch. xxx (part i).

colonies. It became a cardinal point in French policy, therefore, to press to a conclusion the negotiations for Louisiana, to suspend diplomatic relations with the United States, and to attempt to alarm her into a reversal of her friendly attitude toward England. But it was not the policy of France to force the United States into war. Adet,¹ who arrived as the successor of Fauchet in June, 1795, later informed his government that a rupture with the United States would be a disadvantage for France:

"You know that our colonies would be without provisionment and perhaps actually conquered, that all hope of commerce with America would be cut off thereafter, while England would receive 30,000 sailors of the United States, and Louisiana and the Floridas would shortly fall under the power of our new enemies and of Great Britain; that New Mexico would soon see their banners waving, and who knows where the habit of pillage and the ambition of conquest may conduct them in a country so badly defended as the Spanish possessions and where already germs of discord exist and the ferment of discontent?"²

The treaty of Basel had provided for peace between France and Spain, but it did not include the terms of an alliance. France now tried to reap the fruits of her success by dictating the conditions of the treaty. In the spring of 1796, the Directors sent General Perignon to Madrid to arrange terms of a formal alliance.³ He was instructed to warn Spain that French influence in America was nearing its end. War with the United States promised France no satisfactory results, and to punish the Americans by restrictions on their commerce would deprive France of a resource which the European wars rendered necessary to her. These, however, were merely temporary difficulties. "Who", asked the Directors, "can answer that England and the United States together will not divide up the northern part of the New World? What prevents them?" The instructions went on to give a forceful presentation of the rapidity with which settlers were pouring into Kentucky and Tennessee, and of the danger to Louisiana from filibustering expeditions. The concession of the navigation of the Mississippi, in the opinion of France, pre-

¹ Pierre-Auguste Adet was born in Paris in 1763. He was the author of some important chemical works, was the secretary of the first commission sent to San Domingo; then *chef de l'administration des colonies*, and afterward connected with the ministry of marine. He served for a time in Geneva, whence he was transferred to the United States. Adet's instructions and correspondence are in the *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II.

² Adet's despatch of February 3, 1797, *ibid.*

³ See the instructions in *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 667-671; *Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 810.

pared the ruin and invasion of Louisiana whenever the United States, in concert with Great Britain, should "give the reins to those fierce inhabitants of the West". The English-speaking people would then overrun Mexico and all North America, and the commerce of the islands of the Gulf would be dependent upon this Anglo-American power. Only France, in alliance with Spain, argued the Directors, can oppose a counterpoise, by the use of her old influence among the Indians: "We alone can trace with strong and respected hand the bounds of the power of the United States and the limits of their territory." All that France demanded was Louisiana, a province that, so far from serving the purpose of its original cession as a barrier against England, was now a dangerous possession to Spain, ever ready to join with her neighbors. It had remained in a condition of infancy while the United States had acquired irresistible strength on its borders. This country was now daily preparing the subjects of Spain for insurrection by intrigues and by the spectacle of its prosperity. "On the other hand," continued the Directors, "if this possession were once in our hands, it would be beyond insult by Great Britain, to whom we can oppose not only the western settlements of the United States, who are as friendly to us as they could possibly be, but also the inhabitants of Louisiana, who have given clear evidence of their indestructible attachment to their former mother-country. It gives us the means to balance the marked predilection of the federal government for our enemy, and to retain it in the line of duty by the fear of dismemberment which we can bring about." "We shall affright England by the sudden development of an actual power in the New World, and shall be in a position to oppose a perfect harmony to her attacks and her intrigues." They therefore urged Spain to act at once, in order that the political and military campaigns might begin in America that very year.

But Godoy resolutely refused to give up Louisiana, and Perignon was obliged to content himself with a treaty of alliance without this important concession. France thereupon recalled him, and sent a successor with the particular purpose of persuading Spain to yield Louisiana by the offer to join her in the conquest of Portugal; but the Prince of Peace remained immovable; nor did he consent even when, in 1797, after Napoleon's victories in Italy had given the papal legations to France, she offered them to the royal house of Spain as an equivalent for Louisiana. Had religious scruples not prevented, however, Spain would probably have accepted this proposition.¹

¹ See Sorel's study of the relations of France and Spain, 1792-1797, in *Revue Historique*, XIII, 46, 274; and *Mémoires du Prince de la Paix*, III, 116; Barras, *Mémoires* (New York, 1895), II, 359.

While France negotiated with Spain, she prepared the ground in America. In the winter of 1795, Colonel Fulton, one of George Rogers Clark's officers in the Genet expedition, was sent to intrigue with the southwestern Indians¹ and to consult with Clark.

By the close of 1796 Fulton, having returned, furnished the Directors information as to the best season for occupying Louisiana, and assured them that Clark's old soldiers were loyal to France,

¹ See *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 463; *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 1063, and index under "Fulton". Samuel Fulton was one of the interesting American adventurers of the type of Tate. He was a North Carolinian who removed to the Creek country about 1791. Refusing to swear allegiance to the king of Spain, he was forced to leave in 1793. The spring of 1794 found him acting as an assistant to George Rogers Clark in the service of France, with the position of major of cavalry. After the failure of the expedition he went to Paris to collect the claims of Clark and himself against the French government. Here he was commissioned as colonel in the cavalry, but he writes, "I begin to be D—d tired of Paris." In the summer of 1795 he was back in the United States and was sent by the minister, Adet, to report on the situation of the followers of Elijah Clarke, who had fled to Amelia Island after the failure of the Genet project in which they had a part. Adet regretted that the peace of Basel compelled him to withdraw French support from this promising movement against the Spanish possessions (*Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 663). Fulton then went to Kentucky some time prior to November 2, 1795, to inform George Rogers Clark that the French government ratified the proceedings of Genet and himself (*ibid.*, 1896, I, 1095). Colonel Charles M. Thruston wrote to his son Charles at Louisville under date of Frederick Co., Va., February 17, 1796: "We have a report here that Col. Fulton has returned from France with a commission for Genl Clark of Major General in the French service, with an appointment of three hundred dollars a month for him and commissions for all his officers. If this be true it must have reached you before this; and if it be so, I beg you, present my congratulations to the General, and my best respects. For his country has been ungrateful enough to let his valuable services pass by unregarded and neglected" (Draper MSS., Trip, 1868, IV, 223). Chisholm, who was connected with Blount's conspiracy, informs us (in Declaration of November 29, 1797, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, England, vol. 5, no. 57) that in the winter of 1795, he met, between the towns of the Creeks and the Cherokee Nations, a person named Fulton, who said he was a colonel of horse in the French service. "He told me", says Chisholm, "that he had come from France in order to get the Indians consent for the establishment of a Republic in the Floridas, as they the French were to take it, or to get it (I don't recollect which) from the Spaniards; as I was friendly to the United States I advised him to leave the country as soon as possible which I believe he did as I have not heard of him since; the said Fulton is a tall handsome man upwards of six feet high, well mounted and handsomely equipped in every particular, appeared to be about twenty-five years of age." Fulton arrived in Philadelphia in the middle of March, after his long and disagreeable journey (*Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 1098), and returned again to France bearing Adet's despatches about April 19, 1796 (*Affaires Étrangères, É.-U. Corresp.* vol. 45, fo. 378). In a letter of George Rogers Clark to Fulton, dated March 2, 1797, he refers to a letter from Fulton of "last December" enclosing copies of patents of general of brigade accorded to Clark by the Directory (Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 362). On May 26, 1797, Delacroix, minister of foreign relations, refers to the granting of a commission to George Rogers Clark as general of brigade without activity, and says: "It is not indifferent to our interests to preserve among these people and the men who have their confidence, all the dispositions which are favorable to us." *Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis*, vol. 47, fo. 305.

and asked only arms, ammunition, and uniforms, and "their country will find itself in the vast regions which the Republic will possess".¹ Toward the end of 1796, France sent a new commission to George Rogers Clark, as brigadier-general, on the theory, as Delacroix, the minister of foreign relations, declared, that it was to the interest of France to foster a favorable disposition among the Westerners. "In case we shall be put in possession of Louisiana," he wrote, "the affection of those regions will serve us in our political plans toward the United States."²

Information regarding the southwestern tribes was also procured from Milfort, a French adventurer who, after passing twenty years among the Creeks as an agent of Spain, went to offer his services to France.³ He had married a sister of McGillivray, and claimed to be the principal war-chief of the Creeks. In 1795 Milfort had left the Indians and had presented his plans for organizing the Indians of the southwest under the French, and, according to his statement, Fauchet approved them. He was put off in Paris by the fact that France was negotiating with Spain, but the Directory took him up, and on March 26, 1796, gave him the title of general of brigade. In 1798 he presented a memoir to the Directory offering them a large portion of Creek territory by which they might destroy the Americans and facilitate the acquisition of Louisiana. The matter was favorably received by Talleyrand.

Not only did France again draw together the threads of intrigue with the "independent" Indians and the frontiersmen, but also in the summer of 1796 she determined to send Mangourit to America to replace Adet.⁴ Monroe reported rumors that France was to make an attempt upon Canada, "which is to be united with Louisiana and the Floridas to the south, taking in such parts of our western people as are willing to unite". Monroe's protest against Mangourit's appointment was effective; but the significance of the selec-

¹ Fulton to Delacroix, October 24, 1796. *Affaires Étrangères, La. et Fla.*, vol. 7, fo. 44.

² *Ibid.*, États-Unis, vol. 47, fo. 305.

³ His *Mémoire ou Coup d'œil Rapide sur mes Différens Voyages et mon Séjour dans la Nation Creek* is one of the sources for our knowledge of these Indians; but he was a hopeless liar, one of his most interesting concoctions being a statement to the French government that he had defeated ten thousand regulars under George Rogers Clark near Detroit by a force of six thousand Northern Indians under his command (De Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 364). For his career, see in addition to his *Mémoire*, the *State Papers and Correspondence bearing upon the Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana*, 20; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 395; Pickett, *Alabama* (1851 ed.), I, 115 ff.; *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 1053.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1903, II, gives the draft of his instructions. See also *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 742.

tion of this energetic companion of Genet in the early attempt upon Louisiana and Florida is obvious.

In the meantime Adet, the French minister to the United States, exerted every effort to prevent Congress from voting the appropriations to carry out Jay's treaty. In fact, as it turned out, the vote was a close one, but Adet, foreseeing defeat, and acting in accordance with the desire of his government, in March, 1796, commissioned General Victor Collot,¹ formerly governor of Guadeloupe, to travel in the west, and to make a military survey of the defenses and lines of communication west of the Alleghenies, along the Ohio and the Mississippi. Collot was gone about ten months, and as he passed down the rivers he pointed out to men whom he trusted the advantages of accepting French jurisdiction. He made detailed and accurate plans of the river-courses and the Spanish posts, which may still be seen in the atlas that accompanies his *Journey in North America*, published long afterward. As the military expert on whose judgment the French government had to rely, his conclusions have a peculiar interest, and may be given in his own words: "All the positions on the left bank of the river [Mississippi], in whatever point of view they may be considered, or in whatever mode they may be occupied, without the alliance of the Western states are far from covering Louisiana: they are, on the contrary, highly injurious to this colony; and the money and men which might be employed for this purpose would be ineffectual." In other words, a Louisiana bounded by the Mississippi could not be protected against the neighboring settlements of the United States. He emphasizes the same idea, in another connection, as follows: "When two nations possess, one the coasts and the other the plains, the former must inevitably embark or submit. From thence I conclude that the Western states of the North American republic must unite themselves with Louisiana and form in the future one single compact nation; else that colony to whatever power it shall belong will be conquered or devoured."

As the logical accompaniment of this conclusion that Louisiana must embrace the western states, Collot drew up a plan for the de-

¹ For Adet's policy in this period and his relations with Collot, see *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II. Collot's report is in print in part: Collot, *Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale . . . avec un Atlas de 36 Cartes* (2 vols., Paris, 1826), and in English: *Journey in North America* (Paris, 1826), also with the atlas. The *Portfolio*, Jan. 28, 1804, p. 30, published a prospectus of the work. See also Gibbs, *Memoirs* (1846), 350, *et passim*; Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, II, 395; Jefferson, *Works* (1854), IX, 200; Gayarré, *Louisiana*, III, 383; Cruzat, in *New Orleans Picayune*, March 18, 1901; *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, XXV, 171; *Report on Canadian Archives, 1891*; Pickering Papers indexed in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Sixth Series, VIII, 44, *et passim*.

fense of the passes of the Alleghenies, which were to constitute the frontier of this interior dependency of France to protect it against the United States. The Louisiana that Collot contemplated, therefore, stretched from the Alleghenies to the Rockies.¹ The importance of his report is made clearer by the facts that the minister Adet, and the consul-general who remained after he left, continually refer to Collot's work as the basis for their views on Louisiana, and that Livingston reported in 1802 that it had been expected that Napoleon would make Collot second in command in the province of Louisiana, and that Adet was to be prefect.²

As he descended the Mississippi, Collot learned of a plot for an attack under the English flag upon the Spanish dependencies, and on his return, early in 1797, he notified the Spanish minister to the United States, who promptly informed the secretary of state. In the investigation that followed, it was ascertained that the British minister had been privy to the plans, and United States Senator Blount, of Tennessee, lost his seat as a result of the revelations which involved him. The incident revealed how wide-spread were the forces of intrigue for the Mississippi valley, and it gave grounds for the refusal of the Spanish authorities to carry out the agreement to yield their posts on the right bank of the river while New Orleans was threatened by an attack down the Mississippi.

The documentary material for the Blount episode will be published in a later number of the REVIEW. Here its lines can be hardly more than indicated.³ On October 24, 1795, the English government had charged Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, of Canada, to cultivate such intercourse with the leading men of the western settlements of the United States as would enable England to utilize the services of the frontiersmen against the Spanish settlements, if war broke out between England and Spain, and to report what assistance might be

¹ In view of these designs, there is significance in the Farewell Address, which Washington issued while Collot was making his investigations. Washington informed the West that "it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious." He added that the treaties with Spain and England had given the Western people all that they could desire in respect to foreign relations, and asked: "Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?" *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 34-38.

² *State Papers and Correspondence bearing upon the Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana* (Washington, 1903), 29.

³ See *Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 813.

afforded by the Southern and Western Indians in such an event. Information was also desired with regard to the communications between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, with the evident idea of using Canadian forces in the operations. These "most private and secret" instructions¹ cast light upon England's policy at this time, and the explicit injunctions of caution, lest the government should be compromised with Spain and the United States while matters were preparing, help us to understand that whatever was to be done must be managed secretly. War was declared by Spain against England in the fall of 1796, and rumors of the approaching acquisition of Louisiana by France alarmed the land-speculators like Blount, as well as the former Tory settlers about Natchez. The gist of the plan with which Blount's name is connected was that a combined body of frontiersmen and Indians, working in concert with the English fleet and an expedition from Canada, should seize Louisiana and the Floridas for England. Liston, the minister, was acquainted with the essential features of the plan, canvassed the practicability of Canadian assistance with the authorities of that province, and finally communicated the matter to his government. In the meantime it had become known, and England disavowed responsibility.²

¹ British War Office (Colonial) Secret Entry Book, and *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1891, "Upper Canada", 59.

² On the whole matter see the following: Collot, *Journey in North America*, II, 11, 64, 65, 229; Aff. Ét., États-Unis, vol. 47, folios 124, 126, 130, 137; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 66 ff.; *Annals of Fifth Congress, 1797-1799*, 498, 2245 ff., 3131 ff.; *King's Correspondence of King*, II, 195-199, 208, 209, 216-218, 236, 253-256, 258. The disclosures to King made by Chisholm are in the Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, England, vols. 4 and 5, and also in the King MSS. in the New York Historical Society, folio A, 378, 385, 386, 391. See also the British Public Record Office, America, XVIII (containing Liston's correspondence on the subject); *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1891, "Upper Canada", 71, 77, and "Lower Canada", 149, *et passim*; *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, XXIV, 666, XXV, 27; *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Sixth Series, VIII, 44, *et passim* (Pickering Papers); Upham's *Pickering*; Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, I, 474, *et passim*; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, p. xi (citing the Blount MSS., sent him by the Honorable W. D. Stephens, of Los Angeles, California), IV, 212 and index, s. v. Blount; M. J. Wright, *Life and Services of William Blount*; Riley, "Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo", in *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 177; Hinsdale, "Southern Boundary of the United States", *ibid.*, 1893, 331; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III; Marbois, *History of Louisiana* (1830), 163-165; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, 561-573.

General George Rogers Clark, of Kentucky, wrote on March 2, 1797, to his old companion in the Genet expedition, Colonel Fulton, then in the service of the Directory of France: "We have here English agents from Canada to enrol volunteers destined to march against Louisiana. Some days ago I received propositions from the governor of Canada to march at the head of two thousand men against the Spanish establishments of New Mexico." The plan, he explains, was to occupy St. Louis, then to divide the army; one party would descend the Mississippi and the other march upon Santa Fé. Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 362-363.

From the point of view of the larger diplomatic problem, the most tangible result of the affair was the retention by Spain of Natchez and the other posts east of the Mississippi, under the sincere apprehension that if they were evacuated, in accordance with the treaty of 1795, a clear road would be opened for the British into Louisiana. Not until the spring of 1798 did Spain, under the anti-French policy of Godoy, actually evacuate these forts.¹

After the rupture of diplomatic relations with France the Federalists proceeded in the early summer of 1797 to enact laws for raising an army and providing a fleet, and for the necessary loans and taxes in preparation for war with the republic. But, less radical than some of his advisers, and ready to make another effort to adjust our affairs with France, President Adams sent a commission to reopen negotiations, in spite of his chagrin that the previous minister, C. C. Pinckney, had been summarily refused and ordered out of France.

When this commission sailed, Talleyrand had just become the master of the foreign policy of his country. He had returned from his sojourn in the United States, convinced that Americans were hopelessly attached to England,² and that France must have Louisiana. In a memoir to the Institute, April 4, 1797, he had pointed out that Louisiana would serve the commercial needs of France, would prove a granary for a great West Indian colonial power, and would be a useful outlet for the discontented revolutionists, who could find room for their energies in building up the New World.³ It was his policy to play with the American representatives, refusing to deal with them except informally through agents, and, while detaining them, to negotiate with Spain for Louisiana. These so-called X. Y. Z. negotiations

¹ See Henry Adams's account of Godoy's relation to this action and of his loss of power under French influence (*History of the United States*, I, 350-351).

² See his letter to Lord Lansdowne, 1795, in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, III, 64-77, and his *Memoir concerning the Commercial Relations of the United States with England*, etc., London, 1806. The French original I have not seen (*Recueil des Mémoires de l'Institut*, 1st series, II, 1799). Cf. Talleyrand's *Memoirs* (New York, 1891), I, 188.

³ There were many French travelers who visited the United States and described the Mississippi valley between 1790 and 1803. See *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II (introduction). In 1798 Dupont de Nemours and some other French philosophers, a delegation from the National Institute, had applied through Sir Joseph Banks for passports from the English government, the Directory having given them passports to go to the United States with a view to improve and extend the sciences. Mr. King, the American minister, wrote that he understood that the object of the mission was to form an establishment high up the Mississippi, out of the limits of the United States, and within the boundaries of Spain. President Adams agreed with Mr. King that no encouragement should be given to this mission. Adams, *Works*, VIII, 596. The possible connection with the political designs of France is obvious. Compare Michaux's *Journal* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, III, 53, 89, 90).

extended till the spring of 1798, when Marshall and Pinckney, outraged by demands for bribes and hopeless of results, left Paris. Gerry, deluded by Talleyrand, remained to keep the peace, and while the adroit diplomat deceived Gerry, he instructed Guillemardet, his minister at Madrid, to make Spain realize that that government had been blind to its interests in putting the United States into possession of the Mississippi forts; they meant, he declared, to rule alone in America, and to influence Europe. No other means existed for putting an end to their ambition than that of "shutting them up within the limits which Nature seems to have traced for them". There can be little doubt that Talleyrand intended the Alleghenies by this expression. France, he argued, if placed in possession of Louisiana and Florida, would be a "wall of brass forever impenetrable to the combined efforts of England and America".¹ In a memoir of July 10, 1798, Talleyrand reported to the Directory the yielding spirit of Spain and her increasing favor toward the plan of having French troops, rather than Spanish, meet the expected invasion of Louisiana by England and the United States. In the course of a discussion of the policy to be adopted toward Portugal, the minister proposed an exchange of some of the provinces of that country for Louisiana.² Thus Talleyrand increased his aggressive policy toward the Spanish peninsula and Spain's North American dependencies immediately after the retirement of Godoy and contemporaneously with the policy of deceiving the United States into inactivity. Spain and her provinces bid fair to become appanages of France.

The situation led Pitt to consider again the proposition³ to revolutionize Spanish America, with the coöperation of the United States. Again Miranda raised the veil of the future and summoned England and the United States to give freedom to the colonies of Spain, complete the passage of the Isthmus of Panama by a waterway, and

¹ H. Adams, *History of the United States*, I, 355 ff.

² Pallain, *Le Ministère de Talleyrand sous le Directoire*, 312.

³ *Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 815. The despatches of the American minister to England, Rufus King, during the early months of 1798 show that Grenville and Pitt seriously contemplated freeing the Spanish-American colonies by joint operations on the part of England and the United States, in case Spain fell completely under French control. King embraced the project eagerly. Hamilton's connection with the matter, as effective head of the American army, is an interesting feature. The episode has its importance for the present discussion, in showing how closely Spanish-American matters were involved in the Louisiana question; how certain it was that the United States would be involved in the European alliances so long as the fate of the Mississippi valley was uncertain; and how Jefferson's project of combining with England in case France occupied New Orleans was prefigured in this Federalist negotiation. See King, *Correspondence*, II, 278, 283, 305, 367, 392, 453, 454, 511, 519, 650, 654, 657. The works of Adams and Hamilton should also be consulted.

enter into the commerce of the New World. But John Adams proved stubborn in his refusal. Pitt finally determined to await events and see whether Spain could resist incorporation in the French power.

So it was that Napoleon found Louisiana ripe for the picking in 1800. His plan of taking possession was on the same lines as were the plans of those who guided the Louisiana policy of France before him. In his instructions to the captain-general¹ in 1802, he referred to the fact that as the mistress of both banks of the Mississippi at its mouth, France held the key to its navigation—a matter of the highest importance to the western states. "Whatever may be the events which this new part of the continent has to expect, the arrival of the French forces should be marked there by the expression of sentiments of great benevolence for these new neighbors." These were not reassuring words! But the rest was more alarming: "A little local experience will soon enable you to discern the sentiments of the western provinces of the Federal Government. It will be well to maintain sources of intelligence in that country, whose numerous, warlike, and sober population may present you a redoubtable enemy. The inhabitants of Kentucky especially should fix the attention of the captain-general. . . . He must also fortify himself against them by alliance with the Indian nations scattered to the east of the river."

It is reasonably clear that Napoleon's policy resembled that of Vergennes. He would intrigue with the Westerners, use the control of the navigation to influence them, make of the Indians a barrier, and gradually widen the borders of his province until the Gulf of Mexico should be a French lake, and perhaps the Alleghenies the boundary of the United States. Lord Hawkesbury, the English minister of foreign affairs, saw the danger and warned Rufus King in 1801 that "the acquisition might enable France to extend her influence and perhaps her dominion up the Mississippi and through the Great Lakes, even to Canada. This would be realizing the plan, to prevent the accomplishment of which the Seven Years' War took place."

But Lord Hawkesbury saw it no more clearly than did Thomas Jefferson, who had turned his attention to the west ever since he encouraged George Rogers Clark to go forth from Virginia and conquer the Illinois country in the Revolution. He had learned the truth that the possession of New Orleans by any European power meant that the United States would essentially be a part of Europe. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," he

¹ H. Adams, *History of the United States*, II, 8, 9.

wrote,¹ "fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground; and having formed and connected together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for the tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations."²

It is evident that the policy of Vergennes found supporters in the subsequent French governments. Even under the Bourbons, De Moustier, the minister to the United States, urged the reacquisition of Louisiana. In the beginning of the French Revolution, the French government first proposed to unite with England in dividing Spanish America, and then the Girondists sent Genet to conquer Louisiana and the Floridas by the aid of the trans-Allegheny settlers. His successor urged the recovery of the province by diplomacy, and France made strenuous efforts at Basel in 1795 and in the negotiations over alliance with Spain under the Directory in 1796 to procure its restitution. Her military expert advised an Allegheny frontier for Louisiana, and, as the prospect of war between France and the United States grew imminent, in 1796 the republic renewed the commission of George Rogers Clark and other Americans and expected aid from the frontiersmen. From that time until Napoleon's power reduced Spain to essential vassalage and forced the cession of Louisiana, hardly a year elapsed in which France did not make an effort to secure that province and the Floridas. She proposed to use the ascendancy which she would possess over the river and the Gulf to force the United States to

¹ Jefferson's *Works* (ed. H. A. Washington, 1853-1854), IV, 432.

² When the French minister Adet was striving to secure the election of Jefferson to the presidency in 1796, he reported to his government this estimate of Jefferson's character: "I do not know whether, as I am told, we will always find in him a man entirely devoted to our interests. Mr. Jefferson likes us because he detests England; he seeks to unite with us because he suspects us less than Great Britain, but he would change his sentiments toward us to-morrow, perhaps, if to-morrow Great Britain ceased to inspire him with fear. Jefferson, although a friend of liberty and the sciences, although an admirer of the efforts which we have made to break our chains and dissipate the cloud of ignorance which weighs upon mankind, Jefferson, I say, is an American, and, by that title, it is impossible for him to be sincerely our friend. An American is the born enemy of European peoples" (Adet's despatch of 1796, *Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II).

become her servile ally, or to lose the west by reason of French pressure upon the frontiersmen. The language of Talleyrand indicates his belief that the Alleghenies were the natural boundary for the United States. Napoleon's Louisiana policy was, therefore, simply the continuation of a long series of consistent attempts by the French government.

Through the whole period France relied upon the friendship of the frontiersmen and upon negotiations with the "independent Indian tribes" of the southwest to further her plans for dominating the trans-Allegheny region.

The real question at issue was whether the control of the entire Mississippi valley and the Gulf of Mexico should fall to France, England, or the United States. In view of Spain's decline, the fate of Spanish America hinged upon the decision. The contest abundantly illustrates the fact that a river is not a barrier, and consequently not a permanent boundary. No one who has studied the evidence of long-continued menace to the connection of the west with the rest of the United States made by the Alleghenies¹ prior to the railroads, can doubt that the danger was a real one, and that a European power might have arisen along the Mississippi valley and the Gulf of Mexico, dominating the interior by its naval force, and checking, if not preventing, the destiny of the United States as the arbiter of North America and the protector of an American system for the New World.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER.

¹ This danger was increased, owing to the indifference, and, at times, the antagonism of the northeastern commercial section to the trans-Allegheny lands.

IMPROVISING A GOVERNMENT IN PARIS IN JULY, 1789

ALTHOUGH the dominant influence which Paris exerted upon the course of the French Revolution never has been doubted, its nature has often been misconceived. Sometimes it is taken to mean the coercion or overthrow of the government by such uprisings as those of July and October, 1789, or the dictatorship of the insurrectionary communes of August, 1792, and of June, 1793. Even if the influence of Paris were so restricted and episodic, it would be instructive to indicate exactly the relation of such popular movements to the administration of the city itself and to learn whether the appearance at the Hôtel de Ville, August 10, 1792, or May 31, 1793, of a new set of delegates from the sections, superseding the existing administration, was a peculiarly Jacobinical device or was a characteristic feature of local political methods. The more one studies the politics of Paris in the early period of the Revolution, the less one is inclined to believe that the Jacobins were inventors, or that universal suffrage, introduced August 10, was responsible for party violence in 1793. It also seems beyond dispute that the spirit of domination which rendered Paris responsible for the excesses of the Terror was present in 1789, although checked at that time by the provisional government of the city and veiled under polite phrases of reverence for the decrees of the National Assembly and the person of the king. For these reasons there is no source from which new light upon the Revolution is more likely to come than from the records of the first provisional assemblies of Paris, those chosen to act for the city as a whole and those which brought together separately the voters of each of the sixty districts.

The subject has also an interest of its own. Not until October 9, 1790, was the new municipality definitively organized. Consequently for considerably more than a year after the collapse of the old government the city was under the control of an administration of which the separate parts were improvised, at first from day to day, and, until the middle of November, 1789, exposed to sudden and violent change. Quite apart from any influence Paris then exerted upon the Revolution, the period offers two features of almost equal interest—the actual construction of a provisional administra-

tion amidst the ruins of old institutions and the political controversies which agitated the people as long as the nature of the new government was not finally settled. The spectacle of a great community—the population of Paris was toward 680,000—passing suddenly from one régime to another, the first almost totally destroyed in a day and the second in no sense an outgrowth of it, must always awaken curiosity. And it is not the fighting in the streets or the revolting murders, characteristic of popular convulsions, that provoke this curiosity, it is rather the spirit and manner in which men came forward to reorganize their affairs and to master a difficult situation. The interest is heightened by the fact that these men possessed little political experience, although many of them were of great intelligence and high standing in the community. The first phase of this effort, which ended when the “electors” gave place late in July, 1789, to the “Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune”, is the subject of the present article.

I.

To comprehend the difficulty of the task that suddenly confronted the Parisians on the twelfth and thirteenth of July it is necessary to know something of the administrative system which practically disappeared in the face of insurrection. Unhappily that system was so complex—as complex as the old régime—that only the more characteristic features can be indicated.¹ Not many great names are associated in the popular imagination with the old city organization. The one generally remembered is Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants. His strong and tragic figure evokes the illusion of a centralized government controlled by one official. In 1789 there was still a provost of the merchants, but he was far from possessing an effective jurisdiction throughout the city. Of the various powers which did share the government the most important was the lieutenant-general of the police, who stood in much the same relation to Paris as did the intendants to the “generalities”. These intendants, it will be remembered, carried out the will of the central government, and were able to act within certain limits on their own authority. Nominally the head of the police was simply another lieutenant added to the four magistrates who presided at the Châtelet. He was therefore subordinate to the provost of Paris,

¹The general history of Paris is briefly recounted by Fernand Bournon in *Paris, Histoire, Monuments, Administration*, etc., Paris, 1888; also by H. de Pontich in the introductory portion of his *Administration de la Ville de Paris*, Paris, 1884. For a general description of the city in 1789 see H. Monin, *L'État de Paris en 1789, Études et Documents*, 1889.

who had his seat at the Châtelet but whose office, like that of the governor of Paris, had become a sinecure. The addition of a lieutenant-general of police introduced an incongruous element into the Châtelet, which was an ancient court second in dignity only to the Parlement of Paris, for he was rather an administrator than a judge. As an administrator he was immediately dependent upon the minister of the *maison du roi*, to whose department Paris was assigned. The scope of his functions appears clearly in the distribution of work among his ten bureaux.¹ It would be difficult to find a subject of administration which is not included, except those matters which touched the Seine, the river trade, the quays and bridges, and the ramparts. As head of the police he had also under him forty-eight commissioners, and an inspector for each of the twenty quarters of the city, besides detectives and informers "secretly employed and paid according to their works". Although his force was small, it was supported by the guards of the city, particularly the watch and the famous regiment of the *gardes-françaises*. But the lieutenant-general was something more than a judge, an administrator, and head of the police; it was his duty to issue ordinances, similar to those commonly passed by American municipal assemblies. These ordinances were administrative in character and were intended to carry into effect existing royal decrees.²

Although the Hôtel de Ville possessed less power than that which the Châtelet exercised through the lieutenant-general, it was the place where dwelt great traditions and toward which were turned hopes for a time when the name commune would be transformed into a political reality. The *bureau de la ville* was composed of the provost of the merchants, four aldermen, a secretary, a treasurer, and a law-officer, the *procureur du roi de la ville*. There were also twenty-four councilors, although no council in the proper sense of the word, and sixteen officers of quarters, with their subordinates. These minor officials existed in theory more than in fact, and their names and functions served as a mute protest against the encroachments of the police. The attitude of ineffective defense is also signalized in the obstinate refusal to abandon the division into sixteen quarters and adopt a division into twenty provided in the police organization. The peculiar province of the Hôtel de Ville was the river trade and everything that concerned it. It shared

¹ See *Almanach Royal de 1789*, 423-427. Cf. Monin, *op. cit.*, 399-402.

² Such ordinances were registered by the Châtelet, and generally by Parlement also, in order that cases arising under them might be prosecuted in the courts and carried up on appeal. Not infrequently Parlement succeeded by protest in modifying such legislation, whether it was due to the lieutenant-general himself or whether he was simply the instrument by which it was transmitted.

with the lieutenant-general the duty of making arrangements for furnishing the city with an adequate supply of food. For this purpose its authority extended over the Seine and the rivers which flowed into the Seine. As both Paris and the generality of Paris were under the minister of the *maison du roi*, the relation of the city to the surrounding country was not simply that of being the best market. This relation is implied in the law which forbade speculators to buy wheat within ten leagues, a feature of the old régime which showed a strong tendency to persist even after the July revolution.

In filling the positions of provost and aldermen there was an elaborate semblance of election. The provost was actually nominated by the king, but each year two aldermen were chosen by a body composed partly of officials, partly of notable bourgeois subjected to a double sifting process. Almost the only valuable opportunity of gaining experience in conducting business in public assemblies was offered by the *fabriques* or parish organizations. Here for the election of a responsible churchwarden, and to pass upon the accounts of the retiring churchwarden, two general assemblies were held each year. In order to vote in these assemblies it was necessary to be rated on the tax list for at least six livres. The fact that the parishes were the only schools training men for united action might, but for their inequality of population, have made of them the natural subdivisions of the municipality when the revolution of July took place.

II.

The beginnings of a new order of things were made half unconsciously during the elections to the States-General. The machinery designed to provide for the choice of the députies of the Third Estate was to survive its original purpose and not only to bear for a time the burden of administration, but in a measure to control the lines on which the new provisional government was constructed.

Before the method of election was arranged in detail, an attempt was made to bring together the electors of the three orders in a single assembly. The most urgent champions of this plan were the officials of the Hôtel de Ville, according to whom "ecclesiastics, nobles, plebeians, were all collectively included in the title Bourgeois de Paris". Their special purpose was to secure for the provost of the merchants and the *bureau de la ville* the honor of conducting the elections, an honor to which the Châtelet and the provost of Paris also laid claim. The decision of the government in favor of the Châtelet caused the resignation of the provost of the merchants,

Le Peletier de Morfontaine. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of Jacques de Flesselles, destined to be one of the victims of the July revolution. This decision did not, however, lead to an immediate abandonment of the plan of coöperation. The nobles themselves began to urge it. Just before the primary assemblies were held they met and voted to send to the district assemblies of the Third Estate a protest "in favor of the preservation of the commune and of the right to form a single body, a right which the citizens of all orders of the Ville de Paris have always enjoyed". Probably the nobles would have been unwilling to be treated as simple citizens. They, as well as the clergy, would have wished the same number of electors as the Third Estate. The Third Estate naturally feared "the Greeks bearing gifts". They dreaded the prestige of the nobles and believed that in a single assembly the nobles might obtain control and secure a disproportionate number of deputations. This was not the only fear. There was a rumor that for the administration of the city there was to be created a commission in which the three estates should be equally represented. This provoked a motion in one district assembly that the clergy and the nobles should begin individually by entering the primary assemblies as simple citizens. Had a loyal coöperation between the three orders of Paris been possible, it would have had an important influence not only upon the method of voting in the States-General but also upon the municipal movement in July.¹

The details of the elections were regulated by decree April 13². One of its most important provisions was a distribution of Paris into sixty arrondissements or districts, named generally from the churches in which the primary electoral assemblies were to meet. Although these districts grouped men who were strangers to one another and who had never been accustomed to act together, they were not long in acquiring a distinctive political character; and what were devised in the spring as pieces of election machinery became in the fall semi-independent governments, formidable to the central authority not only of Paris but also of France.

¹ Chassin, *Les Élections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789*, 4 vols. (*Collection de documents relatifs à l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française*); see I, 122, 333-336, 359-362, II, 167, 218 ff. Also *Motion faite par un citoyen dans l'assemblée du district de St.-Germain des Prés* (pièce, Bibl. Nat.). Count Lally-Tollendal, one of the most brilliant of the Constituents and a Paris nobleman, wrote in January, 1790: "Plus on avait semé de désunion et de rivalité, plus un exemple d'union et de concorde devenait nécessaire. Celui qu'eût donné la capitale eût été important. Un vœu commun, et juste autant qu'unanime, formé par huit cent mille citoyens, eût étouffé les semences de haine que des missionnaires de discordes avaient répandue dans une partie de la France." *Mémoire ou second lettre* (pièce, Bibl. Nat.), 14-15.

² Reprinted in Chassin, I, 399-405.

It was the intention of the government to restrict as far as possible the action of these district or primary assemblies. Their officers were to be chosen by the *bureau de la ville*, and they were not to forward to the general assembly of electors any cahiers or statements of principles. The qualifications for voters excluded the bulk of the poorer workingmen. Those who paid a poll-tax of six livres were admitted to the primary assemblies, just as they had previously been admitted to parish assemblies. Capacity was recognized as establishing an alternative claim, proved by the possession of a university degree, of letters of mastership in the arts, or of certain official titles. Against the distinguishing features of these decrees there were many protests. The attempt to bridle the assemblies was more generally criticized than anything else¹. The size of the tax qualification, or the existence of any such qualification, was also here and there condemned.

The primary assemblies of the Third Estate are interesting because they were the first essay in political action by the Paris bourgeoisie. Elaborate military precautions had been taken against disturbances. Probably it was because of this display of authority, and of its natural consequence—rumors of a popular insurrection, that so many of the bourgeois did not appear². Instead of from thirty to forty thousand being present, only 11,706 votes were cast. One man described his haste to enter the church before the crowd became too great, but to his astonishment no more people were there than there would have been had it been announced that the Abbé Cotin³ was to preach. Those who did come felt instinctively that a new day had dawned, that they had ceased to be merely subjects and had become citizens. Bailly, the Academician, who was to be the first mayor of Paris and who was to pay for his faults, if not for his virtues, with his head, wrote, "When I found myself in the district assembly I felt that I was breathing a new atmosphere: it was a phenomenon to be something in the political order."⁴ On the whole the meetings were tranquil. Even Montjoie, later a bitter adversary of the men who became the leaders in Paris, acknowledged this. He noted that except in the outskirts of the faubourgs there were present only

¹ See particularly *Arrêtés concernant le choix des Électeurs de Paris* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), adopted, so says the pamphlet, in an assembly of citizens April 19. Chassin believes it was prepared at the house of Adrien Duport, a friend of Lafayette.

² This is the opinion of more than one observer. Quénard, secretary of the district of Petits Augustins, asserts it in his *Tableau historique*, the introduction to *Portraits des Personnages célèbres de la Révolution*, 38–39. Cf. *Mes Loisirs*, the manuscript journal of Hardy (Bibl. Nat., Mss. fr. nouv. acq. 2667.)

³ Immortalized by Molière in the *Femmes Savantes* under the name Trissotin.

⁴ Bailly, *Mémoires*, II, 307.

the élite of the bourgeoisie, members of the academies, lawyers, rich merchants, artisans, and artists. This was not a source of unmixed satisfaction to him any more than to men of more democratic sympathies, for he saw out in the streets, the markets, and the workshops the laborers who patiently took up day after day their painful tasks, but who could not approach these assemblies. "Who can tell us", he thought, "if the despotism of the bourgeoisie will not succeed the pretended aristocracy of the nobles?"¹

Although the assemblies gave no ground for fearing public outbreaks, their sessions revealed an ominous spirit of independence. Many of them decided to regard the decrees of April 13 as simple advice. They insisted upon organizing their assemblies and choosing their own officers. Sometimes they were content to elect the officials who had been sent to preside over them, in case these men were willing to regard such an election as the sole title to the position. At other times they selected men from their own number and disregarded the protests of the dispossessed officials.² Once in control, the larger number of these assemblies did not adjourn until they had drawn up a cahier, some of them instructing their electors to be governed strictly by its terms³. In a few instances also a determined effort was made to render these assemblies permanent during the continuance of the States-General. Although this effort had no consequences of immediate importance, it is particularly interesting because it revealed tendencies in these districts which in July and afterward rendered them at once useful and formidable.⁴ Like many other questions in the history of Revolutionary Paris, it is rendered obscure by the destruction of the municipal records in May, 1871.

¹ Montjoie, *Histoire de la Révolution de France et de l'Assemblée Nationale*, I, 87.

² Chassin believes that only about ten conformed to the regulations, II, 337.

³ The cahiers that have been preserved present various schemes for the reorganization of Paris as well as for improvements along the practical lines of public works, health, and industry. There is a general desire for a freely-elected body of municipal officers. For the text of these cahiers see Chassin, *op. cit.*

⁴ Although Montjoie speaks of the pretensions of the voters to remain assembled, his words throw no light on the scope of the movement, *op. cit.*, I, 88. Quénard's remark, apropos of July 13, that the districts had been closed since the end of the elections, is decisive, especially since it is supported by the records of the organization of the districts in July. *Portraits*, 43. Further evidence is offered by the fact that Charton, one of the electors, proposed in their assembly, July 10, that the districts be invited to assemble in the places where they had been convoked in April, that they be authorized to name their own officers, and to remain in session until the withdrawal of the troops that surrounded Paris: *Procès-verbal des séances et délibérations de l'Assemblée générale des électeurs de Paris, réunis à l'hôtel de ville, le 14 juillet 1789*, rédigé depuis le 26 avril jusqu'au 21 mai 1789, par M. Bailly, . . . et depuis le 22 mai jusqu'au 30 juillet 1789, par M. Duveyrier, 3 vols., I, 158-159.

The tendency toward permanence in one or two districts was purely practical in its character. Saint-Étienne du Mont decided to keep its organization together until it learned whether its refusal to obey the decrees governing the election would be held to invalidate the credentials of its electors. Just before the assembly of Saint-Roch completed its work, one of its members, "seeing with grief" the moment of separation, urged that they meet once a week in order to correspond with the Paris deputies at the States-General. His aim was the revival of public spirit¹. In the only other cases about which definite information exists the aim was more distinctly political. The district Notre-Dame held at least two meetings between the end of the primary assemblies and the uprising in July. At the second the question was raised of establishing a commission of sixty, with one delegate from each district, to formulate the opinions of the districts as new problems came up for discussion in the National Assembly. The question was also asked if the electors, who, as will be explained, had resumed their sessions, could take any decision without consulting the districts.² This is one of the earliest expressions of a determination that the primary assemblies must be consulted on every important matter even by the National Assembly. Those who most stoutly defended the doctrine knew more about the *comitia tributa* of the Romans than about the representative theory, which, indeed, they regarded as a medieval invention inconsistent with the sovereignty of the people.

In another district a species of permanence was decided upon as a result of the energetic efforts of a man to whom Paris was to owe its first provisional organization, Jean Pierre Brissot. Like many others, after the announcement of the States-General he published views on their organization and on the elections.³ His desire to be chosen one of the deputies of Paris was scarcely veiled in these writings. And as far as qualifications were concerned he was fitted to take an intelligent part in the work of the States-General. He had resided in England, had traveled in America, and probably had a more accurate knowledge of American constitutional methods than any other Frenchman save Lafayette. Unhappily by what

¹ *Discours* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), by Millin de Grandmaison.

² *Seconde suite de l'Assemblée du dist. ou département de Notre-Dame* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. *Projet de Règlement* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), a radical expression of the referendum idea, submitted to the district Capucins de la Chaussée-d'Antin.

³ His *Plan de conduite* appeared in April. He had also published *Trois mots aux Parisiens*, a pamphlet not credited to him by Tourneux in his *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution*, nor in the *Catalogue de l'histoire de France*. For proof of his authorship, see his *Scrutin de l'Élection de Paris*, 7, and *Patriote français*, no. 170.

Brissot felicitously called a "singular circumstance", but which was nothing more singular than a lack of votes, he was not even chosen one of the electors. He at once determined to have his doctrines appear, if not his person.¹ After a bitter contest he persuaded his district, the Filles Saint-Thomas, to give imperative instructions to its electors. These instructions were substantially his work, if not drawn by him. What was still more important, he pushed through the creation of a committee of correspondence, which should correspond with the Paris deputies and which should remain in existence until a "Declaration of Rights" should be sanctioned.

The electoral assembly was a repetition on a larger scene of what had been done in the districts. As the officers of the Châtelet who had been appointed to preside would not accept an election from the electors as alone giving them this right, they were courteously forced to withdraw, and the assembly chose its own officers. The electors also decided to continue their sessions during the States-General, although the government had assigned to them simply the task of selecting twenty deputies and drawing up a cahier. When the elections were completed, May 23, they adjourned until June 7 to meet at a place indicated by a committee². It did not prove to be easy to carry this decision into effect. The minister, M. de Villedeuil, to whose department Paris belonged, when consulted by Bailly, replied that the mission of the electors was ended³. Nevertheless, the committee went to the Hôtel de Ville to ask the use of one of its halls. There it received a similar answer. By June 25 a private hall had been found in which the electors reassembled⁴. The momentous changes which resulted during these very days in the triumph of the Third Estate at Versailles compelled a different answer to the next request for a hall at the Hôtel de

¹ See *Discours* (Bibl. Nat., pièce) prononcé par M. Brissot de Warville, à l'Élection du District de la rue des Filles Saint-Thomas, le 21 Avril 1789, nouvelle édition, etc., and *Observations sur la nécessité d'établir. . . des comités de correspondance*. This brochure is reëdited by Chassin to appear as a motion made by Brissot, I, 400-402. It is apparent from his subsequent pamphlets, a *Précis* addressed to the electoral assembly and a *Scrutin de l'Élection de Paris ou lettre de M. B. D. W. à un électeur*, that he still hoped to be chosen a deputy; warning the assembly of its duty to choose the best men whether they were electors or not. The electors did go outside of their number for four deputies, but Brissot was not among the four.

² One of the committee was Thuriot de la Rozière, who was to play a prominent part July 14, and who, during the Convention, was to be a leading Montagnard. Another was Bancal des Issarts, a friend of Brissot and the Rolands.

³ Bailly, *Mémoires*, I, 235-236.

⁴ "Chez un traiteur de la rue Dauphine, dans une salle dite du Musée, qu'une société de gens de lettres voulut bien leur céder." *Procès-verbal*, I, 88. The elector Dusaulx says that two or three hundred met at this place. *Insurrection Parisienne (L'œuvre des sept jours)*, 16.

Ville. The provost of the merchants did not allow the deputation even to conclude its formal speech, but interrupted with the declaration that the Hôtel de Ville was "notre maison commune". An assembly in which the influential men of Paris had confidence was thus installed in the natural home of the commune two weeks before circumstances threw upon it the heaviest responsibilities.¹

III.

The electoral assembly was as able a body of men as it would have been possible to choose from the bourgeoisie of Paris. It was often criticized because nearly half of the number were lawyers too much inclined to speechmaking. This reproach came from literary men who were inundating Paris with pamphlets. If it did remain chiefly a body of bourgeois, this was not altogether its fault, for invitations to the new sessions were sent to the electors of the other two orders. By July 14 only seventeen nobles and twenty-five ecclesiastics had responded.

The first meetings of the electors were coincident with the crisis at Versailles. When a royal army began to gather about the city and disorder increased within it, various projects were brought before them for the reorganization of the municipal administration, for their own transformation into a communal assembly, and especially for the establishment of a citizen guard.² Alarmed by the growing multitude of vagabonds, whom they called *gens sans aveu* or more briefly *brigands*, they looked upon such a guard chiefly as a protection against riot, incidentally depriving the ministry of its excuse for bringing an army into the neighborhood of Paris. It would also render the success of an attack on the city too doubtful to warrant the attempt.³ Necker considered the establishment of a guard as the best means consistent with liberty of preventing a recurrence of scenes like the rescue of the mutinous *gardes-françaises* from the Abbaye prison.⁴

¹ Flesselles gave his reasons in a letter to the Garde des Sceaux: "J'ai pensé, Monseigneur, que l'état des choses n'était plus le même qu'à l'époque où j'en avais fait le refus, parce que le Roi venait d'autoriser MM. les députés à demander à leurs commettants des explications ou interprétations de leurs pouvoirs; que, de plus dans le moment d'une agitation aussi forte que celle qui règne, il était de la prudence et de la sagesse du Bureau de la Ville d'accueillir la demande qui lui était faite." Chassin, III, 445-446.

² The first motion was made June 25 by Nicholas de Bonneville, and inserted in the *Procès-verbal* of July 10, when several other motions in a similar sense impelled him to insist on priority. *Procès-verbal*, I, 130 ff. Cf. projects of Carra, Bancal des Issarts, and Charton, *ibid.*, 139 ff.

³ This appears from the several propositions as well as from the form the matter finally took July 11. *Ibid.*, I, 173-174.

⁴ Bailly says Necker made this remark to him July 1, *Mémoires*, I, 267.

The news of the dismissal of Necker did not reach Paris until long after noon, Sunday, July 12. Rumors of the incidents in the Palais Royal, on the boulevards, and in the Place Louis XV impelled the people to gather at the Hôtel de Ville. Some of the electors also came about six o'clock. They could never forget the scenes that met their eyes at that time and for the next ten days.¹ The problem would have been difficult had the crowd been composed wholly of honest men who sought arms only to defend themselves against an attack which they heard had already begun. But in this crowd came hundreds who realized that for the first time they could indulge in all sorts of violence without being locked up in the prisons and broken on the wheel the next day. Indeed they could count upon being regarded as energetic patriots to whom the authorities could address kindly counsel and not sharp words of warning. These men revealed their presence by threatening to burn the Hôtel de Ville if their demands were not granted.

The crowd did not respect the enclosure within which the electors were gathering. They pressed the electors back upon the officers' bureau. A thousand confused voices demanded arms, the order to sound the tocsin, authority for the citizens to arm in order to repulse the troops. The electors had no legal powers, and they could not give to others what they did not themselves possess, but this was no time for a discussion of delicate questions of legality. They directed the concierge to deliver the arms that were at the Hôtel de Ville. The impatient mob soon broke into the room where the arms of the *gardes de la ville* were stored. This act of doubtful wisdom, considering that the guards were an effective though small force, was more than equaled a moment after when a vagabond clad in a shirt, with bare legs and no shoes, shouldered a gun and took the place of a disarmed guard at the door of the great hall. Finally about eleven o'clock there was a sufficient number of electors present to take more general measures. It was voted that the districts should be convoked at once and that electors should go through the city and disperse the mobs. Already sinister reports had come that the vagabonds were spreading themselves armed and threatening through all quarters.

The thirteenth was for Paris the most critical day of the upheaval. The real danger came not so much from the troops about the city as from the disorderly elements within it. The government was too irresolute to order an attack when the attitude of the Paris-

¹ The description of incidents at the Hôtel de Ville is taken from the *Procès-verbal* except where otherwise noted.

ians was so bold. But the sacking of the convent Saint Lazare, the opening of the doors of the prison La Force, the attempt of the prisoners at the Châtelet to break out, the burning of the barriers, proved that if vigorous action was not taken the city was in grave danger, and that, at the least, the honesty of its political aims would be compromised. The action of the electors was given a certain color of legality because of the coöperation of the *bureau de la ville*, although this bureau had no authority to take the measures it became partly responsible for. Neither electors nor bureau assumed an attitude openly hostile to the king. The circumstances offered an excuse for what they did on the thirteenth, although had an attack been made by the royal army it is evident that they would have managed or organized the defense. This is proved by what occurred on the fourteenth.

On this first day there was no note of discord between the electors who had assumed extraordinary powers and the district assemblies. These bodies were busied with their organization and with provisional measures of defense. Early in the morning the ringing of the bells called the citizens to the churches where they had met to choose their electors in April¹. The electors also began to gather at the Hôtel de Ville. To quiet the clamorous multitude they announced that the establishment of the citizen guard had already been voted, and asked the citizens to return to their districts. Cries for arms were the only response to this request. When they explained that they knew nothing of the city administration and that it was necessary to appeal to the provost of the merchants, the crowd demanded that he be found.² Not long afterward he came, and soon

¹ Hardy wrote in his journal: "Vers dix heures du matin rue St. Jacques. . . se fait entendre un tambour qui annonçait de la part des officiers qu'en eût à se réunir à l'instant par districts dans les différentes églises, comme on l'avait déjà fait au mois d'avril précédent. . . et bientôt après ces Eglises font entendre une seule cloche en forme de tocsin pour appeler les citoyens de tous les ordres aux différentes assemblées." But this honest bourgeois could not attend his assembly because "mon épouse ne veut jamais me laisser aller". *MS. cit.*, VIII, 385.

² Dusaulx says the people believed that there was a secret arsenal at the Hôtel de Ville, a notion nearly fatal to the electors. *Op. cit.*, 28. In the afternoon a large supply of powder was seized just as it was being despatched to Rouen. It was saved with difficulty from the mob on the Place de la Grève. Before this new stock arrived, in order to protect from plunder what was already at the Hôtel de Ville a brave ecclesiastic, the Abbé Lefevre [Lefebvre], undertook to supervise its distribution, and remained at his perilous post for thirty-six hours, constantly menaced by pistols, pikes, and knives. One of the mob sat tranquilly on a barrel of powder smoking a pipe. Happily he had a thrifty soul and was willing to sell the pipe to the abbé for three francs. *Rapport des Journées* du 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 juillet, Abbé Lefevre, Arch. Nat., C 134, dossier 6. Cf. *Procès-verbal*, I, 231-235. During the night of July 13-14 the electors at the Hôtel de Ville disarmed more than 150 vagabonds, drunk with wine and brandy and asleep in the halls. *Ibid.*, 270.

the law-officer and the four aldermen were there also. The right to preside was conceded to the provost. One of the electors assumed that the crowd was Paris and stated the question to it. The new sovereign at once confirmed the decision. The members of the *bureau de la ville* were asked to join the electors in taking the necessary measures. They voted to form a permanent committee¹, chosen by the assembly and divided into subcommittees, to take charge of provisioning the city, of organizing the guard, and the like. The lieutenant-general of the police was sent for to furnish necessary information. Each of the districts was asked to draw up a list of 200 persons, subsequently to be increased, to constitute the guard and to provide for public security according to instructions to be furnished by the permanent committee. The districts were also to receive the arms of persons who were attached to no district. Finally they were asked to confirm these decrees. From this time forward until the first crisis was past the permanent committee was the center of activity. The electors adjourned until afternoon, while the committee elaborated its plan of a *milice parisienne*.²

The committee was to receive little assistance from the lieutenant-general of police. He promised what information his subordinates could offer about the method of provisioning the city, but he felt the personal danger which threatened him and which resulted that night in the sack of his *hôtel*. It was of little service that the electors made him jointly responsible with the *bureau de la ville* for this important task. The attempt is interesting, for it shows how disinclined they were to disorganize the existing administration. They kept as close to the borders of legality as possible. The conduct of Flesselles was within the next few hours to bring suspicion upon the *bureau de la ville* and to make a preservation of the old machinery impossible. Flesselles was a royal officer. As such he was naturally anxious not to compromise himself. The most reasonable theory of his conduct was that he was endeavoring to gain time, and that while he accepted a position as presiding officer of the electors and of the permanent committee, he was reluctant to coöperate effectively

¹ The title "permanent", afterward so misunderstood, meant a committee which was to meet day and night. Cf. Dusaulx, 27. When its members were chosen, the crowd complained that only electors were named. One of the electors cried out, "Whom do you wish that we name?" "Me", replied a modest patriot, and he was chosen by acclamation.

² Late in the day the command of the new guard was offered to the Duc d'Aumont, with the Marquis de la Salle as second in command. La Salle became commander the following day because of the irresolution of d'Aumont. The colors of the guard were to be blue and red. The district Notre-Dame tied the two with a white ribbon, anticipating the tricolor. MS. Arch. Nat., C 134.

in arming the bourgeoisie. He was accused of sending deputations of districts which asked for arms to places where no stock of arms had ever been kept, and of causing boxes of clothing marked "*artillerie*" to be sent to the Hôtel de Ville. But he could hardly have been foolhardy enough to have attempted so transparent an artifice as the last, and in the other cases he may have been himself deceived as well as other members of the permanent committee.¹

Meanwhile the districts had been busy organizing, drawing up lists for the guard, establishing patrols, and disarming the vagabonds who during the earlier part of the day almost had possession of the streets. The success with which they carried out this plan became apparent before night. The result is best described by an English traveler²:

Early in the afternoon (July 13) we began to perceive among the motley groups of mob who paraded the streets with such symptoms of irritation as must soon have produced excess, here and there a man of decent exterior, carrying a musket, and assuming a respectable military appearance. The number of these gradually increased, and it was evidently their intention at once to conciliate and disarm the irregular band; and this appeared to be principally effected before the evening, at which time the regularly armed citizens almost exclusively occupied the streets.

This traveler, Dr. Rigby, marveled at the extraordinary address which the citizens showed in accomplishing their delicate task. They were helped by the *gardes-françaises*, most of whom had cast in their lot from the first with the party of resistance to the royal troops and who felt that they would be ruined if the affair degenerated into a riotous orgy.³

During the momentous hours of the fourteenth the burden fell almost exclusively upon the permanent committee, for because of the multitude that had invaded the Hôtel de Ville it was impossible for the electors to organize their assembly until the day was over. The action of the committee showed the same conservative desire

¹ Cf. Dusaulx, 34. Also *Récit des Tentatives du Dist. des Mathurins, pour se procurer des armes et munitions dans la journée du Lundi, 13 juillet 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

² Dr. Rigby's *Letters from France*, 55, 57. Jefferson was also surprised at the good order so promptly reestablished. Montjoie noted the change in the streets, *op. cit.*, part III, 86. Cf. the summary of what was accomplished given by the secretary of the electors. *Procès-verbal*, I, 263.

³ Jules Flammarion, *La Journée du 14 juillet 1789*, clxxx, note 2, quotes this view of the conduct of the *gardes-françaises* from the despatches of the Saxon minister, Salmour. Not all the *gardes-françaises* had as yet abandoned their officers. One post on the Chaussée-d'Antin declined on the night of the thirteenth to send a guard to the Hôtel de Ville. *Procès-verbal*, I, 255.

to remain within the bounds of legality, and, when this was impossible, to take measures which were likely to restore order or preserve the city from actual attack. Early in the morning, impelled by constant rumors that the royal troops were advancing into the faubourgs, it caused barricades to be constructed, ditches dug, and all other measures to be taken which could effectively oppose the entrance of the royal troops. A little before this Éthis de Corny, the law-officer of the Hôtel de Ville, was sent to the Invalides to ask for arms, but he arrived only to be a helpless spectator while a multitude composed of delegations of districts, bodies of the new citizen guard, and *gens sans aveu* burst through the gates or escalated the low ramparts and ransacked the vast building, carrying off 32,000 guns.

The committee was even less successful at the Bastille. At eight o'clock, when it was reported that the guns of this fortress were trained on the Rue Saint-Antoine, a deputation was sent to assure De Launey that the people would make no attack on him and to urge him to withdraw his guns. The request was complied with, and this intervention might have been successful had the deputation at once returned to the Hôtel de Ville. Unhappily the members accepted De Launey's invitation to breakfast. The long delay led the crowd about the fortress to suspect that they were being held as prisoners. But the more disastrous consequence was that the committee was left in ignorance of the situation and was unable therefore to take any measures to restrain the crowd, which grew momentarily more excited and which threatened the garrison. Indeed this first deputation did not reach the Hôtel de Ville until just before the fighting began. In order to put an end to the actual conflict the committee sent another deputation to ask De Launey to receive into the Bastille a detachment of the *milice parisienne*, which should guard the fortress in company with the garrison, but which should remain under the command of the committee. Matters became critical before the return of this delegation, which did not succeed in communicating with De Launey. It was determined to send another, this time with drum and flag of truce. The crowd was so convinced that the fighting was due to the treachery of De Launey that the committee or at least the military bureau felt forced to abandon its attitude of mediation and to coöperate in the attack in case the last deputations failed.¹ About the same time Hulin, unknown to the committee, led to the Bastille a body of *gardes-françaises* who had placed themselves at the service of the committee earlier in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 335.

day. They took with them several cannon and trained cannon-eers. It was these cannon and the guards which effected the capture of the Bastille. After they had gone the two deputations returned, the last reporting that even its flag had been fired upon with every appearance of treachery.

The fighting at the Bastille had sinister echoes at the Hôtel de Ville. It is impossible in a few words to suggest the horror of confusion against which the committee and the few electors who were able to gather were forced to struggle. Mingled among reputable citizens, demanding arms or making complaints, were curiosity seekers and vagabonds. These men constantly menaced the lives of the committee and threatened to burn the Hôtel de Ville. On the seats surrounding the great hall, where the electors were to meet, was a crowd armed with guns, pikes, sabers, and even with sticks to which knives were fastened. Another part of the room was filled by men whose sinister features reminded the electors of the vagabonds who had been disarmed the day before. They were now armed for the most part with ancient battle-axes and halberds which came from the plunder of the *garde meuble*. All these men kept calling for the electors, a small number of whom were present, but who were powerless to compel silence or even to find a place to sit down.¹

While the result of the struggle at the Bastille was still in doubt, a deputation from the Palais Royal appeared denouncing Flesselles as a traitor.² At first Flesselles was scarcely able to face his accusers with calmness. To give himself countenance he attempted to eat a crust of bread, but he could scarcely swallow. One of the oldest members of the committee, Dusaulx, energetically defended him, urging that it was dangerous to dispute while men were being killed at the Bastille. Reasoning of this sort satisfied everybody except the men from the Palais Royal. It was then that the second deputation to the Bastille was despatched, partly as a countermove to the denunciators. But these men insisted that Flesselles at least go into the great hall. He felt himself lost, but went out saying, "Come, gentlemen, come to the great hall, and let the committee work a little". Probably he would have been murdered on the spot had the mob not been afraid of killing one of the electors.

Shortly after this the news of the fall of the Bastille came, and with it rushed in another crowd with some of the prisoners. The

¹ Abridged from Pitra's account, in the Flammermont edition, *op. cit.*, 10.

² This was the first exploit of the Palais Royal since authority had changed hands, and it indicated that, whatever the régime, that group of agitators was likely to remain restless and arrogant.

joy of the conquest did not displace the desire for the blood of the conquered, and in spite of the heroic efforts of Élie, one of the leaders in the fight against the Bastille, two of the prisoners were snatched away by the mob, and were hanged in front of the Hôtel de Ville. Another victim was wanted. New accusations were raised against Flesselles. His colleagues now maintained an ominous silence. It was proposed that he be held as a hostage or imprisoned in the Châtelet, but the general opinion demanded that he go to the Palais Royal to be judged. Flesselles abandoned himself to his fate, bewildered no doubt by the new theory of liberty that erected into a supreme tribunal any crowd bold enough to arrogate to itself such functions. He said simply, "Well, then, gentlemen, come to the Palais Royal". He descended the stairs and crossed the square unmolested, but at the corner of the Quai Pelletier he was shot by an unknown young man.¹ His head and his body immediately shared the fate of those of De Launey and the other victims of the mob's fury.

IV.

The capture of the Bastille marked the decisive defeat of the party which had persuaded the king to surround Versailles and Paris with an army and appoint a reactionary ministry. Paris had little to fear save from itself. The irremediable ruin of the old administration had been signalized by the murder of the provost of the merchants and the resignation of the lieutenant-general of the police. The task of restoring order and of securing a supply of food had fallen to the electors and to their committee. The new civic guard could protect life and property, but since its orders came from sixty different districts it could contribute little to the reestablishment of normal conditions. Indeed by constantly arresting carriages and individuals it increased the confusion. The barriers were also closed, so that little food could be brought into the markets and the octroi could not be collected. The permanent committee attempted to master the situation by dividing its own work among four bureaus and by organizing constant coöperation between itself or the electors and the districts. To bring about harmonious action was exceedingly difficult. Projects were voted but not carried into effect. One of these projects asked the districts to send a deputy each morning and evening to the Hôtel de Ville to deliberate with the electors. Had it been adopted by the districts, it might have forestalled the

¹ Flammermont, in order to relieve the fourteenth of July of the odium of this murder, suggests that it was due to private vengeance.

action of the more restless of them to replace the electors by a new assembly of delegates.¹

The district assemblies with singularly few exceptions concerned themselves with the practical problems of order. Occasionally they sent deputies or commissioners to the Hôtel de Ville to act with the electors or to report their action. One district which later opposed the establishment of any strictly representative central assembly went so far on this first day of revolution as to authorize the electors to declare themselves the representatives of the commune, with power to do anything necessary to maintain the public security.² Brissot persuaded his district to request the others to unite in creating a committee of safety, composed of six members from each. This act, however, had no immediate consequences.³

In several instances the more natural grouping by parishes was hastily adopted. This movement was strong in the parish of Saint-Séverin. The members abandoned their districts and excluded other men who had in April met at Saint-Séverin as the district headquarters. They even threatened with violence their neighbors of the parish of Saint-Germain-le-Vieil, if they did not immediately withdraw. This forced the three neighboring parishes to adopt the same system. A little later Saint-Séverin discovered that the district system was too firmly established in other parts of the city to be shaken.⁴

The most important event of the fifteenth was the choice of Lafayette as commander of the new guard and of Bailly as mayor. A deputation was sent by the National Assembly to convey the news that the king had given way completely and that the troops were to be withdrawn from Paris and Versailles. Lafayette was at the head of this delegation and Bailly was one of its prominent members. After it had been formally received and, on the proposition of the archbishop of Paris, was about to go to Notre Dame to render thanks to God by a *Te Deum* for the restoration of peace, suddenly cries were heard proclaiming Lafayette *commandant-général de la milice parisienne*, ignoring the fact that the Marquis de la Salle had already been appointed to this position. Earlier in the day among

¹ *Procès-verbal*, I, 425-427. An interesting account of the difficulty of getting out of Paris even on the fifteenth is given in Dr. Rigby's *Letters from France*, 72-83.

² This was the Prémontrés. MS. Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 1.

³ *Arrêts*, Filles Saint-Thomas, du 13 juillet 1789 (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

⁴ *District et Paroisse de St.-Severin* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). For Saint-Germain-le-Vieil, see *Mémoire*, MS. Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 6. Cf. Bibl. Nat. Mss. fr. nouv. acq. 2696, fol. 49, and Hardy, VIII, 392, 398. Hardy says the parish system was in general favor as late as July 16. Certain districts also met first as parishes. Loustallot argued a month later in *Révolutions de Paris*, no. VIII, p. 7, that the parish system was more effective.

several electors gathered about the bureau discussing the question of the command, Moreau de Saint-Méry had silently pointed to the bust of Lafayette on the mantel, and all had agreed that the defense of French liberty should be intrusted to the "Illustrious Defender of the Liberty of the New World"¹. Bailly was in the same manner proclaimed provost of the merchants, but the title was immediately changed to mayor of Paris. He stammered out a few expressions of gratitude and protested his incapacity to bear so heavy a burden. He accepted the office under the impression that he was to fill merely the place of nominal honor left vacant by the death of Flesselles, but he soon learned that the departure of Necker and the resignation of De Crosne had abandoned to the new officials both subsistence and the police. It was characteristic of Bailly that although the appointment to the office of provost of the merchants belonged to the king and although he still recognized the king's right, he adopted a waiting attitude because he was told that Paris would be displeased if he requested royal confirmation².

Both Bailly and Lafayette entered upon their duties at once. It had become evident that for the moment the most important task was to provide the city with food. If nothing was done, within two days there would be no bread. Bailly immediately passed into the committee of subsistence, which, created by the permanent committee on the fifteenth, was enlarged by the electors the following day. M. de Montaran, *intendant du commerce*, and M. Doumer, who had been purchasing wheat and flour, were also to assist in this work. M. de Crosne, who had not dared to retain his position as lieutenant-general of the police, also came until his life was in danger and he was obliged to emigrate. The task was enormous, because under the paternal theory of administration the grain trade had only for short periods of time been left to take care of itself, and consequently when, terrified by the excesses of the thirteenth and fourteenth, all the minor agents of the administration fled, a new system had to be improvised hastily to save the city from famine. It was impossible to entrust the task to experienced hands like those of M. Doumer. He had been Necker's agent, but he was associated with the old order, and distrust was so great that to give him authority in this matter would probably have led only to his own

¹ *Procès-verbal*, I, 422. The bust was the gift of the state of Virginia. Already on the thirteenth Brissot had proposed Lafayette as colonel-general of the guard. MS. Arch. Nat. W.

² Bailly, *Mémoires*, II, 39-40. Since the permanent committee had appointed La Salle commander, a delicate question would have arisen had not La Salle gracefully withdrawn, offering to serve under Lafayette. When he wrote his memoirs, Lafayette seems to have been under the impression that La Salle had resigned. II, 259.

destruction as a "detestable monopolist". The legend of the *pacte de famine* was firmly established in the popular mind. Important as this work was, Bailly's constant attendance at the committee gave the electors an opportunity to ignore their new chief, and to set an example which, followed by the subsequent assemblies, brought war into the new provisional government.¹

With a curious inconsequence the electors on the sixteenth voted the immediate demolition of the Bastille, a fortress belonging to the king, which they treated as lawful prize of war, and on the same day sent a deputation to present to him the "respect, love, and fidelity of all the inhabitants of his good town of Paris", and particularly to thank him for ordering the withdrawal of the troops and throwing himself unreservedly upon the support of the National Assembly. This was a startling indication of the extent of the revolution of the fourteenth. The royal authority was destroyed. It rested with the provisional government of Paris to say what should be done with the property of the crown within its reach.

The victory of Paris was confirmed by the coming of the king the following day. This fact furnished point to a not altogether happy bon mot of the new mayor, who handed the king the keys at one of the barriers. "These", he said, "are the same keys that were presented to Henry IV; he had reconquered his people: here it is the people which has reconquered its king." The preparation for the ceremony gave the old *bureau de la ville* an opportunity to display its ancient privileges for the last time.² The members were permitted without protest from the electors to distinguish themselves from this body by wearing the formal municipal costume. They even went so far as to raise the question whether they should present themselves on their knees. To the profuse expressions of affection and respect which the assembly gave him the king replied, "The best manner of proving your attachment to me is to reëstablish tranquility and to put the malefactors who shall be arrested into the hands of ordinary justice."³ He also expressed his pleasure that Bailly was mayor and Lafayette commander. Just as he was entering his carriage he said more formally to Lafayette that he confirmed his nomination. Lafayette, however, sought a confirmation more suited to the new order of affairs.

¹ Bailly, *Mémoires*, 70-73.

² The feeling against the *bureau de la ville* was increasing in the districts. Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois protested against receiving its propositions unless countersigned by the electors. MS. Arch. Nat. C 134. Cf. *Procès-verbal*, II, 68.

³ *Ibid.*, 102.

V.

Already on the sixteenth the interesting question of the authority of the electors to administer the affairs of the city was discussed. Two days before, the district of the Cordeliers, which later under the leadership of Danton was to wage war on the central assembly, had protested against the use of the title "permanent" by a committee strictly provisional and of which the districts must preserve the right to choose members¹. The question first presented itself upon the legality of the permanent committee, which, as was argued, had been named by citizens of all classes who happened to be in the Hôtel de Ville on the morning of the thirteenth. It was at once acknowledged that even the electors who were in the committee exercised a doubtful authority, because they had been chosen to elect deputies to the States-General, and not to administer municipal affairs. The result of the discussion was the appointment of a commission to present a plan for a "provisional committee", "which should unite to the legality of its powers a wise distribution of all municipal functions". According to ordinary principles of law this could not be done without the coöperation of the king in his council or at least of the National Assembly. The old régime and its legal basis was, however, destroyed, and for it was substituted the theory of local popular sovereignty in an extreme form.

In his attempt to organize the new military power Lafayette pointed the way to the electors, who were soon forced by popular agitation to follow. If the new organization were to be legal, he said, it must be agreed upon with him by the deputies of all the districts, who should bring to the Hôtel de Ville the general wish of the commune. At the same time he asked that the new force be called the "garde nationale de Paris". His suggestions were at once voted. Within three days this committee was organized, and, after ten days of hard work, it had the most important titles of the new regulation ready to submit to the districts for adoption, subject to such changes as experience might suggest.² The promptitude and energy with which it accomplished this work, so vitally important to the preservation of peace in Paris and even to the performance of the ordinary duties of police, is in strange contrast with the inability of the mayor and the assembly to bring anything definite to pass and to extricate themselves from the circle of their own disputes. It is true their task was more general and they were constantly interrupted by a multitude of administrative questions.

¹ *Extrait du procès-verbal . . . des Cordeliers, 14 juillet* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

² *Procès-verbal de la formation et des opérations du comité militaire de la ville de Paris* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

On the eighteenth Bailly and Lafayette asked the electors that their designation as mayor and commandant be confirmed by popular vote. Lafayette also suggested that the wishes of the citizens be obtained concerning the composition of the new municipal body. Without waiting for the report of their commission, the electors adopted a plan, only to change it at the evening session on the same day. Although they did not settle the entire question, it was decided to transform the permanent committee into a provisional committee and to ask each district to choose one member two days later.¹ This decree was sent to the districts the next morning. Already there were various independent schemes in circulation which would cause it to be regarded with circumspection. As one copy was made to do duty for several districts, the reception was even more lukewarm than might otherwise have been expected. In two or three districts there were indorsed on the copy questions as to its legality and complaints about the manner or the promptitude of delivery. One district declined to receive it at all because it was not signed by at least three electors. Most of the officials simply noted its delivery and declared its contents would be laid before the assemblies². Before stating the result of this attempt to solve the problem, it is necessary to explain the independent plans which were its rivals.

Éthis de Corny had endeavored to identify himself thoroughly with the new régime. He had taken a prominent part in the events of the fourteenth. He now turned to the districts and, making use of the formulæ of his old position as law-officer, "required" them in view of the stagnation of affairs and the lack of uniformity in their management to name one or several members, who were to form a committee empowered to maintain order and provide for necessary business. He argued that the permanent committee was in reality provisional, and that the mission of the electors was indeed terminated, as several of them had publicly declared. This requisition was printed and sent to each district³. Even if it did not fulfil its author's purpose, it served to show the districts that the solution of the problem was in their hands and that the electors could not settle it summarily.

Another plan destined to have complete success in its main features originated in the committee of the Filles Saint-Thomas, of

¹ *Procès-verbal*, II, 122-123, 128-129, 135-136.

² The several copies of the decree, with the list of the districts at which each was to be exhibited, and with the indorsements or comments of the district officials who saw them, are preserved in Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 6, folios 27-32.

³ Bibl. Nat., Mss. fr. nouv. acq. 2683.

which Brissot was president. This plan differed from the one he had suggested on the thirteenth, for much had happened since that time. The committee proposed that as the permanent committee had not received the approbation of the citizens, each district should choose two deputies, forming a committee of 120, to be associated, if the districts wished, with the permanent committee in the task of maintaining public order, and, in concert with Bailly and Lafayette, to agree upon a municipal constitution for Paris, which should be reported to the districts for their approval¹. This document was at once sent to all the districts. It was adopted on the same day, with a few changes which rendered it more hostile to the permanent committee, by the general assembly of Saint-Germain des Prés, and its influence can be traced in the action of other districts². Its final results were apparent only several days later.

Even had the new provisional committee been organized, it is doubtful if the electors would have been allowed to remain as an assembly at the Hôtel de Ville. It had occurred to sixteen districts to send their delegates new powers, but so simple a method of constituting a temporary administration was distasteful to the majority, especially to the eager politicians who hoped to succeed the electors³. Moreover, the provisional committee was never formed. Several districts chose their members, but others, perhaps confused by the letter of Éthis de Corny or preferring the plan suggested by Brissot, sent to the Hôtel de Ville from two to eight delegates. This affair did not have time to work itself out before Bailly, imitating Lafayette's example for the military organization, and doubtless with the Brissot plan before his eyes, proposed a plan of his own, which soon led to a solution.⁴

¹ *Arrêts du Comité général du dist. des Filles Saint-Thomas. Du 18 juillet* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. a *Délibération de l'assemblée générale* of same district, July 21 (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

² *Extrait des délibérations (18 juillet, 1789)* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). A comparison of the two decrees shows that the decree of Saint-Germain des Prés was the Filles Saint-Thomas decree with erasures and additions.

³ Bailly says, "beaucoup de personnes les voyaient avec peine, c'est-à dire avec envie, administrer les affaires. Chaque district administrait dans son arrondissement; ceux qui y primaient avaient l'ambition de s'élever à l'administration générale". *Mémoires*, II, 125. Bailly's later chagrins may have predisposed him to look unfavorably upon these eager ambitions. Quénard and Godard write in the same tone. Even Loustallot later appeared to regret the electors when the new statesmen gained control; see *Révolutions de Paris*, no. VII.

⁴ M. Lacroix in his notes, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, I, 17-19, also shows that the *comité provisoire* never came into existence. He remarks that the list furnished by Robiquet, *Personnel Municipal de Paris*, 33, is the list of the military committee organized July 19. But his own account of the matter is incomplete, because he has not noticed several of the documents in the case. He asks which of the two decrees, morning or evening, was executed. The copies of the decision sent on the nineteenth to the districts answer the question. They give both decrees, the afternoon decree as

Bailly did not intend to take the administration immediately out of the hands of the electors. The function of the proposed committee of 120 was first to work with Lafayette and with himself in drawing up a plan of municipal administration which was to be put into effect provisionally and later modified as the views of the districts might indicate. Bailly believed that the executive power should be left to a small body of officials, and he had no desire to replace one large assembly by another almost as large.¹ The electors understood the mayor to mean that they were to remain at the Hôtel de Ville until a new plan of government had been adopted. The districts had no such notion. In most instances they gave their new delegates powers broader than had been suggested. A few seem to have thought that the two assemblies could coexist; others were determined to have done with the electors at once, looking upon them as ambitious men anxious to preserve their positions. Some went so far as to compel their own electors to withdraw and to forbid the new delegates to take part in any committees at which electors should continue to appear. In the National Assembly Mirabeau treated these unhappy men as simple individuals without mission.²

correcting that of the morning (Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 6, folios 27-32). The afternoon decree did not, as M. Lacroix supposes, remain merely a project. He remarks that only one district, Saint-Étienne du Mont, named a deputy to this committee, although the Récollets did so unmistakably (Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 7) as well as Sainte-Élizabeth (*ibid.*, folios 15, 32, and *Procès-verbal*, II, 181) and Saint-Louis en l'Isle (Bibl. Nat. Mss. fr. nouv. acq. 2680). Moreover the Mathurins and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois decided to choose two, one not being enough (*ibid.*, 2696, fol. 51). It cannot be argued that if the districts chose more than one deputy they did not have in mind the *comité provisoire*, because in April they had sent more deputies to the electoral assembly than the rules allowed. Judging from the evidence in the Mathurins and in the Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois cases, any district that ventured to send two or more deputies to be in the bureaux into which the *comité provisoire*, like the permanent committee, would naturally be divided, intended to send the *comité provisoire*. Accordingly it is necessary to add the Bonne-Nouvelle (*Extrait de la Délibération*, 20 juillet, Bibl. Nat.), Petits-Pères (Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 6, fol. 12), Saint-Roch (Bibl. Nat. Mss. fr. nouv. acq. 2665, fol. 21). One or two others might be added without a great stretch of the imagination. The Oratoire was confused by the several schemes in circulation and sent a deputation to the mayor to ascertain the wishes of the majority of the districts "sur la députation à former pour la composition du comité permanent" (Arch. Nat. C 134, dossier 9, fol. 22). It may be added that the permanent committee in order to attenuate the suggestions of their title on the nineteenth crossed out on their printed forms the word "Permanent" and substituted "Provisoire." In a day or two the committee used new stationery from which the offending word had disappeared altogether.

¹ In his letter he speaks of Lafayette and himself as "les seuls représentants constitués légalement par élection libre et par la confirmation que nous avons sollicités". *Actes*, I, 407. It appears that when Bailly wrote his memoirs he had forgotten that in this letter he had associated Lafayette with himself as those with whom the 120 were to work. *Mémoires*, II, 125, 143.

² *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale*, for July 23, p. 14; for July 24, pp. 11, 12. Dix-Neuvième Lettre du Comte de Mirabeau à ses Commettans (*Courrier de Pro-*

The new committee or assembly which Bailly had called into existence was organized on the twenty-fifth.¹ In its message of thanks to the electors for the services they had rendered, it intimated that they were to remain in power only until the work could be provided for. Since these hints failed to convince them that their assembly was soon to be dissolved, after four days the new deputies, supported by the more demonstrative of the district politicians, voted that they should present themselves in a body in the hall of the electors, thank them for their wise and courageous conduct, and inform them that the new assembly had received power to administer the affairs of the city, and that it was ready to assume the functions it had asked the electors to exercise temporarily.²

The electors were destined to disappear in a violent political storm, victims of their own generous sentiments. A few days before they had been the helpless witnesses of two more murders.³ Foulon, a member of the short-lived July ministry, and his son-in-law, Bertier, the intendant of Paris, accused of the newly-invented crime of *lèse-nation*, had been literally torn in pieces. Now apparently it was to be the turn of another royal officer, the Baron de Besenval, who had commanded the troops on the twelfth and the thirteenth. With the king's express permission he had attempted to gain Switzerland, his native land, but had been arrested and was being brought to Paris. Necker on his return journey to Versailles had learned of Besenval's arrest and, although he could not procure his release, he had stopped for the moment his transfer to Paris. Necker also

venge), pp. 51-52. Bailly thought Mirabeau was coquetting with the districts in order to replace him as mayor. *Mémoires*, II, 154-155. For reply of electors, see *Procès-verbal*, II, 479-491.

¹ The records of the assembly, carefully edited by S. Lacroix, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, I. M. Lacroix has added invaluable notes, giving many extracts from documents impossible to obtain outside of Paris. His work serves as a sure guide to students of Revolutionary Paris.

² *Procès-verbal*, II, 531-533, *Actes*, I, 38, 40. It should be noted that many of the electors had been chosen to the new assembly and that others remained in committees for months in spite of the protest of several districts whose suspicions of every phase of incipient aristocracy were stronger than their appreciation of the value of experience in the work of administration.

³ The electors and Mayor Bailly were not without some responsibility for these murders. Bailly frankly confesses in his memoirs his own desire to avoid compromising himself. One's impression in reading his account of the matter is that he was a coward and knew it. See especially *Mémoires*, II, 89. He adds that "There was a real danger in speaking the language of justice and humanity and it was useless to brave this danger". *Ibid.*, 117, 123. Lafayette, who was a brave man, but whose action was hampered by a remarkably acute consciousness of popularity, wrote years later that there was at the time "no other means of repression than personal ascendancy" and that there were in the city about 6,000 deserters and 30,000 vagabonds. *Mémoires*, II, 275. Cf. Godard, *Exposé*, 3.

seized the opportunity of his own triumphal reception in Paris to protest before the new assembly and before the electors against proscriptions and to plead Besenval's right to proceed to Switzerland. The deputies, moved by the appeal, instantly voted that Besenval be allowed to avail himself of the king's permission. Two deputies volunteered to carry the order. Necker repeated his appeal to the electors, who were still more deeply stirred by it. They declared in the name of the inhabitants of the capital that Paris pardoned all her enemies, and they further declared that only those were enemies of the nation who by excesses disturbed the public order¹. This extraordinary proceeding drew upon the electors a cloud of condemnation. The city was in an uproar. The district of the Oratoire, urged on by a crowd of spectators, passed a decree nullifying the acts of both the assembly and the electors and despatched a courier to prevent Besenval's release. Another district sent a deputation to the National Assembly to protest against the scheme of amnesty, which it attributed to the electors. Both the electors and the assembly, frightened at the uprising of the revolutionary element, either repealed or attenuated their decrees. It was in the midst of the echoes of this uproar that the electors finally disappeared from the scene as an organized body.²

VI.

It must not be inferred that the electors had since the sixteenth or seventeenth of July been concerned chiefly with the question whether they should remain at the Hôtel de Ville or be replaced by a new assembly of deputies. Undoubtedly they could have more readily solved this problem had not the burden of administering the city and of reëstablishing normal conditions rested upon them or upon their committees of police and subsistence. One of the dangers to the peace of the city was the presence of so large a number of unemployed workmen and of vagabonds who had armed themselves during the first days of the Revolution and who were the ever-ready recruits of each recurring mob. The troubles had paralyzed business and had interrupted industry. It had become difficult for

¹ Bailly had with characteristic timidity advised Necker not to raise so delicate a question. For the record of the new assembly's action, see *Actes*, I, 46-52.

² Gorsas, *Courrier de Versailles à Paris*, no. XXV; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. III, 352 ff. Mirabeau again criticized the electors in the National Assembly, *Courrier de Pro ence*, no. XXI. The new assembly sent a deputation to the National Assembly, asking for a special tribunal to try such cases as Besenval's, particularly in order that the people might not permit themselves "aucun acte capable de détruire des preuves importantes, en troublant l'ordre indispensable pour les obtenir," that is, put less euphemistically, should not murder men on mere suspicion. *Actes*, I, 62.

employers to receive back their workmen, who for lack of bread drifted toward vagabondism. To leave a large body of such men armed was dangerous. And it was not safe to allow them to pass the barriers and spread themselves through the country, as they were likely to do if the work of disarmament was unwisely begun. It was first settled that all such persons should be disarmed at the barriers. To settle the larger question a method was adopted for all the districts which had been proposed in the district of Saint-Germain des Prés. A notice was posted that the district would buy the guns of all workmen who would bring a certificate that they had returned to work. From July 20 to August 3 a single district purchased 250 muskets and twelve pistols.¹

Another danger grew out of the fact that the courts had ceased to act. The prisons were rapidly being filled with persons arrested on suspicion. The engineers of disorder had little fear that they would be swiftly called to account. To correct the evil the electors on the twentieth formally sent several prisoners to the Châtelet with the request that justice take its ordinary course.² In order to reassure the public mind, constantly alarmed by rumors of plots and insurrections, they also ordered that the theaters be reopened in spite of the threat of several districts to prevent this by force until after Necker's return.³

Although their retention of power was so brief, they were obliged to regulate provisionally the liberty of the press. The permanent committee had authorized the admission to the city of all pamphlets and newspapers. Some of these had proved to be virulent libels. Accordingly the electors laid down the principle "that every citizen is free to print and publish any work whatsoever, if he signs it and is ready to answer for it". When libels began to circulate touching the king himself, they specifically recalled the permission so freely

¹ *Procès-verbal*, II, 125, 157-158. Cf. purchases by Saint-Roch, Bibl. Nat. Mss. fr. nouv. acq. 2670, fol. 55.

² *Procès-verbal*, II, 235, 281-282. Cf. Brissot's *Patriote français* for July 30, p. 3. Many of the arrests had been ordered by the committee of police, one of the four bureaux of the permanent committee, which continued in power nearly four months. One of its members afterward described its action as "the justice of savage peoples, exercised by enlightened men, who were not allowed a moment for reflection and to whom would not have been pardoned the slightest uncertainty or the least delay". This member was Fauchet, who perished with the Girondins in 1793. His reminiscences were given to Godard, *Exposé*, 12-15. The operations of the committee were not so favorably regarded by all, for example, the royalist writer Rivarol in *Journal Politique-National des États-Généraux*, I, 150-151. He spoke of the Parisians demolishing the Bastille with one hand and with the other filling the prisons with poor bourgeois about whom the royal government had never concerned itself.

³ *Procès-verbal*, II, 193-194, 229-230.

given by the committee and ordered the arrest of all distributors of printed matter upon which the name of the printer did not appear, and that the printers should be held responsible in cases where the author was not known, a decree that excited lively protests.¹

The most serious problem was the food supply. This was intrusted to the committee on subsistence, but the electors themselves were obliged to lend their aid. One of the greatest difficulties was the pillaging of convoys of wheat on the Rouen road and the stopping by district officers of grain wagons sent out to Corbeil and other mill towns. Moreover the agents whom the government had formerly employed in supervising the grain supply were now discredited and in actual danger of being murdered. All dealers in grain were likewise in terror. The farmers kept their wheat in their barns because they feared that if they attempted to market it they would be plundered on the road. Before Necker had been dismissed, the government had been buying abroad and selling at a daily loss of 1,800 livres, in spite of the fact that bread was at fourteen and a half sous for four pounds. In the midst of the trouble the increasing distress in Paris led the multitude to cry out for cheaper bread. The committee on subsistence, alarmed at the situation, recommended that the price be reduced to twelve sous, and Bailly, although he disapproved such action, since it would increase the daily cost to the government to a total of from 25,000 to 30,000 livres, signed the measure to please the people and to "merit its confidence". The electors, however, were unwilling to go so far, and voted that the price should be thirteen and one-half sous. Even this concession was burdensome, because, owing to the disorder and especially to the armed intervention of the faubourgs, the collection of the octroi could not be fully reestablished, so that three weeks later the government was losing about 40,000 livres a week².

After the victory of Paris over the king and his advisers the city became a power greater than the prostrate and disorganized monarchy, and for a time the rival of the National Assembly itself. Towns, particularly those in its neighborhood, asked for authority to form a citizen guard or to reorganize their government. The

¹ *Ibid.*, 185, 353-354, 367-368. Cf. *Révolutions de Paris*, no. IV, pp. 9-11. The committee of police forbade publications of engravings that had not been approved by Robin, of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture. *Journal de Paris*, August 3.

² *Procès-verbal*, II, 168-169, 256-268, 283-285, 432-433; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II, 96-98, 148, 252; Gorsas, *Courrier de Versailles*, no. XVI. On August 20 threats were made in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to oppose force by force if the municipality attempted an effective collection. *Actes*, I, 288-289. Smugglers and petty traders, and the poor generally, saw in these taxes an intolerable burden.

electors uniformly disclaimed jurisdiction and limited themselves to advice simply¹.

The period during which the electors directed the affairs of Paris was so short and so occupied either with the defense of the city and the restoration of order or with the puzzling question of giving themselves successors that there was little opportunity for purely municipal problems to be discussed. The antagonism which was later to arise between the central assembly and the district assemblies or between the central assembly and the mayor did not have time to develop. What appeared most clearly therefore was the determination of the Paris bourgeoisie to have some part in the management of their own affairs rather than await quietly the remedies which might be proposed in the States-General. It is also clear that the men they chose to represent them were conservative, partly it may be through a natural fear of assuming an unwonted responsibility, but partly also through a habitual respect for established authority. The curious way in which this respect is mingled with extreme revolutionary theories and sentiments is not the least interesting of the phenomena. No one can read the story of these days without thinking it fortunate that the electors had decided to remain in session after their proper work was completed, for, had they not been ready to assume direction, the confusion must have been far more serious and its results disastrous.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

¹ For examples see *Procès-verbal*, II, 186-187, 192-193, 217, 219-220.

THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE-HIDALGO

THE treaty of peace with Mexico was signed February 2, 1848, at the town of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. It has appended to it the name of but one American, that of Nicholas P. Trist, who admitted that he had no authority at the time to represent the United States. The government at Washington had canceled his powers, denied his authority, and ordered him to leave the headquarters of the invading army and return home. Various views have been published regarding his actions. Trist has been called a far-sighted patriot, who by disobeying orders sacrificed his own reputation in order that he might put an end to the Mexican War and give to his country the legitimate fruits of victory. His motives have, on the other hand, been represented as based upon inordinate vanity, which blinded him to the manifest obligations of his mission and gave his name a distinction which his character by no means justified. It is the purpose of this paper to trace the history of the negotiations of which the Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty was the result in the light of the mass of correspondence to be found in the archives of the Department of State, a part of which has never been printed. The diary of James K. Polk, a manuscript copy of which is in the Lenox Library, New York, furnishes a running commentary upon the peace negotiations, and by it the President of fifty years ago takes us into his confidence as fully as he did his own cabinet.¹

The history of the Mexican War, aside from the purely military part of it, has been written chiefly as a chapter in the history of the slavery question. The momentous national issues which pressed for attention even before Polk retired from office have given a twist to the many accounts of the period from 1845 to 1848. Books appearing soon after the event, animated not by a spirit of unbiased historical investigation, but written with the professed purpose of presenting a brief against the aggressions of slavery, have furnished in large measure the materials for the history of the period. The treatment of the subject of the Mexican War in the "reviews" of Jay² and

¹ Acknowledgment is here made to the authorities of the Lenox Library for permission to use parts of Polk's diary.

² William Jay, *A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War* (Boston, 1849).

Livermore¹, well-constructed as they were and widely distributed, and fortified by an examination of published documents and newspapers, has grown into the narrative of Von Holst.

When Congress was told that by the act of Mexico there existed a state of war, and that Santa Anna was permitted to pass into Vera Cruz, Polk and his advisers were convinced that the war would be a short one, perhaps not ninety days in length. The diary informs us that when Polk came into office he had already made up his mind to acquire California. A plan developed by which he believed the acquisition might be made by peaceful negotiation. Claims against Mexico, under discussion as far back as Jackson's time, furnished the groundwork of the plan; the joint resolution annexing Texas gave the President something to build upon. By that act the determination of the boundaries of Texas rested with the United States. Mexico could not pay the claims in cash; the Texan boundary was unsettled. The idea of territorial indemnity was an irresistible conclusion: let her pay in land.

Two weeks after Polk was inaugurated, a secret agent, William S. Parrott, left Washington for Mexico to prepare a way for the reopening of diplomatic relations. By autumn the reports of the agent led Polk to believe that Mexico would receive a representative from the United States. John Black, the United States consul at the City of Mexico, wrote to Buchanan that he had positive and official assurance that the Mexican ministry was favorable to an adjustment of the questions in dispute between the two republics. The consul's letter was received November 9; on the tenth John Slidell, who had been selected by Polk two months previously,² was sent upon "one of the most delicate and important [missions] which has ever been confided to a citizen of the United States", one which, if successful, Buchanan told him, would establish for the envoy "an enviable reputation" and do an "immense service" for his country.³ This was no sham mission. Parrott, the secret agent, had reported that Mexico would not fight. The notoriously peaceful proclivities of the Mexican president, Herrera, warranted the hope that some sort of a settlement might be quickly arranged. "An Envoy possessing suitable qualifications for this Court", wrote Parrott, "might with comparative ease,

¹ Abiel Abbot Livermore, *The War with Mexico Reviewed* (Boston, 1850).

² Buchanan to Slidell, September 17, 1845; Slidell to Buchanan, September 25, 1845. See George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, I, 591.

³ Buchanan to Slidell, November 10, 1845; called for by resolution of the House, January 4, 1848, and refused by Polk, January 13, 1848; see H. Ex. Doc. 60, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 770; also No. 25, p. 1; printed in S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 71, with the correspondence concerning the treaty of peace with Mexico.

settle, *over a breakfast*, the most important national question."¹ The instructions to John Slidell covered more than Mexico anticipated. No sooner had the envoy appeared in Vera Cruz than broadsides scattered over the City of Mexico told of his plans: to negotiate with the Mexican government for the sale of Texas, New Mexico, and the Californias.² Such in fact were Slidell's instructions. He was authorized to assume the claims, fix the boundary of the United States at the Rio Grande, and obtain the cession of New Mexico and Upper California for a sum not to exceed twenty-five millions of dollars.³ The administration of Herrera, weaker even than most revolutionary governments in Mexico, was accused of a traitorous attempt at the disintegration of the country. To save itself from revolution it refused to receive Slidell because his powers were too great, since he was named as minister instead of as commissioner *ad hoc* to settle the Texas question, and by so doing Herrera countered Polk's policy. The refusal, however, did not improve the situation. The peaceful Herrera gave way to the warlike Paredes. Polk, in anticipation of Slidell's ultimate failure, ordered Taylor to the Rio Grande. Instead of calling Slidell home, he was directed to make further efforts to obtain recognition. Buchanan wrote to Slidell, March 12, 1846⁴:

The Oregon question is rapidly approaching a crisis. By the Steam Packet which will leave Liverpool on the 4th April, if not by that which left on the 4th instant, the President expects information which will be decisive on the subject. The prospect is that our differences with Great Britain may be peacefully adjusted, though this is by no means certain. Your return to the United States before the result is known, would produce considerable alarm in the public mind and might possibly exercise an injurious influence on our relations with Great Britain.

By the time this letter was read by Slidell he had exhausted all pretexts for remaining in Mexico and was on his way home. The plan of acquiring California by peaceful means was a failure.

¹ Parrott to Buchanan, August 26, 1845, received September 16, 1845. MS., Department of State Archives, Despatches, Mexico, vol. 12. It will be noticed that this letter from Parrott was received the day before Buchanan wrote to Slidell, offering him the Mexican mission.

² A copy of this broadside, called *La Voz del Pueblo*, was sent to Buchanan by Slidell. It bears date of December 3, 1845, and is headed: "La traicion se ha descubierto! . . . Mr. Slidell, ministro nombrado por los Estados-Unidos, para arreglar con el gobierno actual la venta de Tejas, Nuevo-Mexico y las Californias." Slidell's first letter from the City of Mexico, dated December 17, 1845, was received by Buchanan January 12, 1846. Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande the following day.

³ Buchanan to Slidell, November 10, 1845, S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 71.

⁴ Buchanan to Slidell, March 12, 1846, MS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State, Instructions, Mexico, vol. 16, p. 43.

"War . . . exists by the act of Mexico", Polk informed Congress May 11, 1846. Immediately orders were issued to permit Santa Anna, then in exile and under sentence of death, to pass into Vera Cruz¹. A great war was not contemplated, but a war just big enough to realize the plan of territorial indemnity. Santa Anna, it had been reported to the President, would make certain concessions rather than see Mexico ruled by a foreign prince; he preferred a friendly arrangement to the ravages of war. Santa Anna passed the American blockade; Vera Cruz received him as a hero, and he proceeded to the capital as the savior of the nation. By the middle of August he was in command of the Mexican forces and president *ad interim* of the Mexican Republic. Hardly had he arrived at the City of Mexico when Buchanan's note was submitted to him, suggesting that peace negotiations be forthwith begun.² The offer was declined.³ Santa Anna as a military chieftain was not Santa Anna in exile. Buchanan's answer to the refusal was that henceforth the war would be prosecuted with vigor until Mexico offered to make terms.⁴ From now on the war was waged in earnest. It appeared no longer to be a little war. Scott took command of the army, and the storm-center shifted from the northern provinces to Vera Cruz. And yet Mexico gave no sign of a desire for peace. Polk therefore was again compelled to make overtures for settlement, and this time by offering a specific proposition. In January Buchanan wrote to the Mexican minister of foreign affairs that although making "a renewed overture for peace" might "be regarded by the world as too great a concession to Mexico, yet he" was "willing to subject himself to this reproach". If Mexico so agreed he would send commissioners either to Havana or to Jalapa clothed with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace and given authority to suspend hostilities and raise blockades as soon as the Mexican commissioners met them.⁵ The Mexican answer was in spirit like its predecessors: Mexico would appoint commissioners as suggested, but not until the blockades were raised and all the territory of the Mexican Republic evacuated by the invading army.⁶ Such an answer was tantamount to a refusal, and so Polk considered it. When, in the middle of April, news of the fall of Vera Cruz reached Washington, it

¹ George Bancroft to Commodore David Conner, May 13, 1846, H. Ex. Doc. 25, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 5.

² Buchanan to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 27, 1846, *Congressional Globe*, 29 Congress, 2 Session, Appendix, 24.

³ The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs to Buchanan, August 31, 1846, *ibid.*

⁴ Buchanan to same, September 26, 1846, *ibid.*

⁵ Buchanan to same, January 18, 1847, S. Ex. Doc. 1, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 36.

⁶ Monasterio to Buchanan, February 22, 1847, *ibid.*, 37.

was thought that Santa Anna could no longer refuse to negotiate, for the American arms were everywhere victorious, and Scott's army was on the march toward the capital.

Now was the time, in Polk's strange phrase, to "conquer a peace". Buchanan informed Mexico that the offer to negotiate would not be renewed (strong language until the context is heard) until the President had reason to believe that it would be accepted by the Mexican government. "The President . . . devoted . . . to honorable peace", so wrote Buchanan to the Mexican minister of foreign affairs,¹ "is determined that the evils of the war shall not be protracted one day longer than shall be rendered absolutely necessary by the Mexican republic. For the purpose of carrying this determination into effect with the least possible delay, he will forthwith send to the head-quarters of the army in Mexico, Nicholas P. Trist, esq., the officer next in rank to the undersigned in our department of foreign affairs, as a commissioner, invested with full powers to conclude a definite treaty of peace with the United Mexican States." Thus did Polk act upon a plan for negotiation by an agent not confirmed by the Senate, a method quite without precedent or parallel. The appointment of public commissioners might only subject the United States to the indignity of another refusal and give the Mexicans encouragement in their opinion concerning the President's motives for desiring the termination of the war. Influenced by these considerations, he hit upon the plan of sending "to the head-quarters of the army a confidential agent, fully acquainted with the views of this government, and clothed with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace with the Mexican government, should it be so inclined". He would be enabled in that case "to take advantage, at the propitious moment, of any favorable circumstances which might dispose that government to peace".² In the selection of this agent the President again proceeded upon altogether unusual lines. General Scott is authority for the statement that Polk wanted Silas Wright to undertake the mission, intimating that Scott would be Wright's associate.³ This was surely a strange selection, for Wright was a well-known advocate of the Wilmot Proviso, and Scott was personally obnoxious to the President. "Scott", said Polk, "is utterly unqualified for such a business."⁴ No man of national prominence could be expected to assume the rôle of a confidential

¹ Buchanan to Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 15, 1847, *ibid.*, 38-39. Also in Raphael Semmes, *Service Afloat and Ashore, during the Mexican War*, 303-306.

² Buchanan to Trist, April 15, 1847, S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 81.

³ Scott's *Autobiography*, II, 576.

⁴ Polk's diary, July 15, 1847.

agent to accompany the army and jump at a propitious moment to conclude a treaty. The chief clerk of Buchanan's department, personally little known to the President, was selected for the mission, a man with but meager training in diplomatic affairs, anything but robust in health, irritable, suspicious, timid, and, moreover, given to great verbosity of statement.

Nicholas Philip Trist was a Virginian by birth and was for a time a cadet at West Point. He did not graduate, however, but began the study of law under Jefferson, whose granddaughter he had married. At twenty-eight he was a clerk in the Treasury Department when Jackson selected him as his private secretary. After a short service in that capacity he was consul at Havana for eight years, whence he was recalled on the ground that he had aided the slave-trade.¹ Soon after the beginning of Polk's administration, he was made chief clerk of the State Department, and during his service there he appeared as a hard-working administrative officer in the department presided over by the somewhat timid Buchanan and really directed by the energetic Polk. The chief clerk gave evidence of uncompromising loyalty to the President and thorough sympathy with his plans. His selection for this delicate mission was probably due not so much to Polk's overestimation of Trist's diplomatic abilities as to an underestimate of the difficulties of the undertaking. It had appeared a simple thing to send Slidell to Mexico as the representative of a strong power to strike a bargain, through claims and a bonus, for the cession of New Mexico and California—how could so "feeble and distracted a nation as Mexico" refuse a liberal cash offer? The answer to that question had been war. Now that Congress had placed three millions of dollars in Polk's hands for the "speedy and honorable conclusion of the war", the President seemed to think that to negotiate a peace treaty upon terms dictated by himself was a mere clerical act for an agent accompanying a victorious army.

Whatever may have been the oral instructions which Trist received from the President, the official letter from Buchanan gave him small discretionary powers. Trist was handed a projet of a treaty, and with it the statement that the extension of the boundaries of the United States over New Mexico and Upper California was to be considered a *sine qua non* of any treaty. What Buchanan had authorized Slidell to do before the war began was now, thanks to

¹ Trist was commissioned consul at Havana April 24, 1833. Tyler ordered his recall June 22, 1841. There is a mass of correspondence connecting Trist with aiding the slave-trade attached to a complaint from Fox to Forsyth, February 12, 1840; MS. Notes from British Legation to the Department of State.

the victorious advance of the army, made an ultimatum. Trist was authorized to pay in addition to the claims not more than twenty millions for the cession of New Mexico and Upper California; not more than five millions additional for Lower California; while the right of transit and passage over Tehuantepec was held to be worth another five millions, the consideration to be paid in annual instalments of three millions each. In any event the southwestern boundary was, of course, to be the Rio Grande. What Slidell had been authorized to offer twenty-five millions for, Trist was instructed to secure for twenty. The provisions as to Lower California and the right of transit over Tehuantepec were new, no mention of them having been made when Slidell was sent upon his mission. The projet accompanying Trist's instructions contained eleven articles covering the points just referred to. The third article provided that as soon as the treaty was ratified by Mexico, the military and naval commanders of both sides should be informed of the action as quickly as possible, after which an immediate suspension of hostilities should take place. Such was the expression of Polk's idea of "conquering a peace". Pending the negotiations of peace the United States was not to bind itself to discontinue offensive operations against Mexico; hostilities were not to cease until Mexico had actually ratified the peace treaty upon our own terms.¹

The confidential agent and commissioner left the capital for Mexico, and soon Buchanan began to receive Trist's long and tediously circumstantial communications. From New Orleans he wrote a dozen pages minutely describing his trip and the dangers of the journey from Mobile thither. Arrived at Vera Cruz, May 6, he quickly despatched two more reports, filled with his views upon the officers of the army and things in general. Illness seems to have held him for a while, as his next letter is from Jalapa, dated two weeks later. By this time he was involved in a high-tempered and wordy epistolary quarrel with the commanding general. Trist had been directed by Buchanan to communicate his instructions in confidence to Scott and to deliver to him Buchanan's letter for transmission to the Mexican minister of foreign affairs. Instead of waiving formalities and putting himself on friendly and confidential terms with Scott, Trist immediately on his arrival at Vera Cruz sent the American commander a note inclosing the letter from Buchanan sealed and with it orders from Marcy. Scott was ever suspicious of the administration at Washington, and now he opened the vials of his wrath upon the commissioner. He was ordered by the secretary

¹ Buchanan's projet, S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 85-89.

of war to yield to Trist the right to decide upon the suspension of military operations. It is doubtful if a more astounding order was ever sent to a commanding officer in the field, and Scott replied to Trist that the secretary of war proposed to degrade him by requiring that he, as commander of the army, should defer to the chief clerk of the Department of State the question of continuing or discontinuing hostilities.¹ Consequently Scott returned the sealed letter from the Department of State and, as a purely military question, declined to obey the order of the secretary of war, unless Trist was clothed with military rank over him. The next month was spent by the commissioner in writing voluminous letters to Scott, which the latter answered in kind. Trist lectured the general upon his lack of respect for the commissioner sent by the President. Scott replied that Trist's letter was such a farrago of insolence, conceit, and arrogance as to be a choice specimen of diplomatic literature and manners. "The Jacobin convention of France never sent to one of its armies in the field a more amiable and accomplished instrument. If you were armed with an ambulatory guillotine, you would be the personification of Danton, Marat, and St. Just, all in one."² On June 4 Scott wrote to Marcy, asking to be recalled, owing to the many "cruel disappointments and mortifications," he had "been made to feel since" leaving "Washington, and the total want of support and sympathy on the part of the War Department"³. The administration responded with orders to each to cease the disgraceful quarrel and to join in carrying out the plans of the government.

Much of this quarrel doubtless had its origin in politics. The military history of the Mexican War is largely made up of jealousy and its consequent wrangles, which, ending in arrests and courts-martial, were transferred from the field of operations to Washington. "The truth is", Polk wrote in his diary, June 12, "I have been compelled from the beginning to conduct the war against Mexico through the agency of two generals, highest in rank, who have not only no sympathies with the government, but are hostile to my administration. Both of them have assumed to control the government. To this I will not submit and will as certainly remove General Scott from the chief command as he shall refuse or delay to obey the order borne him by Mr. Trist."⁴ For some time, however,

¹ Scott to Trist, May 7, 1847, *ibid.*, 157-159.

² Scott to Trist, May 29, 1847, *ibid.*, 172.

³ Scott to Marcy, June 4, 1847, *ibid.*, 129-131.

⁴ Marcy to Scott, July 12, 1847, *ibid.*, 131; Buchanan to Trist, July 13, 1847, *ibid.*, 113.

⁵ Polk's diary, June 12, 1847.

as their despatches show, Trist and Scott continued their unseemly altercation. "Between them", the diary says, "the orders of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of State have been disregarded and the danger has become imminent that the golden moment for concluding a peace with Mexico may have passed."¹ The President was for recalling both Scott and Trist, but the cabinet was unanimous in the opinion that it would be bad policy to do so. Realizing Trist's inefficiency, Polk then suggested that Soulé or Jefferson Davis be associated with him, but nothing came of the suggestion.²

Writing from Puebla, June 13, Trist stated that he had had no intercourse with Scott for a month, although he had been near him for more than that time. His next letter, dated July 7, in which he is supposed to have given his reasons for making peace with the general, was never received at Washington. Scott made no report to the secretary of war from June 4 to July 25. At that time each asked that the correspondence relating to the quarrel be suppressed.⁴ What caused the reconciliation, so far as their letters show, must remain a mystery. During the time in which Trist and Scott were quarreling, Trist asked the British minister, Bankhead, and Thornton, the British secretary of legation, to transmit to the Mexican authorities Buchanan's letter, which Scott had refused to receive. Bankhead and Thornton readily acquiesced in his request and forwarded the letter to Ibarra, the acting minister of foreign affairs. In a few days the commissioner received through the same channel of communication the answer of the Mexican government. It was that the determination of the question of peace must rest with the Mexican congress.⁵

So far there was no reason to believe the way open for negotiations. Santa Anna sent a message to congress in which he peremptorily ordered it to state whether or not any propositions for peace should be listened to.³ When the Mexican congress scattered and made no answer to the message, Santa Anna informed Mackintosh, the British consul at the City of Mexico, that as he was abandoned by congress, he must, as military chief, endeavor to make

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, July 9, 1847.

³ Trist to Buchanan, June 13, 1847, S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 178-181.

⁴ Scott to Marcy, July 25, 1847: "Since about the 26th ultimo, our intercourse has been frequent and cordial; and I have found him [Trist] able, discreet, courteous, and amiable." *Ibid.*, 135. Trist to Buchanan, July 23, 1847: Scott's "character I now believe that I had entirely misconceived." *Ibid.*, 302.

⁵ Ibarra to Trist, June 22, 1847.

⁶ Santa Anna to the Mexican Congress, July 16, 1847. S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 302-305.

peace.¹ His secret agents then intimated to Trist that while nothing could be done without the use of money, yet if a million dollars were placed in his hands at the conclusion of the peace and ten thousand immediately, commissioners would be sent to meet the American commissioner and negotiations begun.² It was at this juncture that Scott and Trist began to be upon the most friendly terms, and Trist was a welcome guest at Scott's headquarters. Trist reported to Buchanan, upon the authority of Thornton, that Santa Anna would let Scott advance close to the City of Mexico and then negotiate.³ What was not reported was that Scott paid the ten thousand dollars of earnest-money after consultation with his officers.⁴ The matter did not come to Polk's attention until December, when General Pillow, enraged at what Polk called Scott's persecution of that officer, wrote of it to the President.⁵ Scott reported the expenditures as those for secret service and asserted that he had never tempted the honor or patriotism of any man, but held it as lawful in morals as in war to purchase valuable information or services voluntarily tendered him.⁶ "General Scott's answer is evasive", is the entry in the diary, "and leaves the irresistible inference that such a transaction took place and that it will not bear the light."⁷ Writing to Buchanan, July 23, Trist copied a letter received by him from an unnamed source. Trist's correspondent, in whom undoubtedly the commissioner placed great confidence, wrote: "Santa Anna is afraid to make peace now and cannot. M———⁸ can do nothing with him, even with the aid he possesses from you. S. A. now says se-

¹ Thornton to Trist, July 29, 1847, MS. copy, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

² Ripley's *War with Mexico*, II, 148-170; Polk's diary, December 18, 1847.

³ Trist to Buchanan, July 23, 1847, MS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

⁴ Ripley's *War with Mexico*, II, 148-170. General Shields, however, told Polk that Trist was not present at the conference. Polk's diary, December 28, 1847.

⁵ Polk's diary, February 16, 1848: "The chief clerk of the War Department brought to me today a letter received from Majr. Genl. Pillow, dated at the City of Mexico on the 18th. of January in answer to a letter of the Secretary of War addressed to him in relation to certain proceedings of General Scott and Mr. Trist at Puebla in July last concerning an attempt to use money without any authority or sanction of the government, to bribe the authorities in Mexico, to secure peace. This letter discloses some astounding facts in relation to that infamous transaction and must lead to a further investigation." In the letters-received book of the War Department is the following entry under date of March 31, 1848: "Pillow, Maj. Genl. G. J., Mexico, Jany. 18, 1848. In answer to letter of Sec. War Dec. 24, 1847 and relates to negotiations carried on at Puebla in July and Aug. 47." The letter referred to cannot be found in the War Department.

⁶ Scott to Marcy, February 6, 1848. H. Ex. Doc. 60, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 1085. There is some discrepancy in the date.

⁷ Polk's diary, February 19, 1848.

⁸ Mackintosh?

cretly that he shall allow your army to approach this city [Mexico], even as far as the Peñon, and then endeavour to make peace."¹ The advance of the army, however, was by no means unobstructed. The decisive victory at Contreras, followed by that at Churubusco, opened the way to the capital. Instead of pushing on to clinch the former victories, as the rules of military science would seem to have dictated, Scott halted his army and proposed an armistice. Was this done, as Scott said, lest the elements of peace might be scattered, or was it with the expectation that Santa Anna, with a part of the consideration cash in hand, would carry out the balance of the bargain? Through the good offices of Thornton, who with Bankhead and Mackintosh played a large part in all these negotiations, the armistice became effective August 24. Santa Anna appointed as commissioners four well-known peace men to meet the American commissioner.

The opportunity for which Trist had been waiting since May was now presented. Santa Anna's commissioners met him as agreed. No further evidence of Trist's utter incapacity is needed than his own account of the conferences. Two days before the first meeting he made known to Santa Anna that in order to secure the boundary defined in his projet, with the right of transit over the isthmus, he was authorized and willing to go as high as the highest sum named in his instructions. This amount, he said, might be paid in such a way as to enable Santa Anna to convert all of it into cash as soon as the treaty was ratified.² Such an unfortunate admission had the result he might have expected. Santa Anna's commissioners submitted a counter-projet conceding nothing but Upper California north of the thirty-seventh parallel, for which the United States was expected to assume the claims and pay a bonus³. The Mexican commissioners insisted on the Nueces as a boundary, declaring that if peace were established it must be at that river. Trist hesitated and then offered to refer the question to Washington, thereby proposing to extend the armistice for at least forty-five days.⁴ No more flagrant disobedience of orders was ever committed. The war had been begun and waged upon the theory that the Rio Grande was the ancient boundary of Texas. What persuaded Trist to submit the matter for further instructions is incomprehensible. He himself

¹ Trist to Buchanan, July 23, 1847, P. S., July 25. MS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Mexico, Vol. 14.

² Trist to Buchanan, September 4, 1847, MS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

³ S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 339.

⁴ The Mexican Commissioners to the Minister of Relations, September 7, 1847, *Ibid.*, 344-346.

explained it by saying that the Mexican commissioners led him to believe that a part of New Mexico would be ceded if the Nueces were accepted as a boundary. There was no reasonable foundation in fact, however, for any such belief, for Mexico demanded Trist's decision within three days upon the counter-projet, by the terms of which New Mexico was to remain a Mexican province. Before that short time had elapsed Santa Anna's violations of the armistice became so notorious that Scott gave notice of its termination. The American army moved toward the capital and entered it only after two of the bloodiest battles of the war. Santa Anna's army was scattered and without a leader. Notwithstanding all this, Trist was blind to Santa Anna's duplicity. As late as September 27 he wrote that he was perfectly convinced of Santa Anna's sincere desire for peace, but that peace was an impossibility upon the terms of Buchanan's instructions.¹ The armistice was a strategic blunder, giving Santa Anna opportunity to mass his forces for the defense of the capital, and the heavy losses suffered by Scott's army at Molino del Rey were the price paid for it. The overtures for peace displayed the gullibility of Trist, whose persistent belief that Santa Anna once bought would stay bought led him to ignore his instructions and to disobey Polk's most positive orders.

Before Trist's reports of his inglorious conferences reached Washington, Polk had read the Mexican accounts of the affair sent from Vera Cruz. The President at once ordered Trist's recall. "Mr. Trist is recalled", says the diary, "because his remaining longer with the army could not probably accomplish the objects of his mission, and because his remaining longer might and probably would impress the Mexican government with the belief that the United States are so anxious for peace, that they would ultimate[ly] conclude one upon Mexican terms. Mexico must now sue for peace and when she does, we will hear her proposition."² Trist's actions had surely merited his recall, but Polk's policy of continually making overtures, first by a series of notes suggesting peace and finally by sending a commissioner, gave Mexico exactly the belief which Polk attributed to Trist's blundering efforts alone. The policy was ill-advised and its instrument incompetent.

The occupation of the City of Mexico, September 14, completely changed the complexion of affairs. Two days later Santa Anna resigned the presidency, and by so doing removed the one great obstacle to peace. Within a week after Santa Anna's abdication

¹ Trist to Buchanan, September 27, 1847, *ibid.*, 201.

² Polk's diary, October 5, 1847. Trist's despatch of September 4 was received October 21.

plans were well under way for the reorganization of the government under the auspices of well-known *moderados*. Before it had been accomplished Trist again asked the Mexican commissioners to meet him. A month elapsed before he had an answer, and he asked Buchanan for permission to return home, as the weakness of the new government might keep him "hanging here for an indefinite period" without accomplishing anything.¹ Buchanan's letter of recall reached Trist November 16. Trist acknowledged it, waived for the moment any defense of his actions, and stated that he would start home at once. Following hard upon the receipt of his recall Trist received word, again through Thornton, that the new Mexican administration had appointed commissioners.² He replied, November 24, that, as he was about to return to the United States, whatever overtures Mexico desired to make would be forwarded through Scott to Washington.³ Despite this statement and notwithstanding his orders to return, he began immediately to negotiate with the Mexican commissioners upon the basis of his original instructions. The reasons for this change in plans are set forth in a letter of sixty pages written December 6.⁴ This letter was certainly of a character to arouse the President's indignation. The diary describes it as "impudent, arrogant, very insulting to the government and personally offensive to the President". The writer of it was "destitute of honor or principle and contemptibly base". "It is manifest to me", wrote Polk, "that he has become the tool of General Scott and his menial instrument and that the paper was written at Scott's instance and direction. I directed the Secretary of War to write to Major General Butler [who had superseded Scott], directing him, if Mr. Trist was still with the headquarters of the army, to order him off and to inform the authorities of Mexico that he had no authority to treat."⁵ Scott, writing at the same time, said: "No proposition has been made to me, looking to a peace, by the federal government of this republic, or its commissioners; the latter understood to be still in this city. I have not seen them."⁶

This long despatch of Trist's doubtless justified Polk's suspicion that Scott instigated it. While Trist said that the government would be left at liberty to disavow his act, he set forth his reasons for

¹ Trist to Buchanan, October 31, 1847, S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 213.

² Thornton to Trist, November 22, 1847, and to Peña y Peña, November 24, 1847, *ibid.*, 231.

³ Trist to Peña y Peña, November 24, 1847, *ibid.*

⁴ Trist to Buchanan, December 6, 1847, received January 15, 1848, *ibid.*, 231-266

⁵ Polk's diary, January 15, 1848.

⁶ Scott to Marcy, December 4, 1847, H. Ex. Doc. 60, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 1033-1035.

reopening negotiations as: 1, that peace was still the desire of the President; 2, that unless he seized the opportunity offered, no other chance for peace would remain; 3, that the boundaries stipulated in his instructions were as much as Mexico would ever yield; and 4, that his recall was based upon a supposed state of facts the reverse of the truth. Underlying all of his arguments in support of these reasons is the thinly-disguised innuendo that the President had changed his plans and now favored the annexation of all Mexico. In other words, Trist proceeded to make a treaty embodying Polk's original idea of territorial indemnity with the express intention of throwing upon the President the unpleasant alternative of either accepting the treaty or rejecting it. If Polk rejected it, he must bear the odium of seeking to annihilate Mexico as a nation and of renewing a war which was now unpopular. If he accepted it, he would then, according to Trist's belief, sacrifice his cherished wish, the conquest of the whole of Mexico. Such is the import of this unique despatch. Trist's assumption that Polk desired the absorption of all Mexico has been proved to be baseless.¹ Reasonably enough, the President felt that the amount of money to be paid Mexico for the cession should be less than would have been the case had the war ceased seven months before. Pillow was in favor of greater territorial indemnity and claimed while in Mexico to be the President's mouthpiece. Trist shared Scott's hatred of that officer, and the parts of the despatch not directly or by inference attacking Polk are filled with venom against Pillow.

Before Butler had an opportunity to carry out Polk's order, Trist had signed the treaty and sent it on its way to Washington. There are no detailed accounts of the conferences of which the treaty was the result. We know that for two months Trist met the commissioners daily, that the original projet was taken as a basis for the negotiation, and that there was apparently little difficulty in agreeing upon boundaries. The question of claims and of the condition of the inhabitants of the ceded territory occupied most of the meetings. The result was in hand February 2, 1848, when Trist met the Mexican commissioners to sign the treaty at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, "a spot", said Trist, "which, agreeably to the creed of this country, is the most sacred on earth, as being the scene of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin, for the purpose of declaring that Mexico was taken under her special protection".²

Seventeen days later Polk had in his hands the grant of territory

¹ "The United States and Mexico, 1847-1848", by Professor E. G. Bourne, in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V, 491-502, April, 1900.

² Trist to Buchanan, February 2, 1848, S. Ex. Doc. 52, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 102.

which he had hoped to obtain through the peaceful negotiations of Slidell. The Rio Grande was acknowledged as the boundary of Texas; New Mexico and Upper California were ours; and the sum to be paid was that named in Trist's instructions: the treaty included all of Polk's *sine qua non*. That the right of transit over Tehuantepec was not included was a small matter, for the recent treaty with New Granada afforded a better route to the Pacific. Benton's comment upon the treaty was that it was a fortunate event for the United States and especially for Polk's administration. "The Congress elections were going against the administration, and the aspirants for the presidency in the cabinet were struck with terror at the view of the great military reputations which were growing up."¹

Haste in acting upon the treaty was of the utmost importance for two reasons: first, that the treaty might be returned to Mexico for ratification before the Mexican government should be overthrown; and second, that the growing sentiment for "all of Mexico", both in the cabinet and out of it, a sentiment to which the President was opposed, might be effectually stifled.² Polk made up his mind at once not to reject the treaty because of Trist's conduct. His desire for peace was so great that he did not permit himself to be influenced by his indignation at Trist's insulting letters. He decided, after stating his views to the cabinet, to send the document to the Senate, suggesting certain amendments and by so doing show a "magnanimous forbearance toward Mexico". Every member of the Senate committee on foreign relations, with the exception of the chairman, Sevier, was at first opposed to ratification. The reason for their attitude, as reported by the chairman to Polk, was not the terms of the treaty, but Trist's lack of authority to negotiate. "I told Sevier", the diary records, "that the treaty was the subject for consideration, not Trist's conduct and that if the provisions of the treaty were such as would be accepted, it would be worse than an idle ceremony to send out a grand commission to re-negotiate the same treaty."³ The Senate committee reported the treaty without amendment on the same day, and after two weeks' discussion the Senate first amended and then ratified it by a vote of thirty-eight to fourteen. The most important of the amendments was made at the suggestion of the

¹ Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, 710.

² Professor Bourne's article as cited. The treaty arrived in Washington February 19; Polk decided to send it to the Senate for ratification February 21. Polk's diary, February 21, 1848. Calhoun wrote to Clemson, March 7, 1848: "The greatest danger is, that the [Mexican] Government may not hold together until the treaty is exchanged. Nothing but the countenance of our Government, and the support of capitalists interested in preserving it, can continue it in existence. It is, indeed, but the shadow of a Government." *Report of American Historical Association*, 1899, II, 746.

³ Polk's diary, February 28, 1848.

President, and by it the tenth article, relating to the disposition of the public lands in Texas, was stricken out. An additional secret article, delaying for eight months the time of Mexico's ratification, was for obvious reasons omitted by a unanimous vote. Sevier and Clifford, the latter Polk's attorney-general, were appointed commissioners in accordance with the provision of the treaty permitting the exchange of ratifications at the City of Mexico. As their duties were merely the gaining of Mexico's consent to the Senate's amendments, and the hastening of final ratification, their task was light. As soon as it was known that the Senate was modifying the terms of the agreement as signed, the Mexican government ceased all efforts for ratification until the nature of the amendments was known. A few days after the arrival of Sevier and Clifford at Mexico with the amended treaty, the Mexican congress agreed to ratification by practically a unanimous vote.

There was no glory in all this for Trist. Polk characterized him as an "impudent and unqualified scoundrel". Upon his arrival at Washington the former chief clerk of the State Department found the doors closed to him. He could get the ear of no one, and after vainly trying for some time to collect his salary after the date of his recall, he left Washington. Insisting on having a hearing, he addressed a long communication to the speaker of the House August 7, 1848, accusing the President of high crimes and misdemeanors, including subornation of perjury, and suggesting that Polk be impeached.¹ But there was no need for stirring up the matter in the hope of finding political capital against Polk. The time had gone by for that. The letter was received during the last days of the session and referred to the committee on foreign affairs, and there it slept. The war was over; Polk's term was drawing to a close; and the country was in the midst of a presidential campaign. Trist was soon forgotten. The result of the election of 1848 was the choice of Taylor for President, one of the two great Whig generals who had reaped the political popularity which Polk had coveted. Scott was for the time passed by, and nobody had any consideration for the assertive and talkative commissioner who had made the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. But the persistent Trist did not despair, and twenty-two years later he secured from Congress the reward for his successful presumption.² The feeble old man, who had been one of Jefferson's family and afterward the friend of Jackson, was at last secure in the belief that he had been vindicated by his government.

JESSE S. REEVES.

¹ *Congressional Globe*, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 1057-1058.

² Senate Report 261, 41 Congress, 2 Session.

MATERIALS IN BRITISH ARCHIVES FOR AMERICAN COLONIAL HISTORY¹

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that for a hundred and fifty years our colonies were a part of the British empire, no systematic attempt has ever been made by British or American historians to discover the extent and value of the material contained in British archives relating to American history. Persistent and long search has frequently been made for documents bearing on a given subject or connected with the history of a given colony, but such investigation has usually been confined to well-known and fairly well-arranged collections, examination of which was comparatively easy and a successful result highly probable. Outlying sources, records relating to other than colonial subjects, and groups containing only occasional and isolated documents have remained largely unexplored; while even such compact and clearly defined collections as the Colonial Office papers have never been thoroughly and critically examined.

The time was therefore opportune for a more thoroughly organized attack upon the British records, and for the discovery, as far as human imperfection would allow, of all documents that directly or indirectly bear upon our history. Tedious though the work promised to be, it seemed to be justified by the possibility of obtaining even an approximate description of each isolated document, important or unimportant, and of each collection, great or small, that might some time be needed by future writers of our history.

The task was a large one, but two conditions proved eminently favorable to a rapid prosecution of the work: first, the concentration of the bulk of the material in a few great centers, like the British Museum and the Public Record Office; and secondly, the unfailing courtesy of the officials in charge as well as of many private individuals, who without exception did all in their power to promote the undertaking. In most cases, though not in all, the facilities for research are adequate for student purposes, and though hours seem short, notably at the Bodleian Library, the overzealous investigator is forced thereby to take a needed relaxation. Except occasionally in certain cases where the quarters are cramped and special search-rooms cannot be spared, the student will meet with few restrictions,

¹ This article is a preliminary report to the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

and will be able to employ his time to the best advantage. Private collections, of which there are many in England, are not so readily accessible, and in a number of instances are closed entirely. It is much to be regretted that so many official papers are at the present time in private hands; for though many of them have been dealt with in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, it is well known that the earlier of these reports are in need of extended revision. Furthermore, many papers of an official character, which were deemed the private property of the official in authority at the time, have disappeared from view, and there seems to be no way of finding out whether they are in existence or not. A search for lost documents among private papers is a practical impossibility. One can only wish that more private collections would find their way into public depositories, either by gift or purchase, as in the case of the Hardwicke papers in the British Museum or the Shaftesbury papers in the Public Record Office.

The five depositories that may be deemed of first importance are the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Privy Council Office, the Royal Institution, and the Public Record Office. Other documents, though in no cases numerous, are in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, the episcopal library at Fulham, the library of Sion College, the library of the Geographical Society, and among the records of the Herald's office, the Old Bailey Proceedings, and the manuscripts in Somerset House and the Courts of Law. There are a few volumes relating to trade and to the Philippines in the India Office, which can be found in the catalogue of its manuscripts entitled, *Printed List of General Records, 1599 to 1879* (1902). A few papers, mostly duplicates, are to be found in the Owen Wynne collection in All Souls College, Oxford, and a few also in the Bibliotheca Pepysiana, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Of the latter a large number are copies of the Pepys papers in the Bodleian, but one manuscript volume is unique. It contains copies by Samuel Wiseman, "principal clerk to the Honorable Commissioners" who were sent to Virginia in 1676-1677, of all the documents connected with the work of that commission, many of which are not in the Public Record Office. Among the Pepys "Miscellanies" are also a number of papers relating to shipping and the plantations, among which are the report of the Council of Trade of 1660 to the king "concerning the Trade and Navigation of the kingdom," and one or two "Considerations" upon the Foreign Plantations, dated about 1684-1685. As was to have been expected, the Pepys papers relate largely to matters connected with the admiralty and the navy.

In the Bodleian Library the total number of documents relating

to American history is not large, and as a whole cannot be deemed of special importance. Some of them, however, are of value and serve to throw light into dark places and to extend our knowledge of matters hitherto imperfectly known. While there are a few groups of related documents, such as the Newman, Champante, and Clarendon papers, yet the majority have no connection with one another. Four only of the great collections, which have made the Bodleian Library justly famous, contain documents for our purpose: the Ashmolean, Tanner, Rawlinson (including the Pepys), and the Clarendon. Of these four, the first and second furnish scarcely a score of documents, while the third and fourth contain a very large number. The Ashmolean manuscripts give us the instructions to Gates and Lord Delaware, and the procedure at the interment of William Lovelace¹; the Tanner, largely ecclesiastical in character and of a date not later than 1699, contain various papers and letters of Edward Randolph regarding the religious condition of New England, other similar letters from Massachusetts and Maryland, and the patent drawn up by Charles II for the erection of Virginia into a bishopric, of which another and slightly different copy is to be found among the Wynne papers. The Rawlinson Manuscripts, A, B, C, D, contain large numbers of papers of a miscellaneous character, from 1660 to about 1730. A contains many letters sent to Lord Arlington from America, and the papers which Pepys collected in order to clear himself from the charges of John Scott, among which is a petition, hitherto unknown, of John Winthrop for a charter for Connecticut. B has papers relating to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and its work of sending ministers to the colonies; and it also contains the large and very valuable collection of Champante papers, one hundred and thirty in number, relating to New York politics after 1700. C contains the papers of Henry Newman, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and agent for New Hampshire, relating to that province; the Coxe papers (some of which are in A), which throw light on New Jersey; a large collection of log-books of ships; a mass of papers relating to the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, with letters from John Eliot, Edward Winslow, Thomas Weld, and others, about 1651-1653; and other papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of considerable importance for the churches in America, with letters from the governors and reports on the condition of religion there. D contains a few letters belonging to the Newman collection and copies of three letters from Thomas Newe, scholar of Exeter College,

¹ Printed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 522 ff., April, 1904.

dated Charles Town, 1682, to his father, butler of the same college, giving an account of South Carolina. Many of the Clarendon papers have been printed in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society and in Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, but there are others yet unprinted that show Clarendon's interest in colonies other than New York, as well as a series of papers of Clarendon's unworthy grandson, Cornbury, governor of New York. There are also many Downing letters, of which but few have to do with the colonies; copies of the proceedings at Boston between Massachusetts and the king's commissioners in 1665; and a copy of Maverick's *Description of New England*.

The number of documents in the British Museum relating to American history is enormous, and there is no royal road to their discovery. Great collections, such as the Newcastle, Bouquet, Haldimand, Auckland, Hardwicke, and Hutchinson papers, and a few marked volumes, such as Egerton, 2395, Additional Manuscripts, 33028-33030, 35907-35913, known to the officials in the manuscript-room, are easily found; and the great classified catalogue, arranged by subjects, directs attention to many particular documents. But when all these documents have been explored, there still remains a vast number of papers, to find which one must search the collection-catalogues. Pouring over catalogues and indexes is dreary work, and the task is the more difficult because the catalogue lists are frequently incomplete; and because some collections, such as the Newcastle and part of the Hardwicke papers, are not listed at all. If one is to be thorough, therefore, one must search not only in the classified catalogue and the collection-catalogues, but in the indexes also. To make the matter somewhat more complicated, older catalogues such as the Sloane, and groups of papers such as the Lauderdale, are undergoing rearrangement and renumbering, and in these, as in other cases, the classified catalogue is of no value. The task, therefore, of discovering isolated documents is not an easy one, and he would be a bold and self-confident investigator who after three months' labor dared say that he had discovered all.

Documents relating to American history are contained in one or other of nine great collections: Lansdowne, Harleian, Stowe, Sloane, Additional Manuscripts, Egerton, Hargrave, and Kings, with an occasional paper in Royal and in Egerton Biblical. Among the Lansdowne manuscripts are documents relating to the controversy in the church in Hartford in 1656, a portion of which are printed in the *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society; copies of a large number of papers sent from the Board of Trade

to Secretary Vernon in 1699 and relating to Nova Scotia and New York; Bishop Kennett's interleaved and annotated copy of the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, printed in 1706, and his commonplace-book, which contains copies of some important letters not to be found elsewhere; "An Alphabetical list of the names of authors of commercial books and pamphlets", containing 2,377 titles, of which 105 relate to the plantations or to their trade; original Indian deeds from Connecticut; the summary of a dispute in New York over the title to lands of the Wappinger Indians; many colonial quit-rent statistics; letters and papers relating to East Florida; and a few Revolutionary documents. Among the Harleian manuscripts are a few log-books of ships, a number of papers on the tobacco trade of the plantations; an account of Endecott's cutting out the cross from the king's flag; papers regarding the Palatines; a manuscript of Donne's *Virginia Reviewed*; letters bearing on the proposed appointment of Alexander Murray as bishop of Virginia in 1673; Simon d' Ewes's very important notes on New England; and Penn's letters to John Fenwick. In the Stowe collection are valuable letters from William Stoughton of Massachusetts; a group of Georgia documents of 1742; an account of Nelson's expedition to Canada (1682); Lord Warwick's correspondence on New England, Virginia, etc., in 1646, 1648; the Dudley-Belcher correspondence relative to the Princess Sophia's gift of her portrait to the Massachusetts Bay Colony; and transcripts of a great number of papers relating to the Stamp Act, the originals of which may be found elsewhere. In the Deering correspondence is a letter from North Carolina (1703) similar to those of Newe from South Carolina.

The Sloane collection, in process of recataloguing, is contained in the first 5,017 volumes of the series, of which the Additional Manuscripts is the continuation. As might have been expected, these combined collections, numbering nearly 37,000 volumes, are amazingly rich in Americana, and it is impossible here to do more than hint at the valuable documents they contain. In some of the early Sloane volumes there is a series of valuable voyages to the "South Seas", that is, to the west coast of South America, Mexico, and California; in later volumes we find many scattered voyages and descriptions (of great value) of New England, Maryland, New York, and Virginia; and a large number of letters and documents sent to the Royal Society concerning the flora and fauna of the colonies. We meet with the letters of a score of colonials interested in natural history, which do not bear out Dr. Eggleston's charge that colonial science was largely unintelligent credulity.

The early volumes of the Additional Manuscripts collection contain a great number of papers bearing on the origin and activity of the Board of Trade and on trade in general. Of great importance are the Cary letters and papers, which throw light on the Parliamentary struggle preceding the appointment of the board in 1696. There is a letter relating to Occam and the Indian school at Lebanon, and there are several letters from William Keith regarding his *History of the British Plantations*, besides a volume full of material for the student of early Congregationalism in Holland. There is here, as elsewhere, a great number of "states and accounts" of considerable value for a study of the financial relations between England and her colonies, of the customs revenue and officials, and of the costs of troops sent to America. There is a large number of volumes that came from the dispersed library of George Chalmers, bought by Rodd, the bookseller, and sold to the Museum in the forties. These are of the highest value as having to do with the Board of Trade and with the colonies, and we can only wonder by what process they came into the library of Chalmers, since they belong to the Board of Trade papers. Did Chalmers "borrow" them? There are other volumes that throw light on the character of the business brought before the Council of Trade of 1660; four volumes devoted to boundary disputes in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York; three volumes made up from the Newcastle papers that deal entirely with America and the West Indies; seven volumes from the Hardwicke collection that relate wholly to trade and the American plantations; and one entire volume and part of another relating to the iron industry, chiefly in Maryland. It is unnecessary to speak here at length of the Newcastle papers, numbering more than 200 volumes, in which there are hundreds of letters and other documents from and about America; or of the Bouquet papers, 17 volumes, and the Haldimand papers, 231 volumes, both of which are listed in Brymner's *Canadian Archives*; or of the Hutchinson papers, 14 volumes, containing the correspondence, letter-book, and diary of Thomas Hutchinson, the papers of Andrew Oliver, and letters to and from others of the Hutchinson family, chiefly in England; or of the Auckland papers, 59 volumes, of great importance for the early Revolutionary period, when William Eden was under-secretary of state, and for the years 1777-1778, when he came to America as a member of the peace commission; or of the recently acquired Hardwicke papers, of between three and four hundred volumes, some of which are still unbound, containing, among other matters relating to the plantations, the

briefs of many cases of appeal from the colonies, during the period from 1721 to 1766.

In no way inferior, so far as its relation to American history is concerned, is the Egerton collection of about 2,700 volumes. Egerton, 2395, has long been known to American students, since Mr. Walters gave a brief account of it in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* fifteen years ago. Many of the documents in this volume have been printed, but some of the most important, among which are the Povey and Noell papers concerning the erection of a council of trade and plantations, have not been used. In other Egerton volumes are letters from William Leete regarding the condition of New Haven in 1653, and from George Fenwick of the Saybrook colony regarding the sale of that colony to Connecticut. There are also Downing letters in large numbers, but of comparatively little value; a minute of a meeting of the Council of Trade in 1663 and other papers connected with the Board of Trade; and finally the journal of John Knepp, midshipman in H. M. S. *Rose*, William Phips, commander, 1683, a document of great length and of great interest. In Egerton Biblical is an occasional document, such as Dummer's proposal that a colony of Scotsmen be permitted to settle in Canada; in the Royal Manuscripts is a copy of Rolfe's *True Relation*; and in Additional Charters is a confirmation of the charter to Germantown in 1718, an important paper on the trade of the Spaniard "about the Asiento and Galeons", and what appears to be the original grant of part of Virginia to Lord Hopton, in two skins, with ribbon and seal. The Hargrave collection contains a few papers, chiefly of a legal character, such as the case of the governor of Virginia versus the Burgesses, June 18, 1754; and other cases and opinions on disputes concerning customs, particularly in connection with Maryland (similar papers are found in two volumes of the Additional Manuscripts collection), Pennsylvania, in the quarrel between Penn and Quarry, and Connecticut, in its controversy with Mason and the Mohegan Indians. One elaborate paper deals with the "different laws and modes respecting the barring of entails in the several American colonies", of date about 1773. In the King's Manuscripts are Franklin's letters to Cooper (1769-1774); Pownall's letters to Cooper (1769-1774); Cooper's letters to Franklin (1769-1775); a report on the state of the American colonies, containing copies of letters from colonial governors and others of dates from 1721 to 1766; reports on the state of manufactures, on the modes of granting land, and on the fees of office, received in answer to circulars sent out by the Board of Trade in 1766; descriptions of Nova Scotia, de Brahm's survey of the southern district,

1773, with beautiful maps in black and white; Braddock's journal; journal of an officer who traveled in America and the West Indies in 1764-1765;—all of which are of the highest value, many of them having already been printed. In all of the collections there is a large number of maps of great excellence and importance, of which there is an admirable catalogue.

In this rapid and cursory survey it has not been possible to do more than indicate a few of the more striking papers, and to hint at the richness and importance of the entire collection. We next pass to the Privy Council Office, where the documents, of the very highest authority and worth, can be more easily described. First and foremost is the Privy Council Register, of which 99 volumes cover the period from 1613 to 1783; the volumes from 1603 to 1613 and from 1645 to 1649 are missing. These volumes are numbered according to reigns. Marginal headings make the task of searching easy, and there are excellent indexes, most of which were either made or extended by Greville, when clerk of the Privy Council. The importance of the volumes for colonial history begins with 1660, when the first standing committee for foreign plantations was appointed, and continues without diminution until the Revolution. Though the orders of and in council were generally sent to the departmental boards concerned, yet many petitions were acted upon by the committees of the council itself and never passed out of their hands. Consequently there is in the register a large amount of material of the first importance that cannot be found elsewhere. All things considered, this series of volumes is the most valuable single collection of documentary evidence for a study of the policy of Great Britain toward the colonies that we have. It is to be hoped that some day the volumes, for which no suitable place of deposit exists in the present building in Whitehall, will be transferred to the Public Record Office; and that a copy of such portions as relate to American affairs will be brought to this country.

In addition to the register, there are a few important volumes in the Board room of the Council—minutes of the committee for Ireland, a register of admiralty and naval affairs, and thirteen volumes of "Plantation Books". The latter collection, covering the years from 1677 to 1784, contains copies of acts, laws, charters, letters to governors, commissions and instructions of all kinds, orders, surrenders, commissions of review and inquiry, confirmations, letters of marque, warrants of every description, circulars, and occasional grants of land—all relating to the colonies. Such a mass of material of this kind, gathered in one place, whether the documents are to be found elsewhere or not, is a mine of information for colonial

history. In the same room are seven volumes, containing an almost complete set of royal proclamations issued from 1613 to 1819. In the clerk's room is a Precedent Book of considerable interest. On the ground floor, inconveniently housed, are the unbound papers, tied in packets, and dating from 1699, with a few of earlier years. There are from 150 to 160 packets in all, covering the period from 1699 to 1783. The documents, folded and often mutilated, are arranged chronologically, but there is no index or other clue to their contents. Here may be found the original petitions sent to the king in council, with many other papers containing either the additional evidence in the case or the reports of departments or committees. A majority of these reports are duplicates, but again not all, as I found papers here that were neither in the register nor in the departmental records. There are many petitions for grants of land, and a few petitions for patents, memorials from departments, and the like. In studying a particular period it would always be wise, and it would be easier, to examine the register and the unbound papers of a given date before looking into the papers of the departments.

Of the manuscripts relating to America preserved in the Royal Institution little need be said here, for the last volume that has been issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the first of a series, with two or possibly three volumes to follow, contains a full description of the papers and a calendar of about a fourth of them. The documents relate entirely to the period of the Revolution and are contained in 58 bound volumes and 4 cases or rolls—62 in all. Many of these have been printed, and many are duplicates of papers in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. But the collection is still necessary to every student of the Revolutionary period, particularly of the years 1782 and 1783. The earlier letters of Howe, Clinton, and others are to a large extent duplicates, but the later papers, consisting to a considerable extent of accounts, warrants, certificates, muster-rolls, lists, orders, inquisitions, memorials, and petitions, are original. Further information can be obtained from the admirable introduction to the report of the commission.

As an archive-center the Public Record Office surpasses all others in the value and comprehensiveness of its materials. Except for certain well-defined, catalogued, and calendared collections, such as the Colonial Office papers, the scope of the material for American history is not known even to the officials in charge, so that the investigator who would make a systematic search is bound to be in large part a pioneer. Even the preliminary task of mapping out the field is by no means an easy one, as there are comparatively few

guides to the collections in which the material desired is to be found, and the printed or manuscript lists do not always disclose by their descriptions the desired sources.

The following general groups contain practically all the material in the Record Office for colonial history: (1) Admiralty, (2) Audit and Pipe Offices, (3) Abolished Offices, (4) Colonial Office, (5) Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Exchequer, (6) Foreign Office, (7) Home Office, (8) Treasury, (9) War Office, and (10) a few miscellaneous collections. The number of volumes listed under these several titles runs into the thousands and presents to the student a discouragingly formidable mass of material. There are printed lists of the Admiralty papers, the Colonial Office papers, the rolls of declared accounts in the Audit and Pipe Offices, the Foreign Office papers, the State Papers, Domestic, and the Home Office papers. There is in preparation an index to the Chancery files. In using these lists three difficulties arise. First, except for the Admiralty, Declared Accounts, and Chancery indexes, there is scarcely one of the printed lists that does not need considerable revision and extension, and the old Colonial Office list has been withdrawn from circulation until a new one shall be prepared. Secondly, inasmuch as the volumes in all the collections contain documents relating to other than American subjects, the descriptions in the lists often do not show whether or not the volumes will be of any use, and unless one is very careful or has the gift of prescience, he will spend a great deal of his time and that of the long-suffering attendant in calling out volumes that contain nothing for his purpose. Thirdly, the collections themselves are undergoing more or less frequent rearrangement and renumbering, so that the references of a decade ago are often of no value to-day. While volume numbers can be depended on, bundle numbers are liable to change. A new system having recently been decided upon, the Admiralty list is almost the only one in a form likely to remain permanent. Because of these conditions the preliminary task of making out a working list of the volumes to be called out is itself long and arduous, and as clue leads to clue, and one set of documents refers across to another, even the carefully wrought preliminary list will undergo modification as the work goes on. There are manuscript lists of those collections for which no printed list has yet been issued, but prepared as they have been for the use of officials, by different persons, who were often unfamiliar with the subject-matter of the volumes, and in many cases much altered to suit the new arrangement, they demand of the searcher time and experience to be used to the best advantage.

The only portions of this material that have been used hitherto

by students of American history are the Colonial Office papers and the documents of correspondence in the Admiralty and War Office records. But even the Colonial Office papers, familiar as they are, embrace hundreds of volumes that have scarcely been examined at all—volumes that are labeled with the name of a West Indian or Canadian colony and so have been deemed outside the scope of the investigation. Yet many of these volumes contain material of the first importance for the history of colonial trade and revenue; and of British policy in general. For example in Bahamas, E (1760–1768) half the volume is taken up with the commercial history of New York and New England, particularly Rhode Island. Even within the continental colonies the listed divisions are often quite arbitrary, as when a volume labeled “South Carolina” is found to be half full of documents relating to Georgia. Furthermore even Public Record officials are human and errors have crept into the lists, both in numbering and description. Volume 29 of the Journal has nothing to do with the Board of Trade; some of the Naval Office lists are in the wrong divisions and are lost to the student; and others conceal their identity under a general title that throws one entirely off the scent. An entry-book of the Council of Trade and Plantations of 1672 is in the division Board of Trade Commercial; a collection of West Florida documents is labeled “West Indies”; and there are other disguises equally noteworthy. Systematic search has certain beneficial results: it not only leads to the discovery of new materials, but it corrects errors in dates and numbering, calls attention to duplicates, identifies missing volumes or scattered members that should be reunited, and, perhaps most important of all, renders possible a more exact definition than now exists of the contents of individual volumes or groups of volumes.

The work of calendaring is going on rapidly, though as yet no attempt has been made to calendar the documents of the Admiralty, War Office, Foreign Office (except for Elizabeth's reign), and Courts of Law. In the case of the last-named, the printed index to the Chancery files, 1649–1714, now in preparation, has almost the value of a calendar; and the manuscript index in the literary search-room to the dockets of Signet bills, the index to the Privy Seal dockets in the Home Office papers, and the index to the patent-rolls (Palmer's index, vol. 38, in literary search-room and index to patent-rolls, vols. 35 and following, in legal search-room) answer somewhat the same purpose. The calendar of the Colonial Office papers has only reached 1697 with its fifteenth volume, the tenth of America and West Indies. The calendar of State Papers, Domestic, which includes Home Office papers to 1760, has been

carried through 1694, except that the period from 1675 to 1689 has not been dealt with. The reigns of Anne and George II are calendared in manuscript, and the omitted portion of William's reign and the reign of George I are to be calendared eventually. After 1760 the Home Office papers are calendared under their own title as far as 1775, which date, twenty years ago, marked the time limit of these documents open to the public. The earliest calendars of the Treasury papers, covering the period from 1557 to 1728, include but one group of Treasury documents—the Original Correspondence or Treasury Board papers,—and take no account of the other papers and books of that department, except an occasional extract from the Minute Book. Under Mr. Shaw's editorship, however, an important change has been made, and the Treasury calendars from 1729 to 1745 include material from all the departmental records, minute-books, warrant-books, letter-books, order-books, etc. Very properly they are called, as they ought to be, calendars of Treasury Books and Papers. No attempt has been made to complete the earlier volumes, so that the full Treasury calendars cover a period of only sixteen years.

All the departmental records are eventually to be arranged in the following order: (1) In Letters, or all letters received by the board, constituting its original correspondence; (2) Out Letters, or copies of all letters written by the department entered in its letter-books or entry-books; (3) Accounts; (4) Registers; (5) Minutes; (6) Miscellanea; and sometimes, as in the case of the Treasury papers, it has become necessary to add a further subheading (7) Miscellanea, Various. This arrangement has been adopted for the first time in the printed Admiralty list, and the change has made havoc with the references of those who consulted the papers before the rearrangement was decided on. At present the scheme is far from complete; and in the transition from the old system to the new, involving the rejection of familiar reference titles, and many transfers, not only within a given group but from one group to another, the manuscript lists present considerable confusion. Where calendaring has been completed and references have been printed, change would seem very undesirable, yet in the State Papers, Domestic, references for the Cromwellian period have been entirely altered, and volumes have been transferred to other collections. It is not likely that the arrangement of the Colonial Office papers will be altered, as the present system is convenient and well understood; but the fact that, for convenience of calendaring, volumes have been broken up and documents redistributed as far as 1708, to which date the calendar has been carried in manuscript, renders uncertain the

policy to be adopted in the future. Against such distribution of documents, of no use to any one except the editor, it is legitimate for the student to raise an earnest protest.

The Admiralty records are open to public inspection as follows: Correspondence, Minutes, Registers, etc., with a few exceptions to the end of the year 1830; Log-Books and Journals to the end of the year 1840; Minute-Books and Pay-Books to the end of the year 1860. This regulation means, therefore, that with the exception of the "Letters relating to the Solicitor's Department" (Admiralty, Secretary's Department, 3665-3728) and "Law Officers' Opinions" (Admiralty, Miscellanea, 298-300), the entire body of Admiralty records during the period of our colonial history is accessible to the student. It is a general regulation that reports by the law-officers of the crown are not open to inspection.

The following résumé will show somewhat the character of the Admiralty documents of value for American history:

Admiralty, Secretary's Department, In Letters, 10 volumes of admirals' despatches, American stations, 1745-1779; letters from the Board of Trade, 2 volumes, 1697-1700, many of which are probably duplicates; original letters from governors of plantations, 4 volumes, 1728-1781, containing documents of great importance relating to admiralty matters of all kinds in the colonies (how many of these letters are duplicates only a careful investigation can show); letters from secretaries of state, 1698-1785, arranged chronologically and containing but little of value; letters from the Treasury, duplicating in many instances the Treasury letter-books, though only frequent testing can determine whether the Treasury preserved copies of all its letters; letters from the Custom House, 5 bundles, 1694-1699, of first importance, because Custom House letters are scarce; orders in council relating to admiralty matters, 36 volumes, 1673-1783, a most useful and convenient collection; letters from the Navy Board, 87 volumes, 1673-1719, full of information about victualing, convoys, and navy questions generally, with some new details about the voyage of the commissioners to Virginia in 1677 and Randolph's work in Massachusetts.

Admiralty, Secretary's Department, Out Letters: about 500 volumes, 1665-1783, containing copies of orders and instructions, secretary's letters, documents relating to colonial appointments, convoys, protection, etc.

Entry Books, 15 volumes, 1689-1783, containing letters relating to admiralty and vice-admiralty courts and business, vice-admiralty commissions, and letters of marque, papers concerning appointments; wrecks, embargoes, convoys, and fees, and a number of

documents relating to Captain Kidd and other pirates, about whom more can be found in Admiralty, Oyer and Terminer, 72 volumes, 1611-1800. These entry-books are an index to almost everything connected with vice-admiralty business in the colonies.

Pass Letter Books, 4 volumes, 1729-1786, contains all documents connected with the issuing of passes, chiefly for trade in the Mediterranean and for protection against Algerine pirates.

Original Patents, Vice Admiralty, furnishes one letters patent authorizing the appointment of a single vice-admiral and proper officers for a single court of vice-admiralty for all America.

Miscellanea contains a register of ships to which passes had been issued and gives both useful information regarding the movements of colonial vessels, and lists of transports licensed to go to America, abstracts of ship's logs, and a tabular statement of exports and imports, 1768-1769, from all colonial ports.

Admiralty, Accountant-General's Account, contains a few documents relating to the purchase of vessels during the American war, with tables of prices, and also many valuable statements of current expenses in America, 1746-1780; also muster-books of transports, a register of hired transports, 1754-1773, lists of ships, 1709-1717; papers and letters respecting loyalists put on board transports, regarding whom there is a very large amount of information in the Treasury papers. These accounts give names of ships, ports of departure, destinations, dates, and cost of victualing.

Admiralty, Navy Board, In Letters, nearly 1,300 volumes, 1673-1789, and Minutes, 170 volumes, 1729-1783, contain minutes of meetings of the board, and a very voluminous correspondence regarding naval stores, transports to America, bounties, victualing, and impressments.

Admiralty, Victualing Accounts, 5 volumes, contains the accounts of agents at yards and stations in North America, 1776-1783.

Log Books, of which there is an alphabetical list in the literary search-room, cannot be used unless the name of the ship is known.

The second great division of the Admiralty papers contains the records of the High Court of Admiralty and is of the greatest importance for certain aspects of colonial history. In the Libels and accompanying papers, Interrogatories, Examinations, etc., are the documents—decrees, libels, interrogatories, examinations, allegations, and sentences of a dozen or more suits connected with the early history of Virginia, Maryland, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay. The parchments are much mutilated, and it is not easy to discover in the various series of bundles and volumes all the papers

in the different suits, though to the libels and interrogatories there are manuscript catalogues, unfortunately incomplete.

Assignment Books and Sentences contains four volumes of proceedings before a special court of admiralty, which was instructed to deal with ships or goods taken from or belonging to the colonies after 1776.

Books of Acts, 48 volumes, 1604-1749, contains the records of each sitting of the high court, and furnishes a convenient register of the suits and a chronological history of each suit.

Admiralty, Miscellanea, volume 803, contains letters of marque issued against America in 1812-1814; and numbers 901-1341, an enormous series of 441 bundles, include great masses of papers that came at one time or another into the hands of the Admiralty board. These papers, ranging in date from 1620 to 1775, are without order or arrangement of any kind, and for the present, at least, are practically inaccessible to the student. In this collection Mr. R. G. Marsden discovered the Bradford letter printed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* for January, 1903 (VIII, 294-301), and the as yet unpublished letters from Altham and Bridge. After an examination of about forty bundles I can say that the entire collection deserves to be arranged and catalogued.

Proceedings in Vice-Admiralty Courts contains a bundle of papers relating to prize-cases tried in Jamaica, 1747-1748, and another bundle of similar papers relating to Virginia, 1728, South Carolina, 1733-1734, Rhode Island, 1725, Pennsylvania, 1731, and New York, 1724. To this division, though listed elsewhere, belongs a group of papers (Admiralty Court, Prize Papers, bundles, 1821-1825) from the vice-admiralty court at New York, 1777-1783, of considerable interest and value. From their appearance I should judge that these documents had not been opened since they were sent from New York after the evacuation. In the Prize Papers are other documents from the vice-admiralty court at New York, 1739-1786, filed with similar papers from other courts, alphabetically arranged according to names of ships. Letters of Marque, Declarations, Volumes 60-70, 1777-1782, Bonds, 1 bundle, 1777-1780, contain bails, and letters issued against the colonies, 1777-1782; Assignment Books, 3 volumes, contain appeals in prize-cases from vice-admiralty courts in the colonies. The registry and muniment books of the High Court of Admiralty, 1660-1815, are deposited in the admiralty register in the Law Courts and contain a great many papers relating to colonial affairs.

A very fruitful source of information regarding the financial aspects of British colonial administration in the eighteenth century

is the Declared Accounts of the Audit and Pipe Offices. In this collection are more than eighty rolls containing financial statistics of unusual value for the period from 1704 to 1783, all of which are open to public inspection. These rolls contain the accounts of the paymasters-general of the forces, including the allowances to deputy paymasters, inspectors-general, superintendents of hospitals, deputy commissaries, superintendents of forage, quartermasters, commissaries for mustering troops, salaries, garrisons, and current expenses. They include also the expenses of companies in Newfoundland, New England, New York, and elsewhere, the expenses of Oglethorpe and his men from 1738 to 1743, the pay of Braddock and his staff and other expenses of that ill-fated expedition—in short the entire debit account of the British government in North America. The rolls, small at first, become large after 1755, and huge after 1776. In addition to the general charges mentioned above, we have the individual accounts of commissaries, barrackmasters, bridgemasters, contractors and purveyors, postmasters, muster-masters, and quartermasters; the itemized expenses of various expeditions, such as that of St. Leger against Fort Stanwix and that of Campbell against Georgia; an account of the disbursement of the appropriations granted by Parliament to New England, New York, and New Jersey, of the payments of loyalists and refugees, and of the expense of settling them in Nova Scotia. We have an account of customs and duties for 1767 to 1777, "the first general account of these revenues"; of presents to the Indians, 1755 (there are earlier accounts of Indian presents, 1748, in the Treasury papers); of the expenses of certain royal governors—Wentworth, Dinwiddie, Dunmore, and Tryon; of superintendents of Indian affairs; and among the most interesting of all, the account of John Locke as secretary and treasurer of the Council of Trade and Plantations, 1672, and the comptroller-general's declaration of the general account of the duties arising from the attempted enforcement of the Stamp Act in the colonies, showing the receipts from the sale of stamped paper to distributors, the allowances for stamps and goods returned, and the losses of those who undertook to sell the stamps in America. Finally, there are the accounts submitted by the treasury solicitors, the legal officers of the treasury, of their expenses in the prosecution of various suits in which one or other of the colonies was interested. For example we note the following entry, "for the charges and expenses in the prosecuting a quo warranto against the corporation of Massachusetts Bay in New England and for obtaining judgment and seizing the liberties thereof . . . £181..9..10".

Of all the departmental records none are more unwieldy than

those of the Treasury. Only the papers that precede the close of the year 1759 are open to public inspection, but permission to examine papers of later date may be obtained. Fees are charged, but the student whose object is strictly literary may be exempted from payment by making a special application.

Treasury, In Letters, or the Treasury Board papers, is probably the most important single collection of documents for American history in the Public Record Office, excepting the Colonial Office papers. An excellent idea of its character and value can be obtained from the calendar, which extends from 1577 to 1745. The volumes and bundles, which to 1783 number about 450 (all numbers after 1763 being bundles), are at present in process of rearrangement and relisting. The bundles are full of valuable material, among which may be noted a great many papers bearing on the history and work of the American Board of Customs Commissioners, 1768-1776, letters, memorials, and petitions of great variety, certificates witnessing the transportation of convicts, a report in 27 folios giving a history of the administration of the custom-house in Boston since 1707 and a lucid account of the trade of the colony, and a host of other papers from one of which we may take the following: "At Philadelphia a series of letters are [*sic*] publishing in the Chronicle, under the name of the Farmer's Letters, denying the right of Parliament to lay any tax whatever on the colonies, and as the author affects moderation and a parade of learning we consider them of the most mischievous tendency." It is not easy to exaggerate the interest and significance of this notable series of documents, which have never been used, so far as I know, for historical purposes. In the same division of In Letters are the Reference Books, 12 volumes, containing chronological entries of applications of one kind or another to the Treasury board, all applications from the colonies being referred to the auditor-general, Blathwayt, Walpole, or Cholmondeley, for an opinion; an Alphabetical Register, 4 volumes, of the petitions, with the comments of the board; a Register, 17 volumes, of papers chronologically arranged; and an Alphabetical-Numerical Register, 3 volumes, or index to every matter in the Treasury papers for the years 1777-1783.

The Treasury, Out Letters, consists of three sets: Letters relating to Customs, 32 volumes, 1667-1783, the later volumes of which are full of information regarding the customs service in the plantations; General Letters, 34 volumes, 1668-1783, of equal interest and value, but of a more general character; Various, a compact and convenient collection, containing two volumes known to the board as "America Books", relating wholly to the colonies and containing copies of all

commissions, warrants, letters patent, writs, privy seals, instructions, etc., of colonial officials (1763-1797), whose appointment was in the hands of the crown.

Of the great series of Treasury, Accounts, the only important groups for our purpose are the Quarterly Accounts in 396 volumes, 1701-1800, containing details of the plantation duty, the expenses of the customs establishments in America and of the officials, as far as they were paid salaries; and the Miscellanea, a collection of important statistical statements, such as, "Gross and Net Produce of all the Branches of the Revenue", and "The Receiver General's Annual Abstracts of Customs and New Impositions" (1746-1780), and other papers touching importation and exportation of iron, rice, sugar, and other commodities. The usefulness of these documents cannot be overestimated.

The Treasury, Registers, Military Establishments, 501 volumes, contains a complete record of these establishments in America by years from 1713 to 1783; though a similar list in the War Office goes back a few years earlier. Emigration, 3 bundles, contains lists, prepared by the custom-house, of all persons who sailed from London or the outports for the plantations from 1773 to 1776; the majority are indentured servants and redemptioners, and their names, ages, trades, and former residences are given, together with the reasons why they left England. Needless to say, these bundles contain material of exceptional interest for the genealogist.

The Treasury, Minute Books, 54 volumes, 1667-1783, supplements the original correspondence and gives the daily proceedings of the board. The volumes are well indexed and easy to use. The miscellaneous papers of the Treasury are divided into two groups: Miscellanea and Miscellanea, Various. The former contains the Order Books, 25 volumes, 1667-1783, with records of warrants for the payment of money in the colonies and statements of the funds against which such payments were to be charged; the Public Disposition Books, 43 volumes, of a character similar to that of the order-books; Warrants relating to Money, or Money Books, 56 volumes, 1676-1783, containing copies of warrants for the payment of customs officials, special commissions, shipmasters for the transportation of convicts, etc.—all of which are addressed to the auditor of the receipt and signed by the Lords of the Treasury; Warrants not relating to Money, 37 volumes, 1679-1786, including warrants for contracts, renewals of office, appointments, etc., having to do with the colonies—a collection of unmistakable value; Warrants, Early, 12 volumes, 1667-1687, having little about the plantations but quite a good deal about British policy; Warrants, Kings, 65

volumes, 1679-1763, containing letters patent, privy seals, royal sign manuals, etc., relating to colonial commissions, salaries, payments for civil establishments, medicines, troops, etc., and letters and instructions for colonial officials and agents. There are also in this collection five bundles dealing with payments to loyalist refugees, and a single bundle dealing with the later history of the loyalist claims and payments to 1820.

More important even than the Miscellanea is the Miscellanea, Various, of which about thirty volumes have to do with colonial affairs. The documents are largely financial in character, but incidentally throw light on other aspects of American history, such as the refugees, supplies for troops, intended expeditions, quit-rents (of North Carolina, a sort of directory of the landed proprietors of that colony in 1735), and other similar matters. There are four volumes of letters to and from commanders-in-chief in America, 1778-1783, and other volumes of accounts and correspondence of deputy paymasters, commissary-generals, and others in Canada and the continental colonies, touching provisions, equipments, warrants, lawsuits, presents to the Indians, appointments, revenue accounts, leaves of absence, and the like. There are naval office lists, shipping returns, lists of plantation bonds, and documents relating to the exchange of prisoners, 1779-1782, from which a complete statement could be compiled of the number and rank of the prisoners in American hands at the close of the war. There are also lists of provincial regiments, registers of commissaries' letters (1779-1782), accounts of moneys paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties (1721-1725), lists of pensions (1779-1782), accounts of imports and exports for 1728, giving a minutely detailed statement of great value for a study of trade relations at that date, an account of all ships belonging to the United States clearing from London, 1783-1784, and other statistical documents of unusual weight and utility for a study of English plantation trade and revenue in the eighteenth century. There are three bundles of papers containing the accounts of the Hessian troops engaged during the war, 1775-1779, with tables giving the exact names, ranks, and numbers of Brandenburg and Anspach forces in America, forming altogether one of the most complete rosters of the Hessians that we have. The documents are in French, German, and English. Finally this collection contains the entry-book of William Blathwayt, auditor-general of the plantations from 1680 to 1718, in three volumes, a work hitherto unknown and of the highest importance, for Blathwayt's reports to the Lords of the Treasury, as well as the deliberation of the Lords as recorded

in the Minute Books, add not a little to our knowledge of the details of colonial history.

Under the control of the Treasury were certain offices, since abolished, and certain commissions of inquiry, since expired, whose books and papers of date later than 1759 are open to inspection only by special permission. Of these offices and commissions three only come within the scope of our examination: the Royal African Company (1673-1821), and the commissions on American Loyalist Claims (1783-1803) and East Florida Claims. The papers of the Royal African Company, first arranged in 1894, date from 1662 to the dissolution of the company. They include a great number of journals, ledgers, invoice-books, cash-books and receipt-books, warrant-books and letter-books, miscellaneous books, some of which contain copies of letters "to the plantations"; five volumes of Barbados and Jamaica ledgers and nine volumes of stock ledgers. For the history of the slave-trade in its relation to the plantations, these volumes admirably supplement the *Calendars*. The papers of the Commission on Loyalist Claims deal with the payments under the fourth article of the treaty of 1783, stipulated to be made to those who had suffered losses in America on account of their loyalty to the British crown. They contain a history of the difficulties that followed between England and the United States until the convention of January, 1803, when a mutual agreement was reached and commissioners were appointed to carry the agreement into effect. Many of the papers are much injured, and in some cases the writing is almost illegible; a final arrangement of the papers has not as yet been made.

The War Office Records covering the entire period of our colonial history are open to public inspection without restriction. Many of the documents, particularly in War Office, In Letters, Original Correspondence (volumes 1-33, 421, 506-533), have already been used for historical purposes, and some have been transcribed and sent to this country. They consist of letters with enclosures from field-officers serving in America, 1778-1783, and from officers of provincial regiments of the same period, with muster-rolls and other military lists. They contain also garrison "states and returns", engineers' letters and papers, general hospital reports, quartermaster-general's statements, Hessian letters with rosters, military and provincial memorials, and letters and papers from the Indian department, ten volumes in all. Following these papers are three volumes of letters and despatches to the secretary or deputy secretary at war, which are indispensable for a study of the campaigns in America. It is impossible here to set forth the variety and extent of this cor-

respondence, which covers the period from 1756 to 1783. Supplemental to this collection is the correspondence of the Secretary of State with the Secretary at War concerning American affairs in the years 1776 to 1781. Worthy of special notice is volume thirty, labeled "West Indies, 1764", which contains documents of very considerable value for the early history of Alabama and Louisiana. Here is a great variety of papers, both original and copies, from Major Farmer of the Thirty-Fourth regiment, regarding the circumstances attending the evacuation of the left bank of the Mississippi, that is, the port of Mobile and the country adjoining, after the peace of 1763. All the documents are interesting and some are very valuable.

The War Office, Out Letters, Secretary of States' Entry Book, or what are sometimes called the War Office common letter-books, from volume 411 to volume 494 (1745-1783), contains apparently every order emanating from the War Office under instruction from the Secretary of State sent to a colonial officer or governor regarding any colonial movement. For the years 1775-1784 there are special "American Letter Books", classed under the heading War Office, Letter Books, Departmental, which deals with promotions, transfers, the disposition of troops, leaves of absence, warrants for courts-martial (also to be found in War Office, Entry Books, volumes 1-19), lists of vacancies, and forms of instructions, from which one infers that the government interfered but little in the management of affairs in America. Matters of rather minor detail are noted in these volumes, and scarcely any of the entries throw light on the general policy of the government. Occasionally, however, we meet with such a statement as this, written by Lord Barrington, the secretary, to General Howe: "it is farthest from my intention to divert the promotions in your army from the proper and regular channel". In a few instances the same letters are entered in both the "Common Letter Book" and the "America Book", and both series ought to be consulted. The "Private Letter Book", 3 volumes, 1751-1782, of War Office, Letter Books, Departmental, is of interest as dealing with advancements in the American staff. The documents are neither numerous nor very important, but occasionally contain statements not found in the formal notifications. War Office, Secretary of State, Marching Orders, 65 volumes, 1688-1783, contains embarkation orders for troops going to America and disembarkation orders for invalids and convalescents returning to England and for troops leaving America. Similar information can be obtained from a bundle, War Office, Embarkation Returns, 1758-1797. The whole matter of commissions in the British army in America can be

worked out by consulting the following series: Notification Books, 31 volumes, 1708-1783; Commission Books, 38 volumes, 1660-1783; and Home Office, Military Entry Books, and Warrant Books. Lists of successions can be found in the Succession Books, volumes 1-4, 13-14, arranged both regimentally and chronologically. These volumes contain no entries concerning the officers of the provincial regiments. Information on that subject can be obtained from War Office, Monthly Returns, Foreign Stations, 8 volumes, 1776-1783, where rosters of the provincial and German troops will be found. The student may also be referred to a paper-bound folio volume in Treasury, Miscellanea, Various, bundle 179, and to the War Office, Establishment Books, Military, volume 171, 1783-1789, a bulky volume that should be used in connection with War Office, Annual Army Lists, numbers 164-166, which were made up for the purpose of meeting the claims of families of officers of the several provincial regiments in America raised prior to 1783. The first 46 volumes of War Office, Establishment Books, Military, 1685-1783, are the same as Treasury, Registers, Establishments, Military, except that they contain a few statistics of earlier date (1684-1699).

Of the Home Office papers the public is permitted to inspect only those preceding the end of the year 1779, but the student can obtain a written permit to search the papers after that date. The collection forms a body of documents peculiarly difficult to handle, partly because of the great number of volumes and partly because of the difficulty in determining from the lists what volumes contain matter relating to American history. The situation is somewhat further complicated by the fact that a Home Department was not created until 1785, and that consequently a sharp line cannot be drawn, before that date, between State Papers, Domestic, and Home Office records. The greater part of the Home Office documents prior to the year 1693 (excepting the years 1675-1689) have been calendared under the head of State Papers, Domestic; from 1693 to 1760 there are more than 250 volumes of uncalendared matter; and from 1760 to 1783 102 volumes, of which those as far as 1775 have been calendared under the title Home Office Records, including State Papers, Miscellanea. This latter collection formerly consisted of 500 bundles, most of which have now been dispersed, including the well-known "addresses to the king", printed in Force, *Archives*. Only 97 of these bundles remain to constitute the collection of Miscellanea, and of these very few (seven at most) have anything to do with American affairs. The other documents, those bound in volumes, are rich in Americana. Besides the State Papers, Domestic, there are the State Papers, Domestic, Petitions, first series,

7 volumes, 5 bundles (1708—time of George II); second series, 4 volumes (1760–1781); Petition Entry Books, 28 volumes, (1688–1760), of which the second series of State Papers, Domestic, Petitions, is really the continuation, full of important petitions from the colonies; Warrant Books, 30 volumes, 1609–1633; and Entry Books, 56 volumes, 1681–1779, containing but little of importance.

The Home Office records, listed under that title, consist, first, of letters sent by the secretaries of state to various other departments, such as the admiralty, ordnance, customs, war, and post-office, and to the Privy Council. These letters are accompanied by various enclosures (copies of letters, memorials, and the like), of which the original letters were copied (in full or in abstract) into the entry-books of the office; secondly, letters sent to the secretary of state from the same departments as well as from private individuals, and arranged by the clerks under such headings as Admiralty, Treasury, Ordnance, Circular Books, Ireland, etc. Warrants were entered separately in warrant-books, passes in books of passes, and other documents in their proper entry-books. It often happened that enclosures were not entered at all, and must be searched for in State Papers, Domestic, or among the Colonial Office papers. Of first importance are the papers in Home Office, Admiralty, volumes 166–198, 1775–1783, the greater part of which relate to America and consist of letters from the Lords of the Admiralty to the Secretary of State, with enclosures (both originals and copies) received from the admirals in American stations. Many of these enclosures are duplicates of papers in the Admiralty records. Admiralty Entry Books, 19 volumes, 1693–1784, contains entries of letters sent to the Lords of the Admiralty; Domestic Entry Books, 27 volumes, 1706–1785, contains a few American documents before 1772 but nothing after that date; Ordnance, 8 volumes, 1732–1784, contains useful letters from the Ordnance Office relating to the colonies, though after 1765 the number is small; Ordnance and War Office, 2 volumes, 1776–1782, includes chiefly entries of letters from Lord George Germain to the ordnance and war departments relating wholly to American affairs and therefore of considerable value.

Among the most useful of the Home Office records are the documents labeled Post Office, Treasury and Customs, and Custom House, Miscellanea. The first, in 9 bundles, 1704–1780, deals with the inauguration of the system of packet-boats to America and the West Indies, and throws much light on the mail facilities during the period 1756 to 1780, a matter of no little importance; the second, in 21 volumes, 1729–1783, contains papers of the utmost value for the period after 1775, showing the sources of much of Lord George

Germain's information and outlining his policy. It includes also original letters from the Custom House, with copies of enclosures, the originals of which have probably been destroyed; and extracts from ship-captains' letters, the contents of some of which are amusing, as the following extract will show. Under date of December 14, 1775, one captain writes, "This day a person came to this place who left Philadelphia the 3d of last month; he says that the Congress are quarrelling and in great confusion; that they have voted to establish the Presbyterian religion all over America; that this is carried by the New Englanders very much against the minds of the southern delegates as well as the Quakers". Custom House, Miscellanea, 1 volume, 1768-1775, is an entry-book of letters sent by the "register general of shipping over the ports under the management of the Honorable Board of Commissioners from No. America" to the collectors and comptrollers of customs at the different ports in the colonies from Halifax to Savannah. This is a valuable volume, supplemental to the Treasury Board papers, for any one wishing to study the career of the American Board of Customs Commissioners.

The Foreign Office records, which are open to public inspection to the end of the year 1780, after which date a written permit is required, need not detain us long. There is but one volume, covering the period before 1783, containing diplomatic papers relating to the United States. These include letters and papers from the American ministers, Franklin, Adams, and Jay, at Paris. They concern the preliminary articles of the treaty, the opening of ports, the extension of trade, various propositions for a definitive treaty, and the like. It would be necessary, however, for the student investigating the diplomacy of the period to search the French, Dutch, German (Hanoverian, Brunswicker, and Hessian), Prussian, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Swedish papers, where will be found documents of great importance in the communications of the various British ministers to the home government. A new classification of some of the Foreign Office papers is in progress.

In closing, attention may be called to three classes of papers belonging to our subject that cannot be dealt with here at length. In the Public Record Office are many groups of important documents, already more or less known to scholars: the Manchester papers, calendared in one of the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; the Shaftesbury papers, in part unpublished, but listed in the thirty-third Report of the deputy keeper; the Pitt despatches, soon to be edited and printed under the auspices of the Society of Colonial Dames; and the Cornwallis manuscripts, a number of which have been printed in the *Cornwallis-Clinton Correspondence*, edited

by B. F. Stevens. Secondly, in the various docket-books, in the collections of king's bills, signet bills, privy seals, king's sign manuals, and patent-rolls, and in the accounts of the Clerk of the Hanaper, there is ample information for any one desiring to trace the passage of a colonial charter through the seals; and in the records of the Chancery Court and the Court of King's Bench may be found the proceedings and fees connected with the vacation of colonial charters. Lastly, there is the great mass of Colonial Office papers, calendared to 1697 and contained in nearly 2,000 well-arranged volumes or bundles, an analysis of which is in itself a sufficient subject for a separate paper and can well be left for another time. Within a few years there have been discovered more than 600 volumes, classified under the title of Modern Trade papers and now known as Board of Trade, Commercial, two series, that must have been originally a part of the Board of Trade papers. I shall not attempt to describe these papers now. After a careful examination of the entire collection, I am convinced that, as compared with the other Board of Trade papers, these volumes and bundles contain but little of importance for colonial history. Single volumes are occasionally of value, but as a whole the collection is disappointing.

I have now passed in review some of the most important of the materials in British archives for American colonial history. Enough remains, however, undescribed to constitute a mass of material larger even than that which we have here presented. The Colonial Office papers, the ecclesiastical records, and the documents in private hands make up a formidable body of evidence, better known, however, than that contained in the departmental volumes. In time all this material will be made available for historical students, and while the extent of it is often discouraging and the content frequently disappointing, nevertheless it is a distinct gain if we know what there is and what it contains. Imperfect as I know my examination of these documents to have been, I find encouragement in the thought that even an imperfect examination, if it be neither inaccurate nor misleading, is better than no examination at all, and that better men will build on what their predecessors have tried to accomplish.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

DOCUMENTS

Some Papers of Franklin Pierce, 1852-1862.

(*Second Installment.*)

XIII. HON. JOHN W. GEARY TO PRESIDENT PIERCE.

Private.

LECOMPTON, KANSAS TERRITORY,

January 12th 1857.

His Excellency, Franklin Pierce.

My dear Sir :

Your friendly letter of the 12th ult., by the hands of Col: Winston¹ has been received.

I thank you, not only for your many personal assurances of confidence, but also for your public and decided approval of my official action.

Next to my personal honor and the approbation of my conscience, I value the success of your administration and hold sacred the delicate trust confided to me.

"Be so just and true to the right that no man can challenge your impartiality", is an instruction so eminently just that it meets a warm response in my heart and will be my steady rule of action.

In the discharge of my executive duties, I have known and will continue to know "no party, no section, nothing but Kansas and my country", and any measured success I have attained here is due to my determination to administer "equal and exact justice".

Fully conscious of all the difficulties surrounding my delicate and responsible mission and with the general prediction of failure, I entered upon it calmly and deliberately with no fear of failure so long as I was conscious of your cordial and energetic support.

This feeling was necessary for my success, and my usefulness will be destroyed the moment this consciousness ceases.

The removal of Judge Lecompte became a necessity and "public policy" will certainly justify it in the eyes of all right thinking men. His peculiar entanglement in Kansas affairs and his partizan feeling evinced on repeated occasions, destroyed his public usefulness and was a great obstacle in the way of the recognition of the authority of the courts. The collision between the Judge and myself must be judged in the light of its *Kansas surroundings*.²

I deemed the act necessary (and upon the maturest reflection have no reason to change the opinion then formed,) to prevent the rescue of the Free-State prisoners and to preserve the peace of the territory.

¹ Isaac Winston, United States marshal for Kansas Territory.

² See "A Defense by Samuel D. Lecompte", in *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1903-1904 (VIII, 389 ff.). See also *ibid.*, VII, 375, note.

It will not do to apply the same rules to the government of an old, well regulated state and to a Territory just emerging from an insurrection, like a sleeping volcano ready to burst forth at any moment. An act done in the one may be harmless, while in the other it would produce an explosion.

All eyes were upon me, and the moment I evinced the slightest complicity with either party, that moment the equilibrium was destroyed and the peace endangered.

No arrests were supposed to be made without my agency, and all discharges were attributed to me, as I had really resurrected the civil authority.

The discharge of Hayes,¹ after his arrest, through my agency, at once placed me in a false position, and public confidence would have been annihilated in the impartiality of my administration had I not immediately repudiated all connection with the imprudent action of the Judge.

There is a matter in this case which should have some weight in the question. The evidence before the Grand Jury was pointed to the fact that Hayes was the very man who committed the horrid act for which a pro-slavery Grand Jury found a true bill against him for murder in the first degree; and of this I was advised when I ordered the arrest.

The right to destroy property to prevent the spread of a conflagration has been traced to the highest necessity and the natural rights of man independent of society or civil government. It is referred by moralists and jurists to the same great principle which justifies the exclusive appropriation of a plank in a shipwreck, though the life of another be sacrificed; with the throwing overboard goods in a tempest for the safety of the vessel; with the trespass upon the lands of another to escape death by an enemy.

The common law adopts the principles of the natural law, and places the justification of an act otherwise tortious precisely upon the same ground of necessity.

Actual or strong apparent necessity must exist as the sole ground of justification and the conduct of the individual must be regulated by his own judgment as to the exigencies of the case.

Being the centre of almost hourly communication with every part of the territory, and occupying an independent and impartial position, I had access to sources of information entirely closed to others. My judgment imperatively demanded the course of action I adopted, and I would have been recreant to duty and self-convicted of all consequences, had I evinced hesitation.

¹ Charles Hays, a member of the band of Kickapoo Rangers, found guilty by a grand jury of the murder of David C. Buffum near Lecompton, and discharged on bail by Chief Justice Lecompte. See John H. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas* (Philadelphia, 1866), 166-181, for a full though partizan account of this affair, showing the part taken by Pierce and Geary. See also Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (New York, 1892), 339 and "A Defense by Samuel D. Lecompte", cited above.

The beneficial result of new and impartial officers will soon be apparent to the country in the general recognition of law and respect for the civil authority.

I desire especially that all officers coming here should be impressed with the necessity of attending to their legitimate duties, entirely avoiding partizan affiliations, as the best means of securing the respect of the people.

Judge Cunningham¹ and Mr. Winston² (neither of whom I had previously known,) seem to be "intelligent, thoroughly conservative and right minded men". The benefit of their presence is already apparent. I have heard favorable accounts of Messrs. Harrison³ and Spencer.⁴ I wish you would send them here as soon as possible.

As I have always endeavored with all the Territorial officers, so will I continue, to "cultivate kind relations with Judge Cato",⁵ although I regret that his associates have been anything but satisfactory. I am, however, happy to be able to say that I have less objection to him than to any of the old officers.

Last Tuesday was the day fixed by the Topeka State Constitution for the meeting of the so-called Free-State Legislature.

In my last dispatch to the State Department I mentioned the precautionary measures which I had quietly taken in the matter.

I had also confidential agents at Topeka and other places and had every assurance that no quorum would be present and that no business would be transacted in the slightest manner conflicting with the territorial government. Dr. Charles Robinson gave me assurances that he would resign his Governorship, which he accordingly did, and he was on his way to Boston upon the day of the meeting. W. Y. Roberts⁶ the Lt.-Governor, I was informed would not attend, and Mr. Klotz,⁷

¹ Thomas Cunningham, of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, appointed by Pierce November 19, 1856, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Associate Justice J. M. Burrell. He was an active Democrat and one of the electors for Buchanan. After looking the ground over carefully, he resigned. Joseph Williams, of Iowa, was appointed as his successor, June 3, 1857.

² See note 1, page 350.

³ C. O. Harrison, of Kentucky, nominated by Pierce November 17, 1856, to supersede Leconte as chief justice, but not confirmed by the Senate, February 17, 1857. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, VII, 332, note.

⁴ William Spencer, appointed by Pierce in 1856 as United States marshal of Kansas Territory to succeed Israel B. Donalson. *Ibid.*, IV, 657.

⁵ Sterling G. Cato, of Alabama, associate justice of the United States court for the territory of Kansas. See *ibid.*, IV, 555 ff., VIII, 390, note.

⁶ Colonel William Y. Roberts, of Pennsylvania.

⁷ Robert Klotz, of Pennsylvania, who reached Pawnee in December, 1854, and opened a hotel there, which, according to a local chronicler, usually had a more ample stock of "fluids" than of "solids". He superintended the construction of the building erected for the use of the legislature. For some reason the early Kansas lawmakers boycotted his hotel. Klotz was a member of the Topeka Constitutional Convention of 1855. He later returned to Pennsylvania and was elected a member of the Forty-seventh Congress. Philip C. Schuyler was secretary of state under the Topeka Constitution, and continued in this office until the dissolution of the Free-State organization. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, VII, 372.

the Secretary of State, was in Pennsylvania. So you will perceive that I had but little occasion for apprehension.

To provide against all contingencies I had a reliable agent at Topeka, to give me early notice of all movements, determining to repair there in person in case my presence became necessary.

Certain officious gentlemen in this place, under the impression and with the wish that the Free-State men would resist as heretofore, and thus furnish a pretext for renewed excitement, and in pursuance of a scheme they had been nursing for a long time, through their agent Saml. J. Jones, Ex. Shff: of this County,¹ made an information before Judge Cato against some thirty-four members of the old Topeka Legislature for usurpation of office on the 4th of March, 1856. Judge Cato issued a warrant to Marshal Donaldson, whose Deputy, Pardee, proceeded *alone* to Topeka, arrested twelve persons without the slightest resistance and brought them to Tecumseh, where, waiving all examination, they were held to bail in their own recognizance in the sum of Five Hundred Dollars each.

The intelligent action of these Free-State men in promptly submitting to the process of the Court entirely defeated this nefarious conspiracy to disturb the peace of the Territory, placed its actors in a ridiculous light and has excited a respect and sympathy for men heretofore regarded as fanatics. The Free-State men now understand their true policy to be in favor of peace, as even the color of disturbance here would prevent the immense spring emigration and they are fully resolved to furnish no pretext for disturbance.

The object of the meeting at Topeka, as I am reliably informed, was to petition Congress for the repeal of the Kansas Statutes and the reorganization of the Territory upon the Organic act with such additional checks as the wisdom of Congress might suggest, and not to enact *laws*.

Judge Cato in the strongest terms condemned it to me, but remarked in his own justification that "the information being made before him in due form by a responsible man, it was his *duty* to issue the warrant".

If this Topeka movement had not been noticed, it would have died a natural death, as they failed to secure a quorum, and this imprudent interference has furnished a plausible excuse for what would otherwise have been a gross failure. They will not lose so good an opportunity to write glowing letters, redolent with Kansas outrages and the violation of Constitutional rights.

No real injury however to the interests of peace will result from this ridiculous *faux pas*.

As I have informed you in former letters, there has almost from the first, been a combination here (the leaders of which are Genl. Calhoun, Sheriff Jones, with other lesser men at various points of this Territory, and having their headquarters in Westport) to defeat my policy and to create the impression that the existing peace is entirely illusive and with-

¹ Douglas County. See *ibid.*, 333, note.

out solid foundations. Various expedients have been devised to precipitate a collision between myself and the Pro-Slavery party and with this view the most lying rumors had been put in circulation and the boldest predictions of war proclaimed.

The Convention that was to meet in Leavenworth, assembled here this evening, and before receiving the credentials of its members, a discussion ensued whether the body was to be termed "law and order" or Pro-Slavery, and an amendment was carried that no person should be entitled to a seat in the Convention *unless he was in favor of making Kansas a Slave State*. Genl. Clark,¹ Sheriff Jones, J. H. Stringfellow² and Jones³ of the Leecompton Union were the principal speakers. The resolution was carried by few voices and met with no enthusiasm.

The Legislature organized to-day and I expect to transmit my message as soon as I have proper notice of the organization.

I will exhaust all the resources of circumspection and prudence in my official communications with parties in this Territory. I apprehend no difficulty. I am fully resolved that the spirit and intention of the Organic act shall be fairly carried out, and if needs be, I will use a vigor of action sufficient to awe conspirators and preserve the peace.

With sentiments of the highest respect, I remain,

Your friend

JNO. W. GEARY.

XIV. PIERCE'S CABINET TO FRANKLIN PIERCE (COPY).

WASHINGTON 3 March, 1857.

Sir :

We are not willing to allow our common relation as members of your Cabinet to cease without communicating the sentiments which the retrospect of intimate and long continued official association has left indelibly impressed on our minds.

We have witnessed with satisfaction and respect the untiring devotion to the public service, — the most ardent zeal for the good of the country, — the purity of purpose, — and the scrupulous observance of constitutional principles which has been manifested by you at all times and in all circumstances. As the territory, population, wealth and power of the Union continue to increase, so, in the same proportion do the cares and responsibility of the administration of its government. Each successive presidential period brings with it new events of national importance and

¹George W. Clark, United States government agent for the Pottawatomie Indians. See letter of Geary, December 22, 1856, in the REVIEW, October, 1904, 124-127. *Kansas Historical Collections*, VI, 63-64.

²Captain John H. Stringfellow, of Virginia, a brother of Dr. B. F. Stringfellow, and co-editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, which was established February 3, 1855, by J. H. Stringfellow and Robert S. Kelley, at Atchison. They sold it in 1857 to an association of which Ex-Senator S. C. Pomeroy was agent, and it became a Free-State paper. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, VII, 331-332, note.

³A. W. Jones and C. A. Faris established the *Leecompton Union*, May 3, 1856, as a pro-slavery paper.

consequent collision of interest or convictions. Ours are institutions of free thought and speech. Every citizen participates in the conduct of public affairs, and in the scrutiny and the judgment of public men. He, therefore, who is highest in place and in functions, is, of necessity, peculiarly subject amid the prejudices and the passions of the hour to encounter blames when a better understanding of his motives and of his acts would ensure commendation. We who have seen you most and with the fullest opportunities of appreciation, know well how conscientiously you have discharged the high trust devolved upon you, and we confidently believe that, as time rolls on, the voice of impartial history will ratify our attestation of the integrity and patriotism of your exercise of the executive power of the United States.

We desire also to express our grateful sense of the dignified courtesy and considerate candor which has uniformly marked your deportment towards us, both in the consultations of the Cabinet and in the business of our respective Departments. This, while it has served to lighten our official labor, and facilitate its performance, has efficiently contributed to maintain a unity of administration, few examples of which occur in the annals of the Republic.

With earnest regard and warm wishes for your health and happiness,

We have the honor to be,

Your sincere friends,

W. L. MARCY
JAMES GUTHRIE
JEFFERSON DAVIS
J. C. DOBBIN
R. McCLELLAND
JAMES CAMPBELL
C. CUSHING.

Franklin Pierce,

President of the United States.

XV. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET (COPY).

WASHINGTON March 4, 1857.

Gentlemen:

Your uninterrupted manifestation of personal friendship for me, during the past four years leaves no occasion for reassurance of your cordial regard now that we are about to separate.

I participate fully in the gratification which you express in reference to our daily intercourse happily undisturbed by any element of discord and I shall ever hold in grateful appreciation the extent to which my most severe and perplexing official labors have been lightened by your unfailing and cheerful cooperation.

It will, I am sure, be an agreeable recollection to us all, that whatever else the Administration may have done or omitted to do, it has not sought applause by the adoption of temporising expedients, nor immunity from censure by the negative character of its policy and measures.

The violent assaults which it has encountered on the one hand, and the zeal with which it has been defended on the other, are conclusive upon the point that it has been one of positive good, or positive evil.

The exercise of the veto power on sundry occasions, involving, in some instances, large individual pecuniary interests, and in others questions of public policy, of an exciting character; the discussion in annual and special messages of controverted constitutional principles and of the rights of the States under our system, have undeniably been a fruitful source of complaint and vituperation. These were matters which alone could be determined by my own conscience and judgment and in the responsibility of which no one could participate.

You may I think recur to the condition of the country during the four years now about to close. It has concededly been a period of general prosperity; defalcation on the part of federal officers has been almost entirely unknown; the public treasury, with more than \$20,000,000 constantly on hand, has been free from the touch of fraud or speculation; long pending foreign questions have been amicably and advantageously adjusted; valuable additions have been made to our already vast domain; and peace has been maintained with all the nations of the earth and without compromise of right or a stain upon the national honor.

Whatever of credit pertains to the Federal Executive in the accomplishment of these results, is attributable in great measure, to the fidelity, laborious habits and ability of the heads of the different Departments.

In my final retirement from active participation in public affairs I shall observe the career which awaits you individually, with the interest of constant and unabated friendship.

Your friend,

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Hon. Wm. L. Marcy

" James Guthrie

" Jefferson Davis

" Jas C. Dobbin

" Robt McClelland

" James Campbell

" Caleb Cushing.

XVI. GENERAL G. T. BEAUREGARD TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

NEW ORLEANS, March 5th, 1857

My dear General:

Permit a sincere friend upon your retirement from the Presidential chair to congratulate you on the prosperous and favorable condition in which you leave the country and the Government to your successor, notwithstanding all the troubles and obstacles arising from the excitement of the worst passions of the worst parts of our population you had to contend with.

Let your opponents, enemies and false friends croak as they will. History will give you ample credit for the ability firmness and fearless-

ness you have displayed in the execution of your always responsible, and at times very trying, duties. We of the South are or should be, everlastingly grateful to you for the manly and independent course you adopted when our sacred rights were about being trampled upon by an unscrupulous and insolent majority in the lower House of Congress.

Shall we not have ere long the honor of a visit from you and your estimable Lady? We would be proud and happy to be able to extend to you both the Hospitalities of our good city.

That you may find in your retirement all the comforts and enjoyments you are both so deservedly entitled to, is the hope and prayer of, my dear General,

Your most sincere friend and serv't,

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

General Franklin Pierce,
Ex-president of the U. States,
Washington, D. C.

XVII. JEFFERSON DAVIS TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BRIERSFIELD MI. July 23, 1857.

My dear friend.

I had intended to have written to you some time since, but when I returned from Jackson where our state convention met in the latter part of June, I found my little boy quite sick and, as soon as he was able to travel, hurried off to the sea-coast of Missi. where I left my wife and the children for the summer. Little Jeff was well and Maggie and Mrs. Davis in better health than when they left home.

During the session of the Convention a resolution was introduced censuring Gov. R. J. Walker.¹ An amendment was offered to include Presidt. Buchanan, and a member² proposed to extend the censure to you; on the ground that he had learned from the U. S. Dist. Atty., Isaacs,³ that you had made appointments for Kansas with the design of aiding the free-soilers and had sent out agents charged with your views to oppose the introduction of slavery into that territory. I replied, when subsequently called on to address the Convention. First stating what had been reported to me, for I was not present when the remarks were made and asking if I had been correctly informed. Upon being answered in the affirmative I proceeded in terms less polite than just to pronounce the statement untrue. An animated conversation ensued and the position was changed to the statement that Mr. Isaacs had told him (Mr. Archer) that certain persons who had come to Kansas stated your wish to be that Kansas should be a free State. After ridiculing a charge based upon the report of unknown persons of a conversation held with another at a remote time and place, I said that of your personal prefer-

¹ Robert James Walker, of Mississippi, appointed by Buchanan March 10, 1857, as governor of Kansas, to succeed Geary.

² Archer.

³ See No. XII., Geary to Pierce, December 22, 1856 AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X, 124-127, October, 1904.

ences it was not for me to speak, nor in the present connection for them to inquire but that he who charged you with using your executive functions to aid the free-soilers in Kansas uttered a slanderous falsehood, which years of friendship and an intimate knowledge of your opinions authorized me to denounce.

I said that Northern Democrats generally feared the political effect of a pro-slavery constitution in Kansas, that Southern Democrats had not claimed that Northern Democrats should concur in their abstract opinions in relation to African slavery, that he who recognized the rights we have under the Constitution had done all which was essential, and when as in your case his cordial support of those rights had brought upon him the combined batteries of all our enemies that he was entitled to the support of southern men, and instead of carping criticisms, to unstinted commendation and unqualified approval. Mr. Archer is an extreme man, of high personal respectability and great tenacity of purpose. He announced toward the close of the altercation that he would write to Mr. Isaacs, and said he had been an ardent friend and supporter of yours until he felt you were not sincere, and that the report of certain persons had been strengthened by the character of the governors sent to Kansas by you.

The Convention was so entirely on my side that Mr. A. had little attention and no support, and but for the threat to sustain his allegations by writing to Mr. Isaacs and the possibility that the public would hear of the matter again, I would not have disturbed you with this recital. The attempt to make a distinction between you and myself was rejected and with happy effect. I think the motive was friendship for Walker, not hostility to you, and beyond the irritation of the occasion will not be visited upon me. I add the last lest some report of a [word illegible] correspondent should lead you to think otherwise.

Mrs. Davis and myself speculate on the chances of meeting Mrs. Pierce and yourself again. We were much gratified to hear of her improved health and trust a southern winter will confirm it. Your many friends in this region expect a visit from you.

I thank you for your speech in Faneuil Hall, it was quoted by me in my speech at Jackson. Your mode of saving the Union is substantially the same as that proposed by Calhoun in his last speech in the Senate, a concurrence which was hailed by the State's Rights Democracy, which means all from whom you could accept anything in this community.

With love to Mrs. Pierce, I am as ever

Your friend,

JEFFN. DAVIS.

Presdt. Franklin Pierce.

XVIII. CHIEF JUSTICE R. B. TANEY TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

FOUQUIER WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, Aug. 29, 1857.

My Dear Sir:

You will see by the date of this letter that I am again at the place where I had the pleasure of meeting you last summer, and I have met

here again our old friend Mr. Taylor. We talk about you and Mrs. Pierce when we meet, and when the mails come I look to see if the newspapers say anything as to your whereabouts or of the health of Mrs. Pierce and yourself. The last accounts represented you as in good health and Mrs. Pierce as improving. I hope the report is true as to both.

You see I am passing through another conflict, much like the one which followed the removal of the deposits, and the war is being waged upon me in the same spirit and by many of the same men who distinguished themselves on that occasion by the unscrupulous means to which they resorted.

At my time of life when my end must be near, I should have enjoyed to find that the irritating strifes of this world were over, and that I was about to depart in peace with all men and all men in peace with me. Yet perhaps it is best as it is. The mind is less apt to feel the torpor of age when it is thus forced into action by public duties. And I have an abiding confidence that this act of my judicial life¹ will stand the test of time and the sober judgment of the country, as well as the political act of which I have spoken.

Your successor has I think, a difficult time before him. Symptoms of discord are already appearing. Feeling as I do the necessity of cordial union among the friends of the administration in order to prevent the government from falling to pieces, I am unwilling to find fault with the present administration even when I cannot approve. Yet I must say to you that I deeply regret the adoption of the principle of rotation in office.

Its inevitable consequence will be to multiply the number of political adventurers and trading politicians who are always ready to sacrifice the public interests for their own individual profit, and our elections instead of being contests for principles will in a short time become contests for the emoluments of office, and influenced by mere mercenary motives. The removal of persons who are opposed to the Administration by seeking to displace it, stands on a very different principle. Indeed I never could comprehend how a man of right principles and right feeling could consent to hold an office under persons whom he thought it his duty to oppose and was endeavoring to turn out. But the principle adopted by the present administration is a very different one; is now, for the first time, brought into the Government and will, I fear, do great mischief.

I shall return to Washington about the 15th or 20th of September, and hope that at some leisure moment you will let me hear from you. And with my best regards to Mrs. Pierce, I am, dear sir, most respectfully and truly,

Your friend and servt.,

R. B. TANEY.

General Franklin Pierce,
Concord, New Hampshire.

P. S. Mr. Taylor, having understood that I was about writing you, requests me to send his best regards.

¹ The Dred Scott decision.

XIX. JEFFERSON DAVIS TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Jan. 17, 1859.

My dear friend.

Your letter relieved [me] of an anxiety created by the absence of any recent intelligence concerning you. We are dragging on here in a manner significant of no good to the country. Each day renders me more hopeless of effecting anything for the present or prospective benefit of the country by legislation of Congress. Even more than heretofore Members and Senators represent extreme opinions and may increase, but cannot allay, the ferment which gave to them political life. I am gratified by the view you take of my New England tour. The abolitionists and the disunionists combined to assail me for the speeches made there. I hope the Southern assailants have been scotched and the others may rail on to their content. That tour convinced me that the field of useful labor is now among the people and that temperate, true men could effect much by giving to the opposite section the views held by the other. The difference is less than I had supposed.

Your old friends in Missi have not forgotten you and are ready to show their appreciation of you on the first occasion. Many said to me that your renomination for the Presidency was their first wish and best hope.

Mrs. Davis was quite happy in our sojourn in Maine and at Boston but often wished it could have been possible to have found Mrs. Pierce at home. Our children have grown rapidly and the little girl is now quite a companion to me when at evening I go home to forget the past and postpone the future.

Clay¹ and Fitzpatrick² were happy to find you still remembered them and both said they would write to you. I will send you some papers which I hope may be more fortunate in their journey than were those of last year.

Please give my kindest regards to Mrs. Pierce of whom we speak often and to whose return we look with affectionate solicitude. You may scold me roundly as I deserve for not writing to you more regularly, but do not I pray you fail to give me credit for good resolves and do let me hear from you as often as your convenience will allow.

As ever your friend,

JEFF^R. DAVIS.

XX. JEFFERSON DAVIS TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

OAKLAND, Allegheny Co., Md, Sept. 2, 1859.

My dear friend,

I am rejoiced to know that you are again at home and to learn from your remarks at Boston that Mrs. Pierce is in better health.

Your letter from England³ was not received until after the date on which you directed me to write to you at London. I consequently

¹ Clement Claiborne Clay, elected United States senator from Alabama, 1853, re-elected in 1859, withdrew 1861. *Appletons' Cyclopadia of American Biography.*

² Benjamin Fitzpatrick, United States senator from Georgia. *Ibid.*

³ Where he had gone for the benefit of Mrs. Pierce's health in the spring of 1858.

waited to hear further of your movements. We are here because of Mrs. Davis' feeble health. She has not been well since last winter and this place was selected because of mountain retreats it was the most accessible. I returned from Missi. near to the last of July and have been seriously ill, though now free of disease my strength has not been restored and there is constant apprehension of a relapse. Please give our love to Mrs. Pierce and assure her of our constant solicitude and desire to see her. Maggie says she remembers you both and always loves you. Jeff is nearly as large as Maggie and very stout. The infant (Joe) is more like Maggie than Jeff. I hope we shall have the satisfaction of submitting them all to your inspection at some future day and I will [not] trouble you now with a description impartial though it would naturally be. Will you make your once contemplated visit to the South this winter?

In reference to your views of your political position I will say that I do not think you are called upon to make any disclaimer in relation to the Charleston Convention. You would not under any circumstances seek the nomination and I hope you will not obstruct the wish of your friends, should circumstances indicate it, to use your name for the nomination.¹

In Missi. I am sure you are preferred above all others. The reason is two-fold: first it is personal, which includes attachment and confidence, second it arises from the fact that the opposition to your administration was of a kind which would make the issue between the Abolitionists and the friends of the Constitution as distinct as the most ultra pro-slavery man could render it, without the draw-back which may be felt on account of the fiction just now prevalent that the South desires to reopen the African slave trade and to enact a slave code by Congress to be enforced in the Territories, by federal power.

The decency and good sense of the people must revolt against the low chicanery by which the Presidency is sought by certain ambitious demagogues and the reaction will be favorable to a gentleman whose self-respect and respect for the people have led him to withdraw from public notice rather than obtrude himself upon the popular attention as a candidate for the Presidency, an office which you will doubtless agree

¹ There are among the Pierce papers several letters from prominent politicians of the period in which inquiry is made as to the availability of Pierce as a candidate before the Charleston Convention of 1860. Some writers merely express the hope that Pierce will accept a renomination. Others warmly urge him to that course upon the ground that he is the only man who can unite the Northern and Southern wings of the party and save the Union.

On September 22, 1859, in a letter written from Andover, Mass., to Eli S. Shorter of Eufala, Alabama, Pierce said: "I feel . . . that my public life is closed and have not a single lingering desire that it should be otherwise. This and more my friends at the North fully understand. They know that it would annoy me if I believed that my name could come before the Charleston Convention under any possible combination of circumstances. Although some of my warm personal friends have been elected delegates in Maine and Massachusetts and more probably will be in New England, I have reason to believe that they will regard my wishes in this relation."

with me, can never be properly filled by one who has sought it in the mode and by the means known as electioneering

Until we meet I will hope to hear from you often. Not knowing where to send this if you shall have left Boston I will request that it be fordd. to you. With best wishes I am as ever very truly yr friend

JEFF^N. DAVIS.

Excy. F. Pierce

XXI. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO H. D. PIERCE.¹

CLARENDON HOTEL CITY OF NEW YORK Dec: 21, 1859

My dear Brother—

I hope you will feel a sufficient interest in us to desire to know how we have progressed thus far on our journey.

After three or four weeks with our friends (the Masons) in Boston very agreeably, we made pleasant visits of a week at Hartford and a week at New Haven.

On Wednesday last we came to this City where we will remain till this day week, (Saturday Jan^y 7th) when we propose to embark for Nassau in the Island of New Providence, one of the Bahama group. The climate is represented to be very fine and we shall in the absence of bad weather or bad luck reach the Island in four days. Frank had better find it on the map and thus get a distinct idea of our geographical location. I am sorry to say that in my intercourse with residents of this city or with people casually here I have found nothing to quiet my apprehensions with regard to the serious dangers which threaten the Union. Orders for merchandize and for various articles of manufacture are being constantly countermanded by the Southern people, social intercourse between the North and the South and business arrangements also are being seriously disturbed—and if the interruption becomes much more complete, political relations cannot long be maintained. What the effect even of this interruption must be upon New England which depends to so great an extent upon the intelligent application of ingenuity and industry to the mechanic arts no well informed man can fail to foresee and no man whether well informed or not will fail to feel. Disasterous as disruption would be to all portions of the Country the blow will fall most heavily upon New England so far as property and prosperity are concerned. Prosperity! there would be none, and property not enough to talk about. But after all the prostration of material interests would constitute but one of the most inconsiderable elements in the general disaster. Under existing circumstances I deplore the necessity, which calls me away from home. The Union meetings² are well so far as they go and for the present. But

¹ His brother, of Hillsboro, New Hampshire.

² The *Boston Daily Courier* for Friday, December 9, 1859, in giving an account of the Union meeting in Faneuil Hall on the preceding evening, prints a long and interesting letter of Pierce to the Executive Committee of Boston Citizens, dated Concord, December 7, 1859, giving his opinion of the John Brown raid and of Abolition sentiment concerning the raid. Soon afterward Clark, Fellows, and Company, of Boston, reprinted the *Courier* of December 9 as a pamphlet, with an edition of 5,000 copies. A copy of this letter in Pierce's handwriting is among the Pierce papers.

if we cannot wrest political power from the hands of fanatical sectionalism, the speeches which have been made, the letters which have been written and the resolutions which have been passed will not be worth the paper on which they have been printed. If, for instance, sectionalism is still to be dominant in N. H. and Connecticut when the only elections are to be held next spring, the South will and may well take such results as indicating that men, who mean to obey the Constitution in all its parts not of one party, but of different parties have made an earnest struggle for the right and were yet powerless. Can our people be roused to a sense of duty and obligation before it is too late. Time alone can determine. I shall write you again upon this subject and make some suggestions with regard to your property and business. In the mean time bring the latter into as narrow a compass and into a condition of perfect security, as you can—and make no new purchases or contracts. You can show this letter to Judge Potter¹ and to Genl. and John McNeil² but to nobody else. Love to y^r wife and the boys.

Y^r affec^t Brother

FRANKLIN PIERCE

P. S. Do not fail to write me the day you receive this and direct to this City. I have no time to reread and you may find it necessary to supply words but you will I hope make out the sense and mind it.

XXII. JEFFERSON DAVIS TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

SENATE CHAMBER, Jan'y. 30, 1860.

My dear friend,

We are yet as when you sailed talking in the Senate and wrangling for organization in the House. There is a belief that Smith³ an old line Whig of North Carolina will be elected, but so many chickens have been counted from eggs which proved addled that I have no confidence in the prophecies of the House.

Govr. Dana of Me. is still here and much concerned lest our party should be divided at Charleston. I have not been able to show him how the question can be adjusted by "resolution", but have told him of the only way I have seen and which is that of nominating the man who will be accepted by both sections without a platform.

Yesterday we had our youngest boy christened Joseph Evans and wished we could have had you and Mrs. Pierce to wish a "God speed" on the journey of life.

Nicholson of Tenn.⁴ is reading a speech need I say on what, do we ever speak of anything but that over which we have no control, slavery of the negro.

¹ Judge C. E. Potter of New Hampshire, a relative of the President by marriage.

² John H. McNeil, a brother-in-law of Pierce.

³ Representative William N. H. Smith.

⁴ Senator Alfred O. P. Nicholson.

The prospect for our country is not less gloomy than when you left. The condition in which Genl. Cushing said men should provide for storm seems to be rapidly approaching. I will stand by the flag and uphold the Constitution whilst there is possibility of effecting anything to preserve and perpetuate the govt. we inherited — beyond that my duty and my faith binds me to Mississippi and her fortunes as she may shape them. I hope on for the kind providence that has preserved us heretofore, and still labor at my [post?] as a member of the general govt.

Please present my kindest remembrances and most friendly wishes to Mrs. Pierce.

Mrs. Davis would I know join me in these expressions of affection to Mrs. Pierce and also to yourself.

Hoping to hear from you often, I am as ever, truly yrs.

Presidt. F. Pierce.

JEFFN. DAVIS.

XXIII. JEFFERSON DAVIS TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON D. C. June 13, 1860.

My dear General,

Your welcome letter of the 11th inst. relieved me of speculation of your whereabouts as I have seen it stated in the newspapers that you were about to go directly to New Hampshire, but had not found a verification of the statement. It grieves me beyond expression to learn that Mrs. Pierce is ill and Mrs. Davis joins me in expression of our sympathy and affectionate regard.

We all deplore the want of unanimity as to the candidates among our Southern friends and I do not see any satisfactory solution of the difficulty. The darkest hour precedes the dawn and it may be that light will break upon us when most needed and least expected.

If your hope should be realized as to the action of the N. E. and N. Y. delegation in relation to the delegates to be admitted from the South, it will have a good effect, if they should otherwise decide in favor of the spurious delegates, the Democratic party will become historic.

Our people will support any sound man, but will not vote for a "squatter sovereignty" candidate any more than for a "free-soiler".

If northern men insist upon nominating Douglas, we must be beaten and with such alienation as leaves nothing to hope for in the future of nationality in our organization.

I have urged my friends to make an honest effort to save our party from disintegration as the last hope of averting ruin from the country. They would gladly unite upon you, or Dallas and would readily be brought to any one of like character and record.

I urged upon Mr. Minot¹ before he went to Charleston the evil effect of permitting N. H. to be mustered under the banner of Douglas, but it was of no avail. Matters are now more complicated and men are more unreasonable. Some are unwilling to go into the Convention at Balti-

¹ James Minot, formerly Pierce's law partner, and later his executor.

more and are disposed to rush blindly on dangers which they feel are at hand but do not appreciate; others see in the crisis only the vulgar struggle of the ins and outs, and have no fear of a catastrophe; whilst a few are willing to abandon the government to get rid of men who are unfaithful to it.

I have never seen the country in so great danger, and those who might protect it seem to be unconscious of the necessity. If our little grog-drinking, electioneering Demagogue¹ can destroy our hopes, it must be that we have been doomed to destruction.

Hoping soon to see you and in the meantime to hear from you fully, I am, as ever Cordially your friend,

JEFFN. DAVIS.

To Presidt. F. Pierce.

XXIV. A LETTER OF PIERCE ON THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.²

CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 23, 1860.

My Dear Sir.

I have just received your letter of the 21st and sympathize with all you say with regard to the inestimable value of the Union. By letters, by speeches, in private conversation, I have uttered for more than twelve years words of warning against the heresies which have swept over the North and culminated in the enactment of laws which are directly in the teeth of the clear provisions of the Constitution, in eleven states.

But you know how futile have been all patriotic counsels. I have desired to do just what you suggest, but the difficulty is to see just what as an honest man I can say.

I have never desired to survive the wreck of the Union. With submission to the Providence of God, I do not desire to live to see the day when the flag of my country, with all its stars in their places, will not float at home and abroad. But when you ask me to interpose, then comes this paralyzing fact that if I were in their places, after so many years of unrelenting aggression, I should probably be doing what they are doing.

It is not the election of Mr. Lincoln, *per se*, which has caused this emphatic movement at the South. That election is beyond all doubt Constitutional, but the people of the Southern States look beyond it to see, if they can, what it implies. They see the great and powerful state of Massachusetts electing by 35000 majority a man who justified the armed invasion of Virginia last year³; and they believe that the people of Massachusetts are acting deliberately. They see Mr. Lincoln elected and they take his election as an endorsement of his opinion that we cannot go on as we are, but must in the end be all free or all slave states. Foolish, absurd and groundless as this view is and will always stand, the

¹ Douglas.

² This letter is in the handwriting of Pierce, is unsigned and unaddressed, and bears the indorsement, "Copy of letter not sent."

³ Governor John A. Andrew.

South takes his election as an endorsement of resistance to the law for the return of fugitives from service of 1851, and of the other heresy broadly promulgated by him and Mr. Seward, referred to above, of an "irrepressible conflict".

If our fathers were mistaken when they formed the Constitution, if time has proved it, the sooner we are apart the better. I think it is all false, all wrong. I have tried to make other people believe it, but in vain. How can I urge the men of the South to take a view I should not take if I were there, a view which I do not take as a northern citizen with all I have at stake here. It is vain to talk about eloquence and appeals. Action, immediate action, on the part of the northern states which have nullified the Constitution is what is wanted and just what we cannot have. Is it not Mr. Wilson¹ who said his heel was upon the neck of the South and [who is] accepted everywhere by the people of Massachusetts? Is not Mr. Sumner, who has said more offensive things than that, equally accepted and applauded? Both are true — all is true, which they allege with regard to our aggressions on their Constitutional rights.

XXV. JEFFERSON DAVIS TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 20, 1861.

My dear friend :

I have often and sadly turned my thoughts to you during the troublous times through which we have been passing and now I come to the hard task of announcing to you that the hour is at hand which closes my connection with the United States for the independence and union of which my Father bled, and in the service of which I have sought to emulate the example he set for my guidance.

Mississippi not as a matter of choice but of necessity, has resolved to enter on the trial of secession. Those who have driven her to this alternative threaten to deprive her of the right to require that her government shall rest on the consent of the governed, to substitute foreign force for domestic support, to reduce a state to the condition from which the colony arose. In the attempt to avoid the issue which had been joined by the country, the present administration has complicated and precipitated the question. Even now if the duty "to preserve the public property" was rationally regarded, the probable collision at Charleston would be avoided. Security far better than any which the federal troops can give might be obtained in consideration of the little garrison at Fort Sumpter. If the disavowal of any purpose to coerce So. Ca. be sincere, the possession of a work to command the harbor is worse than useless.

When Lincoln comes in he will have but to continue in the path of his predecessor to inaugurate a civil war and leave a soi-disant democratic administration responsible for the fact. General Cushing² was here last week and when we parted it seemed like taking a last leave of a Brother.

¹ Henry Wilson, colleague of Charles Sumner, as senator from Massachusetts.

² Caleb Cushing.

I leave immediately for Mississippi and know not what may devolve upon me after my return. Civil war has only horror for me, but whatever circumstances demand shall be met as a duty and I trust be so discharged that you will not be ashamed of our former connection or cease to be my friend.

I had hoped this summer to have had an opportunity to see you and Mrs. Pierce and to have shown you our children. Mrs. Davis was sorely disappointed when we turned southward without seeing you. I believe she wrote Mrs. Pierce in explanation of the circumstances which prevented us from executing our cherished plan of a visit to you when we should leave West Point.

Mrs. Davis joins me in kind remembrance to Mrs. Pierce and the expression of the hope that we may yet have you both at our country home. Do me the favor to write me often. Address Hurricane P. O., Warren County, Miss.

May God bless you is ever the prayer of your friend

JEFFN. DAVIS.

President F. Pierce.

XXVI. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO BISHOP CARLTON CHASE.¹

HILLSBORO, May 6, 1861.

My dear Sir,

The perusal of your cordial note of the 22nd. inst. afforded me great satisfaction. The condition of our country, superinduced to a great extent by the wrong and persistent moral aggression of the North, but to a still greater extent by the arrogant rashness of the South, is to the last degree deplorable. What is to become of the republic, seems to me, to be beyond the grasp of human wisdom.

We cannot subjugate the Southern States, if we would. The idea that they can subjugate the Northern, Middle and Northwestern States, is simply preposterous. And yet in the face of these propositions, to which all intelligent minds assent, the masses of the people on both sides are apparently hurried forward against the plainest dictates of reason and humanity, as if stricken with judicial madness.

I enjoy the memories which you express of my venerated father and reciprocate your desire for the honest grasp of the hand, especially in a time like this.

I am glad our hearts, and if need be, our hands, are likely to go together in the fearful emergency which confronts us. The loss of life is much. The want of those who depend for their daily bread upon their daily labor is much. The loss of property, so far as I am concerned, is nothing. But the loss of my country — the overthrow of what I esteem the last hope of civil liberty is fearful.

¹Episcopalian bishop, consecrated first bishop of New Hampshire in 1844. Was rector for twenty-four years in Bellows Falls, Vt.; later was rector in Claremont, N. H.

If I can I will, in a week or two see you at Claremont. If this may not be

Believe me truly, Your friend,
Bishop Carlton Chase, FRANKLIN PIERCE.
Claremont, N. H.

XXVII. CHIEF JUSTICE R. B. TANEY TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON June 12, 1861.

My dear sir:

I left Baltimore before your kind letter reached that city and it has been forwarded to me here.

Your cordial approbation of my decision in the case of the Habeas Corpus has given me sincere pleasure. In the present state of the public mind inflamed with passion and seeking to accomplish its object by force of arms, I was sensible of the grave responsibility which the case of John Merryman cast upon me. But my duty was plain — and that duty required me to meet the question directly and firmly, without evasion — whatever might be the consequences to myself.

The paroxysm of passion into which the country has suddenly been thrown, appears to me to amount almost to delirium. I hope that it is too violent to last long, and that calmer and more sober thoughts will soon take its place: and that the North, as well as the South, will see that a peaceful separation, with free institutions in each section, is far better than the union of all the present states under a military government, and a reign of terror preceded too by a civil war with all its horrors, and which end as it may will prove ruinous to the victors as well as the vanquished. But at present I grieve to say passion and hate sweep everything before them.

Accept, dear sir, the highest respect and best wishes of
Your friend and servt.

R. B. TANEY.

Franklin Pierce, Ex-President of the U. S.
Concord, New Hampshire.

XXVIII. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO HONORABLE JAMES A. PEARCE.¹

CONCORD N. H. January 15, 1862

My dear Sir—

I read with unusual interest and satisfaction, the debate, which occurred in the Senate on the 16th ult., upon the resolution of Mr Trumbull,² and desire to express my thanks for the sentiments and thoughts, which the occasion elicited from you.

¹ Senator from Maryland.

² On December 12, 1861, Lyman Trumbull, senator from Illinois, introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Secretary of State be directed to inform the Senate whether, in the loyal States of the Union, any person or persons have been arrested and imprisoned and are now held in confinement by orders from him or his Department; and, if so, under what law said arrests have been made, and said persons imprisoned." *Congressional Globe*, 37 Congress, 2 Session, Part I, 67. For the debate referred to, see *ibid.*, 90 ff.

My convictions and sympathies are with you thoroughly, when you say, "I do not believe that it (imprisonment upon *lettres de cachet*) promotes the purposes of those, who desire to see this union brought together again, an object, to me, of all others the most desirable, if it be possible." In my estimation the mover of the enquiry deserves the gratitude of freemen everywhere, and only utters truth with force, when he declares, that, "the power, without charge, without examination, without opportunity of reply, at the click of the telegraph, to arrest a man in a peaceable portion of the Country and imprison him" is "of the essence of despotism." And yet, the public mind thus far, would seem to have been scarcely more roused, by current events of this character, than it was years ago, when we received accounts of similar incarcerations, ordered by the father, of the now deposed King of the Two Sicilies. How incredible it will appear hereafter, when history shall be written up, that at this period of the Republic, the constitutional safeguards of personal liberty, could have been so easily and with so little apparent concern, swept away.

The Secretary of State,¹ on the 20th ult., four days after the debate in which you participated, addressed an *official* note to me, which serves to illustrate, in a striking manner, the slight grounds, or rather the groundless suspicions, upon which, in these times, citizens are liable to suffer in reputation, if not in loss of liberty. I replied without delay, and so far as I am personally affected; may, I trust, well leave the matter, in quietness, upon the files of the Department. It is my belief, however, that no recent measure, has been fraught with more mischief, than the issuing of *lettres de cachet*, and consequent arrests and imprisonments in violation of the provisions of the Constitution; and that the earlier the system is effectually checked, the better it will be, for the Government and the Country, as well as for the subjects of oppression. The evidence is abundant to show, that the plea of *necessity*, except in the presence or immediate neighbourhood of hostile armies, where the administration of law, under its usual forms, may be inevitably suspended, is not graciously accepted by the mass of the people. Union, without security for personal liberty, is not the Union, which they have cherished and to the restoration of which they look, with earnest desire and hope. Nothing, perhaps, could express more clearly their views, on this point, than the language of the great modern historian, who died, at a comparatively recent period, leaving his work incomplete. In tracing the successive steps in the progress of British liberty, he says, "We have been taught by long experience, that we cannot without danger, suffer any breach of the Constitution to pass unnoticed" — "As we cannot, without the risk of evils, from which imagination recoils, employ physical force as a check on misgovernment, it is evidently our wisdom to keep all constitutional checks on misgovernment in the highest state of efficiency, to watch with jealousy the first beginnings of encroachment, and never to suffer irregu-

¹ Seward.

larities, even when harmless in themselves, to pass unchallenged, lest they acquire the force of precedents." Who in our land will affirm, that any other doctrine is worthy of those, who hold their rights under a solemn written charter? It is cheering to know, that enquiry has been moved in the right quarter, and that able and fearless men are stirred by a sense of what is due to our fellow-citizens, who have been imprisoned, without assignment of cause and discharged without explanation; and yet more to such as are still in confinement and, precluded by guards and prison doors from the privilege of the great writ of liberty, and thus from confronting, before a competent judicial tribunal, imputation, which the act of imprisonment itself implies. Of this latter class, I believe from my knowledge of the men, are not a few worthy sons of Maryland, who love the union, as you do, and who have striven, not to destroy, but to preserve it. If free from any taint of crime, as I take them to be, they will derive unfailing capacity for endurance, from consciousness, that they have never nourished their manly strength to strike stout blows at the foundations, which the fathers laid, that they have never participated in lines of action or in startling utterances calculated to encourage aggression upon the rights and institutions of Sovereign States, to foster sectional distrust and animosity, or to inaugurate conflict between different parts of the Confederation, and thus to weaken unity of feeling, interest and purpose. If, on the other hand, they are guilty, the law will inflict adequate punishment, whatever that may be, as it should do. But how long is such durance, without a hearing, to be their allotment?

I am, very truly,

Yr friend

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Hon James A. Pearce
U. S. Senate
Washington D. C.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Outlines of Greek History, with a Survey of Ancient Oriental Nations. By WILLIAM C. MOREY, Ph.D., D.C.L. (New York: The American Book Company. 1903. Pp. 378.)

AMID the hosts of text-books which are crowding upon us each new-comer finds it more and more difficult to justify its appearance. Yet, notwithstanding the multiplicity of its rivals, Mr. Morey's little book should make a place for itself. Intended, in connection with his *Outlines of Roman History*, to provide "a complete course in ancient history", the present work exhibits in general the same merits for which the earlier was conspicuous — nice discrimination in the selection of relevant material, balance and proportion in arrangement, and clearness and simplicity in presentation. Although the author's primary aim is the instruction of the uninitiated youth, he shows himself to be *au courant* with the views of the most reliable recent writers, at least when they are accessible in English, for it is not so clear that he has made use of Beloch and Busolt.

The rather kaleidoscopic survey of oriental nations contains helpful generalizations concerning the various peoples touched upon, although the names of many of the persons and institutions, which doubtless have to be mentioned, will be difficult and confusing to the young reader. In dealing with the Greek people, whose history naturally occupies the bulk of the work, the author keeps steadily in view the aim of choosing such facts as will illustrate their peculiar characteristics and their contributions to posterity: in the political field their capacity for developing free local institutions and their inability to weld themselves into a national union; in the non-political field their unique achievements in art, literature, philosophy, and science. The periodic surveys of Greek life and thought are particularly to be commended. The amount of space devoted to them necessitates a corresponding curtailment in the account of political and military affairs; for instance, a detailed picture of Athenian life and thought in the Periclean age is followed by the briefest outline of the events of the Peloponnesian war, a division which some even of the more recent writers with Thucydides before them have shrunk from; epoch-making battles like Salamis and Plataea are dismissed with a bare mention, although accompanying diagrams help to supply the deficiency in the text. This pardonable brevity, however, involves the omission of some helpful considerations; for example, the rivalry of Athens and Corinth for the control of the western sea-route as a factor in determining the decision of the former with regard to Corcyra; Sparta's stupidity in destroying the Chalcidian league, a useful buffer against the Macedonian advance; or, to go further afield, Bury's suggestive con-

tures on the limitations of existing geographical knowledge as a justification for Alexander's extreme eastern conquests. Moreover, the rise of Macedon and the period of the Roman intervention are covered in too summary a fashion.

Naturally in a book of this character it is possible to challenge, or at least to question, many of the statements. To cite a few examples: p. 81, it has been thought that the migrations to the eastern Ægean began even before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus; p. 84, Busolt shows good reason for questioning the customary view that the Phœnicians founded Thebes; p. 90, there were not only one but two systems of writing in Crete; p. 93, possibly the oriental influence on Mycenæan art is too much emphasized; p. 100, Hesiod should have been mentioned with Homer as a formative influence on Greek religion; p. 128, in stating that Solon is said to have visited Crœsus, although some writers now believe it possible, no mention is made of the difficulty of reconciling the traditional dates; p. 130, doubt has been recently cast upon the twofold expulsion of Pisistratus; p. 151, it is not stated that the original center of the Amphictyonic league was at Anthela and that the league continued to hold one of its annual meetings there after it began to meet at Delphi; p. 174, the traditional story of Histiaüs's share in instigating the Ionian revolt is omitted without reason; p. 226, the list of liturgies is not complete; p. 232, it is not clear from the text whether one or two older temples preceded the Erechtheum there described; p. 252, it is at least an open question whether members of the Athenian Assembly were paid under Pericles; p. 284, the tyrant Gelon might at least have been mentioned; p. 288, the *Hellenica* goes further than the close of the Peloponnesian war; p. 307, the extent of Aristotle's influence on Alexander has been questioned. Many teachers will welcome the long-sanctioned usage of spelling Greek names in the Romanized form. The maps are frequent and helpful, and the classified bibliography is reasonably ample and well-chosen, though it hardly seems that Lawton's useful little *Introduction to Classical Greek Literature* appeared too late for insertion.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

History of the Moorish Empire in Europe. By S. P. SCOTT. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1904. Three vols., pp. xlii, 761; ix, 686; ix, 696.)

A SATISFYING history of the Muslim dominion in Spain has been long awaited both by the historical student and by the general reader. It is likely to be awaited still. Mr. Scott's three volumes are obviously the result of conscientious and comprehensive reading in some half-dozen languages, but their author lacks the historical temperament. His work, though not without a certain old-fashioned dignity of style, is too monotonous to be popular and too uncritical in its affirmations to content the trained student of history. It seems a pity that after covering thirty-seven

pages with a list of the authorities consulted in constructing his book he should be unwilling to tell us in a single foot-note the source of any specific statement. One does not like to be captious in the case of a scholar who has devoted twenty years to his task, but as he declines to supply us with citations by which his statements may be tested, it is not unfair, perhaps, to estimate the accuracy of his scholarship by the asseverations of various sorts which find expression in these pages. There is not much excuse nowadays, for example, to locate "the Ophir of Holy Writ" (I, 134) in northern Africa, nor is it exact to refer to Arabia as the only country "accessible to the ambition of the powerful sovereigns of antiquity" that "escaped the humiliation of conquest" (I, 10), since both Esarhaddon and Asurbanipal conquered the region, though they did not long control it. His reference to the Berbers as an "undoubtedly Semitic race" (I, 136) would not satisfy most modern ethnologists, nor can we understand the mental process of a close student of this particular group of the families of mankind who attributes to the Semites "an extraordinary capacity for political organization" (I, 15). If there is any quality notably absent in the Semitic race, we should have said that it is that of political discipline. The author's whole work is a complete refutation of this assertion, for the collapse of the Arab power—as he takes pains to insist—was everywhere more the result of their racial incapacity to rise above the political conceptions of the tribal state than of superior ability or bravery on the part of their foes. In illustration of this nothing could be more apt than his criticism of the policy of a king's arbitrary selection of his successor, a policy sanctioned by Mohammedan custom, and "in no trifling degree responsible for the Western Khalifate's ultimate overthrow". "In this respect", he adds, "its history is but the counterpart of every other Moslem power. The ideas dominating the various constituents of the society of Islam were incompatible with either the just subordination of classes or the permanence of empire."

The main contention supported in Mr. Scott's elaborate thesis is that the conquest of Spain and its recovery by Europeans was a struggle between civilizations rather than between races or religions. The Gothic Christians went down in the eighth century before a higher type of culture, better fitted to fight and live off the soil. The causes of their ultimate success against the Muslims lay, first, in the evolution of a national group formed of Goths, Iberians, and Basques welded into one by the pressure of defeat and the need of union against a common enemy; second, in the introduction of feudalism, by which the new group secured a serviceable system of government; and third, in the disintegration apparently inevitable among Arab communities. The process was very slow. The Asturian kingdom and the Gothic march became the scenes of incessant incursions with varying results, but they bred at last a race of indefatigable warriors who gradually acquired their lessons of obedience and discipline. The nation thus engendered succeeded at length through the exercise of its one great quality, persistency, in extirpating a race intellectually and economically its superior. Its victory and the result-

ing loss to civilization and humanity the author considers an unmitigated misfortune. Since the Spaniards would learn nothing from their hated enemy, the finest culture of the middle ages expired without transmitting to semibarbarous Europe anything more than a faint trace of its acquirements and intellectual energy. From the moment of her supreme effort Spain has remained supine and inept, unwilling to change, an incubance upon the states of Christendom. It has been the triumph of an inferior over a superior civilization.

This view, while not entirely novel, differs from that of European historians in making little of race as a factor in the result and in denying to Christianity any real influence whatever in the operation. Both Teutonic and Semitic groups, we are told, "traced their lineage to tribes steeped in barbarism and idolatry", but while the former persisted in the poverty, ignorance, and ferocity of its ancestors the latter became possessed of accomplishments that rendered it "opulent, polished and dissolute beyond all example, but eventually and inevitably enervated and decadent". Why? The anthropological side of the problem does not appear to interest the author. In his attitude toward the Christian church, however, he shows a mighty earnestness, not to say contentiousness of tone. It is quite time that the West should be made aware of certain superior features in Oriental civilization and of the truculence and bigotry of medieval priests, but to exalt the Arab mind above all others in capacity for improvement and to deny to the institution of Christianity a single saving grace during seven centuries is excessive. Every student is entitled to his own point of view, but it would be hard to justify such lapses in tone and temper as are to be found in this narrative or to forgive the author the extravagance of his praise of the Moors. In these essential items he himself lies subject to the charge of lacking in philosophical discrimination which he brings against the "illiterate annalists" of the Latin priesthood.

The scope of Mr. Scott's work is amply inclusive. Two volumes cover the whole period of Moorish occupation in the peninsula, while the third contains *kulturgeschichtliche* material of some interest and value. This is brought forward in the form of a series of essays on the arts, institutions, and influence of the Muslims, as well as on the Jews and the Moriscoes in Spain. There is evidence of plenty of learning, but here again we may perhaps be pardoned for wishing to know the authorities consulted by an author who calmly declares his conviction that "no achievement of ancient or modern times was perfected with such rapidity or produced such decided effects upon the intellectual progress of the human race as the Mohammedan Conquest of Spain". A word of praise should be given to the publishers for the admirable appearance of these handsome volumes, the print and covers of which are all that a dignified historical work demands.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

The History of North America. Edited by GUY CARLETON LEE, Ph.D. Vol. I. *Discovery and Exploration.* By ALFRED BRITAIN, in conference with GEORGE EDWARD REED, LL.D., S.T.D. Vol. II. *The Indians of North America in Historic Times.* By CYRUS THOMAS, Ph.D., in conference with W. J. MCGEE, LL.D. Vol. III. *The Colonization of the South.* By PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON. Vol. IV. *The Colonization of the Middle States and Maryland.* By FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES, Ph.D. (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Sons. 1904. Pp. xxiv, 511; xx, 464; xxiii, 494; xxiv, 523.)

A WORK announced as "The first definitive, authoritative, and inclusive narrative history of North America" should indeed be furnished with worthy sponsors, and none more worthy could be found than those claimed for this series—Johns Hopkins University and the American Historical Association. The critical, however, will desire to know the exact relationship between these organizations and the work in question. The editor tells us that "for almost a decade" "the Johns Hopkins University group of authors" has had some such project in mind, and that when the American Historical Association decided not to undertake the task, they at once took up the plan it had outlined, and, modifying it in some respects, pushed it to completion. On examining the list of twenty authors, described as "specialists, mostly from the Johns Hopkins group", we find that four hold degrees from the department of History, Politics, and Economics of that university. None of these men is now connected with it, but the editor holds the position of instructor in history. With one exception, these men have attained the doctorate within the last ten years, the editor in 1898. They therefore do not belong to the generation which made the reputation of the university; they have their own reputation yet to make, and must have been graduate students when they conceived their ambitious project.

A plan proposed to the American Historical Association has indeed been in part followed, but this plan was never indorsed by the Association and was but the barest sketch, merely suggesting coöperation under the direction of an editor-in-chief, and publication in twenty volumes, each complete in itself. In other respects the connection of the Association with the history has been still more slight. Of three hundred and twenty-nine persons mentioned as "authors", as members of the "editorial board", "board of advisers on exclusion and inclusion", "board of advisers on colonial affairs", "board of military and naval advisers", and as giving "courteous attention, valuable assistance, encouragement, or approval", not one has ever served the Association as an officer, and only ten as members of any standing committee, commission, or board. The greater number of those thus mentioned seem to have given the courteous attention which custodians of historical collections are accustomed to extend to all duly accredited students. If,

as would seem to be the case, the list last mentioned indicates all the libraries consulted, it is curious that it contains no names outside the United States.

In the plan of the series, volumes II, *The Indians of North America in Historic Times*, and XIX, *Prehistoric North America*, should certainly change places. The lack of separate accounts of European conditions leading to colonization and of American physiography is not supplied by discussions in any of the four volumes so far issued, and will be serious if not provided for. It would seem hardly necessary to assure the reader, as the publishers do, that the work is "non-sectional, non-partisan, non-sectarian". Yet one doubts if a history is properly called non-sectional which presents two accounts of the Civil War, one from a Northern and one from a Southern standpoint. It is to be hoped that it is not to be kept non-sectarian by the exclusion of religious history, as seems to be foreshadowed in Mr. Jones's treatment of the Quakers. The illustrations are well chosen and exquisitely reproduced, but are not so arranged as to illustrate the neighboring text. There are no foot-notes or bibliographies.

Mr. Brittain's volume, *Discovery and Exploration*, is the first of the series. Much more than half of it is composed of quotations from the voyagers themselves and their friends. It is very readable, but necessarily the proportions are determined more by the material available than by the relative importance of the voyages. Out of 502 pages 199 are devoted to the journal of Columbus. Some critical apparatus is furnished for judging this and the letters of Vespucci, but the writings of Bernal Diaz are presented without a word of warning. The text written by Mr. Brittain seems hardly definitive. His style is loose and his meaning is often obscure. His handling of evidence is inadequate, and few scholars will agree that, "There is no difficulty, and there can be no reasonable doubt, in identifying Helluland with Newfoundland, Markland with Nova Scotia, and Vinland with New England. Indeed, the description of the coast is so accurate that in the island between which and the ness Erik sailed it is easy to recognize Nantucket" (p. 16).

One takes up Mr. Thomas's *The Indians of North America in Historic Times* with a feeling of expectation and lays it down with disappointment. There would seem to be half a dozen points of view from which a man of Mr. Thomas's equipment might write such a history with profit, but he avoids them all. His method is to take sections of territory, beginning with the West Indies and Central America, and to discuss the history of each Indian tribe in the section from its first contact with the white man to the present day. The consequence is that on page 11 the dates 1570 and "now" jostle each other; on page 316 the dates 1714 and 1890; and so throughout. Occasionally the sectional method is suspended to allow a continuous treatment of some migrating tribe, yet the account of the Iroquois is divided between two widely-separated chapters. Somewhat more than half the book is concerned with Indian wars, which are discussed with a knowledge of detail and an appreciation of Indian character that increases one's regret that

the plan is not more comprehensive; but even here the important is sacrificed to the trivial. No reference is made to the strategic position occupied by the Iroquois; and the Fox wars in Wisconsin, which impoverished the treasury of New France, are dismissed in a page and a third. Indian trade is almost ignored, and the triangular struggle between the French, the Dutch (and their successors, the English), and the Iroquois to get control of that trade is not mentioned. Hardly any information is given as to the influence of the white man on Indian character and civilization. The drink problem, the blessing which the white man conferred by introducing the horse and the blanket, the curse of European disease, the working of the Spanish missionary settlements, and the changes wrought by intermarriage are totally neglected. Mr. Thomas is quite right in distinguishing between the policy of the United States toward the Indian and the execution of that policy, but in treating "the history of the Indians as it stands apart from that of the white race", it is certainly the execution of the policy that should be emphasized. Mr. Thomas, however, deals almost exclusively with rather technical questions of land title and the legal status of the tribes. The last chapter, "The Indians as a Race and as a Factor in American History", is very suggestive. The book will have a permanent value as an encyclopedia of Indian tribes and wars.

Mr. Hamilton furnishes a charming and valuable volume on *The Colonization of the South*. Readers of his *Colonial Mobile* will find no new contributions to knowledge, and in a definitive history it is perhaps unfortunate to change, as he does, the center of interest which we have commonly accepted from Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico, giving one hundred and ninety-three pages exclusively to the French and Spanish colonies and one hundred and eighty-five to the English. Such criticisms seem captious, however, in view of the novel suggestiveness of the treatment and the firm handling of the material. It is a book worth the reading of historian and layman alike.

Mr. Jones's *The Colonization of the Middle States and Maryland* attains no distinction and merits no particular reproach.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

History of the United States of America. By HENRY WILLIAM ELSON. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. xxxii, 911, xl.)

In a single volume, approximating one thousand pages, Mr. Elson has endeavored to satisfy the frequently heard demand for a history of the United States from the earliest to the latest times compressed into one book. Of the result, one may not safely predict that it is the final effort; that no one will have the courage later to attempt it again. On the other hand, it is within the bounds of safe prophecy to say that the work will be accepted as more nearly approaching the ideal than any previously attempted. It must not be compared with the volume in the Cambridge

series, for instance, because it seeks a different constituency. Perhaps the author may be allowed to state his purpose. In the preface he says:

For many years I have contemplated writing a history of the United States in a single volume, that should fall between the elaborate works, which are beyond the reach of most busy people, and the condensed school histories, which are emasculated of all literary style through the necessity of crowding so many facts into small space. In writing this history my aim has been to present an accurate narrative of the origin and growth of our country and its institutions in such a form as to interest the general reader. I have constantly borne in mind the great importance of combining the science of historical research with the art of historical composition.

Judged by his own standard, Mr. Elson has achieved no small degree of success. He is far and away superior to many preceding "popular" writers. Where one finds a vast amount of fine writing and universal affirmatives in preceding compositions of this order, he finds here facts and an abundance of them. Instead of statements resting on no foundation save that they have been used by writers since American history was first put into type, this author has used documents and has cited and even quoted them. Instead of being a compiler, he shows himself to be a writer. Some specific instances may be cited to show the improvement over the popular history which makes its way in the world chiefly by solicitation. It was inevitable that there should be a chapter on the manners and habits of the aborigines. But in addition to the hackneyed matter, appears a discussion of the future of the Indians, together with a map showing the location of the various Indian reservations. The author follows beaten paths in the wars, but in the details of the campaigns and battles of the Civil War, for instance, finds space to include the rise and fall of the Confederate government, the various emancipation steps of the Federal government, and the foreign relations of both governments. Nor has he in the Revolutionary War allowed the military side to eclipse the development of civil authority as has frequently been done. Means of transportation, growth of inventions, and the movement of the people find proper if not due place.

Although the author has made use of the results of recent investigations more fully than did his predecessors, it cannot be conceded that he has left nothing to be desired. He has profited by many of the latest pamphlets and even addresses. Marcus Whitman no longer rides to Washington and saves Oregon. But the expedition of George Rogers Clark "enabled the Americans at the close of the war to claim successfully the vast prairie region of Illinois as a possession of the United States" (p. 292). No scientific investigation of the documents in the case could warrant this statement. The index to Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* does not even contain the name of Clark. Another vestigium of the body historical, not warranted by investigation or by utility, is to be found in the apocryphal statement (p. 254) that the "news of the great act [the passing of the Declaration of Indepen-

dence] rang forth to the expectant city in joyful peals of the old bell in the tower of the statehouse, and the people were thrown into a state of delirious joy". There may have been delirium in old Philadelphia, but it was not caused by the bells, which according to Marshall's *Remembrancer*, were not rung until the Monday following. "Ring, grandpa, ring, O ring for liberty", is not in harmony with the "science of historical research". Nor has investigation proved that the Quebec Act "was intended to prevent pioneers from settling in the Ohio country and to win the favor of the Roman Catholics" (p. 234).

Aside from these few instances where the author has followed oft-reiterated statements instead of the path he set for himself, it is inevitable in such a mass of names that variations of spelling should be found. "Spottswood" (p. 73) is one; Captain "Grey" (p. 387), the discoverer of the Columbia River, is another. "The powerful judicial mind of the rising Chief Justice, John Marshall," (p. 336) in the Virginia constitutional convention (1788) looks rather anachronistic. The name of James Bowdoin is omitted from the list of delegates elected by Massachusetts to attend the first Continental Congress (p. 235). Hancock and Samuel Adams, hiding in the swamp near Woburn during the hostilities of April 19, would have been delighted to have "quietly proceeded on their way to the Congress at Philadelphia" (p. 238) after having been aroused by Paul Revere at Dr. Clark's house. The first Continental Congress can scarcely be called "less a congress than a national committee, an advisory council of continental magnitude" (p. 236). It was in reality a congress—something which it has never been since it abandoned consultation for lawmaking.

But this is quibbling criticism. In its larger aspects, the book is well-proportioned. The first fourth brings the story to the Revolution; the second fourth to Monroe's second term; the third to the Civil War, say 1863; and the fourth to the Isthmian canal treaty with Panama. As the volume includes the treatment of recent events, political bias may be looked for. But it will be sought in vain. A caustic critic of the Republican reconstruction policy and a strong admirer of President Cleveland, the author is also a supporter of a strong foreign policy and a severe commentator on the lack of anti-tariff sentiment in the Democratic party. As between North and South in the irrepressible conflict, he is so fair that only a rabid partizan of either side is likely to gainsay his statements.

Mr. Elson will be considered unfortunate in having marked so strongly in his preface the line to which he intends to hew. He says, "Knowing that many intelligent people who wish to know something of their country are not fond of reading history, I have given careful attention to style, in the hope that the book might be easy and pleasurable to read, as well as instructive." Whether readers are to be lured by striking figures, by vigor of expression, or by beauty of description is not specified. Grotesqueness would scarcely be elected as a legitimate attraction. Yet no doubt readers would be attracted by some of the figures of speech which the author employs. Take, to illustrate, a

description (p. 371) of Jefferson: "The great Republican leader, from the irresponsible watch-tower of the vice presidency, had for four years watched the political chessboard with eagle eye." An eagle in a watch-tower playing chess is not bad as an attraction. It is also open to question whether a careful attention to style would include mention of the disease with which President Grant was afflicted, or of the sum received by his widow for the publication of his *Memoirs*. But these are purely matters of taste.

If one were to predict to what class this addition to American histories would be useful, he would think of the busy man who wishes condensed information in connected form; of the home library where general reading rather than intensive study is done; of the many uses to which a condensed and yet detailed description of the course of United States history could be put. Considering the difficulty of condensing and yet not omitting, one thinks of this book as Dr. Johnson thought of a woman preaching — not as being surprisingly well done, but as being done at all.

EDWIN E. SPARKS.

A School History of the United States. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE. (New York: American Book Company. 1903. Pp. 378, 36.)

A History of the United States. By WADDY THOMPSON. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1904. Pp. x, 489, xxxvi.)

THE most evident purpose of Mr. Bruce's book is use in southern schools, yet those subjects which no Northerner is supposed to be able to handle delicately enough not to hurt Southern sensibilities are treated so mildly and fairly in the main that the book might be used north of the Mason and Dixon line without offending any one. Nullification, slavery, and even secession are touched upon in such a non-committal way and so little explained that they pass almost unnoticed in the book. We have no quarrel with the author on account of his politics or sectionalism; his errors are rather of omission and emphasis and point of view.

To the principles of the Quakers Mr. Bruce gives but a clause of a brief sentence (p. 82). Of their political influence there is nothing. A sentence that a student would never notice (p. 32) is all that explains the beginning of French exploration in America. There is no account of conditions in France that influenced exploration or colonization. Bacon's Rebellion (p. 54) has no political meaning for Mr. Bruce. Champlain's fight with the Iroquois is told to liven the narrative with a fight (p. 36), but the far-reaching result is merely hinted in a manner that means nothing to one who doesn't know. The ideals and purposes of the Jesuits are not mentioned. They strut upon the stage a moment as missionaries and then they are no more. There is no hint of the dissensions between England and America until within ten pages of Lexington and Concord. For Mr. Bruce the Revolution is nothing but a fight.

The great political changes, the turning of theories into practical political experiments, are ignored. The significance of the "Conway Cabal" is not noticed; it is only a jealous intrigue by certain men. The French alliance is still, for Mr. Bruce, the work of Franklin alone, the great missionary who converted a nation; other motives there are none. The value and importance of Clark's expedition is not even suggested. The Loyalists are ignored and the state constitutions forgotten. The Confederation and state dissensions get half a page apiece, and yet in a book of 378 pages fifty are given to the American Revolution. The Whisky Insurrection has no significance for the author except that it was a riot and was quelled. On the whole there is simply the old narrative of events common to text-books of twenty years ago, with no attempt to explain the meaning of events. There is too much grouping of matter under proper names, instead of under headings indicative of the character of the action, its purpose or meaning. The student's attention is thus called to names and not to institutions, or principles, or political movements. If the South must be fed on this pabulum because it cannot endure the biased views of Northern scholars, it ought to have historical indigestion.

That the author of the *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* should have given us such a faulty history is surprising. Much of the result of the best scholarship devoted to American history seems unknown to him. The proportions of the work especially seem to show this fact. Again, there is almost no pedagogical apparatus, no other book is mentioned from cover to cover, and the text thus becomes the law and the gospel, though the presence of the old disproved story of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia while a dance was going on (p. 148), and other such errors of fact, convince us that the work can lay no claim to infallibility. The maps are poor, though reasonably accurate, but the pictures are absurd beyond belief. Nearly all are fanciful and in no way correct historically. Hideous, impossible Indians are shown scalping horror-stricken, unbelievable colonists; and (p. 67) a Puritan gallant dressed as if for a ball is pictured gracefully handing out of a boat the lovely Puritan maiden with curls and a pretty white apron. Nathaniel Bacon, the leader of the rebellious farmers, appears in correct costume for an English soldier of that day, and behind him are ranks of helmeted soldiers as if on dress-parade. One is taken back to the days of Ridpath by such absurd illustrations as these.

The preface to Mr. Thompson's book offers no pedagogical theory except to make the pupils "proud of an American heritage", to eliminate prejudice, and to point out "the marvelous progress of America". The author's idea of historical proportion is indicated by his opening sentence: "The chief event in American history is the war between the states." This dictum he acts upon by devoting over one-fifth of the book to that subject. Though he nowhere gives offense by ultra-Southern views, yet he suggests his state of mind (p. 407) in the assertion, "Though war never did, and never can, determine which view of a con-

troversy is right, yet it can decide that the view held by the victor shall prevail . . . Secession perished by the sword." It is needless to add that Mr. Thompson dwells with great unction upon the attempts of northern states at nullification, and his paragraph upon New England resistance to the embargo acts (p. 245) he heads "The Secession Movement Again". The book is, of course, like that by Mr. Bruce, intended for southern schools. It has many of the faults of the other, but is on the whole better. His point of view in the early period is much better. Instead of beginning with the Indians, he gets the student's mind upon Europe and the conditions there which led to the discovery of America. The Norse voyage, too, is not given such prominence as to spoil the student's measure of its importance. The omissions are in most cases of the same character as those in Mr. Bruce's work. Actual errors are not so frequent, though there are some inexcusable ones. South Carolina is said (p. 171) to have gone further than those states that had provisional governments, by adopting in March, 1776, a "complete independent government", but the preamble of the constitution itself shows that it was temporary like the others. Again (p. 206) it is asserted that in the Confederation "The affirmative vote of nine states in Congress was required for the passage of acts", but the fact is that only certain definite acts required nine votes for passage. In places the book is badly arranged, as is especially seen in some of the sequences. Without showing any relation whatsoever, the following subjects (pp. 230-232) are strung along on a chronological string: national bank, amendments, political parties, the mint, election, cotton-gin, and Indian troubles. This is but one example of sequences found throughout the book. The illustrations are much better than those in Mr. Bruce's work, and the style of writing is far more interesting.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late LORD ACTON, LL.D. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Vol. II. *The Reformation.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1903. Pp. xxiv, 857.)

THE second volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* is devoted to "The Reformation". It is too bad that we find it so hard to adopt a less misleading term for the events of the first half of the sixteenth century. The expression "Reformation" fairly pullulates with popular misapprehensions, and it would seem that Lord Acton, devout Catholic as he was, would gladly have sanctioned the use of the accurate term "Protestant Revolt", or "Protestant Revolution". It is needless to say that those who contribute to the volume have in general emancipated themselves from the old conception of the Reformation, and occupy the position defined by Maurenbrecher some three decades ago in his *Studien und Skizzen*. Perhaps the best proof of this emancipation lies in the fact

that no one has ventured, in the volume before us, to discuss the general significance and results of the Protestant Revolt—although it will be remembered that Mr. Lea had a word to say of them at the close of volume I.

Chapter I, upon "Medicean Rome", by the late Professor F. X. Kraus, of Freiburg,¹ is a notable one. The subject could not have been assigned to a more able scholar in the field, and it is treated with a breadth and insight truly refreshing. It was doubtless contributions of just this kind that the editors had in mind when their great undertaking was first planned out. In some of the chapters, it must be confessed, however, one is disappointed to find no more than any studious person of mediocre attainments could get together from the current manuals. Professor Kraus has given us the ripest results of his long preoccupation with the relations of art and Christianity. Julius II, whether or not he was conscious of his object, really effected the reconciliation of Christianity with the enthusiasm for classical literature toward which many of the most enlightened humanists had been struggling. To Professor Kraus the *Camera della Segnatura* of Raphael is the splendid portrayal of this reconciliation. This and other of Raphael's frescos in the Vatican "are the highest to which Christian art has attained, and the thoughts which they express are one of the greatest achievements of the Papacy. The principle elsewhere laid down is here reaffirmed: that the reception of the true Renaissance into the circle of ecclesiastical thought points to a widening of the limited medieval conception into universality, and indicates a transition to entire and actual Catholicity; like the great step taken by Paul, when he turned to the Gentiles and released the community from the limits of Judaistic teaching" (p. 7). This expansion and elevation of the intellectual sphere is the most glorious achievement of Julius II and of the Papacy at the beginning of modern times. There is nothing in the reign of his successor comparable to it. Leo X indeed seems but a second-rate character when compared with Julius. "Despite the noble and generous way in which his reign began the Pope soon fell into an effeminate life of self-indulgence spent among players and buffoons, a life rich in undignified farce and offensive jests, but poor in every kind of positive achievement. The Pope laughed, hunted, and gambled; he enjoyed the papacy" (p. 14).

After completing Professor Kraus's brilliant chapter, we are invited to plod through the political history, from Marignano to Cateau-Cambrésis, under the guidance of Mr. Stanley Leathes, who appears to have been designated among the editors as the hewer of wood and drawer of water. It will seem to a good many readers that his contributions may be safely skipped; although it is easy to see why the editors feel that, with the conventional notions of history, such chapters as his should be scattered through the various volumes in order to insure the feeling that we are on solid ground.

¹By some inadvertence this distinguished scholar is attributed to Munich in the work before us.

Luther is given a chapter by the Reverend T. M. Lindsay. While the writer deals with unimpeachable accuracy with the commonplaces of Luther's early history as they are now understood, we miss the freshness which would have come from a personal contact with, let us say, his voluminous correspondence and that of his contemporaries. The writer is especially careful in dealing with the intricate matter of indulgences, upon which the last word has now perhaps been said, ill understood as the matter was, by Protestants at least, previous to the publication of Mr. Lea's exhaustive work and other recent contributions.

No reader will dispute the wisdom of the editors in permitting Professor A. F. Pollard to write four consecutive chapters upon Germany from the opening of the reign of Charles V to the Peace of Augsburg. These are excellent, suggestive, and coherent, and are a real contribution to the literature in English.

After a rather perfunctory chapter by Mr. A. A. Tilley, sketching the antecedents of the Huguenot wars, the career of Zwingli is clearly described by Rev. J. P. Whitney of Lennoxville, Quebec; and that of Calvin by the well-known writer, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn of Oxford. There is then an interesting and important chapter on the Catholic South by Rev. W. E. Collins of King's College, London. This takes up the spiritual movements among the Romance peoples, a subject much neglected in earlier treatises. In a later chapter the same author describes the course of the Protestant revolt in the Scandinavian North.

Something over a quarter of the volume is devoted to England and the Scotch complications, in four chapters, all by distinguished scholars: "Henry VIII", by James Gairdner; "The Reformation under Edward VI", by Mr. Pollard; "Philip and Mary", by James Bass Mullinger; and "The Anglican Settlement and the Spanish Reformation", by Professor F. W. Maitland. The editors apologize in their preface for devoting so much space to England, but every one will be glad of these excellent chapters.

According to the original programme, Lord Acton himself was to treat the highly important theme of the Council of Trent. As he was prevented from carrying out this plan, the chapter was assigned to Mr. R. V. Laurence of Trinity College, Cambridge, who gives a cogent summary of the development of the Jesuits and of the history of the council.

The volume closes with a chapter perhaps as suggestive as that with which it begins, on the "Tendencies of European Thought in the Age of the Reformation", by Dr. Fairbairn. This is not an attempt, as might be expected, to discover the supposed results of the Protestant revolt, but deals entirely with the religious thought of the period, carefully excluding the political speculation. The writer says:

It is customary to distinguish the Renaissance, as the revival of letters, from the Reformation as the revival of religion. But the distinction is neither formally correct nor materially exact. The Renaissance was

not necessarily secular and classical — it might be, and often was, both religious and Christian ; nor was the Reformation essentially religious and moral — it might be and often was political and secular. Of the two revivals the one is indeed in point of time the elder ; but the elder is not so much a cause as simply an antecedent of the younger. Both revivals were literary and interpretative, both were imitative and re-creative ; but they differed in spirit, and they differed also in province and in results. There was a revival of letters which could not possibly become a reformation of religion, and there was a revival which necessarily involved such a reformation ; and the two revivals must be distinguished if the consequences are to be understood (pp. 691-692).

The explanation of the difference Dr. Fairbairn finds in the contrast between the historical antecedents of the Italian and the Teutonic peoples. The chapter is a remarkably successful summary of the general changes in thought in both the north and the south, and will repay careful reading.

On the whole the present volume is quite up to the standard of the first : it has the same virtues and the same defects. The reader will often ask himself whether two or three men might not have done the work better than a dozen. In only two of the chapters, the first and the last, are those results of clarification which come from the highest kind of specialization really clear. Of course it is quite possible for a specialist to fail to give us more than could easily be derived from his own works by any careful epitomizer. This certainly has happened in a number of the chapters, and suggests the inference that it would have been better to have intrusted to writers of well-known capacity the task of covering larger fields, for a coöperative work is always open to the danger of incoherence, repetition, and omission, when the work is so minutely divided as in the series of volumes under consideration.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Lorenzaccio (*Lorenzino de Médicis*), 1514-1548. Par PIERRE GAUTHIEZ. (Paris : Albert Fontemoing. 1904. Pp. 476.)

IN view of the fact that the name of Lorenzo recurs with confusing frequency in the annals of the house of Medici, the subject of the present biography requires a word of identification. He is not a direct offspring of the great Lorenzo (*il Magnifico*), but belongs to the secondary branch, and owes such fame and notoriety as he enjoys chiefly to the circumstance that he murdered his cousin Alexander, first duke of Florence, and was himself murdered in revenge several years later. The murder of Alexander took place in January, 1537, with peculiarly revolting details, mitigated by the circumstance that the victim was, by the unanimous verdict of his contemporaries, a criminal deserving a hundred deaths. As is usual with decadent families, the last Medici are far from being an edifying company, and the political historian is likely to pass them by as unimportant. But the student of civilization is sure to find in them most valuable material, especially if to his interest in the specific quality and appearance

of a generation of men he adds the psychologist's passion for diseased minds and extraordinary personalities. Because he carries such interests as these into his study of the past, M. Gauthiez was qualified to give us the biography of the gifted, debauched, and half-insane young man, who thought that to murder a kinsman sufficed to immortalize himself with Brutus and save the state. The growth of this monstrous illusion, its prevalence among the people of that age, the mental and moral decay among all classes, receive the author's attention, and constitute in their ensemble a discouraging but instructive pendant to the vaunted glories of the Renaissance.

While sketching in this general background with a skilful hand, the author does not forget that his main concern is with the man Lorenzino, whose fortunes and development he tries to present from published records, supplemented by extensive original studies among the Medicean archives. It is impossible to think of a source unused by him from which any additional information is likely to reach us. As the chapters proceed, the lines of the face, together with the lights and shadows of the soul, come out with such clearness that when we arrive at the great crisis of the murder, we have realized the actual Lorenzino and follow him with a perceiving eye. All this is done with genuine Gallic vivacity, and so admirably meets the demand of authentic biography that we can but lament the author's indulgence in fanciful and questionable by-play. To furnish an example: the documents on Lorenzino's youth are very few, but the author masters the difficulty by presenting an ideal picture of boyhood, rescued from triviality only by his thorough knowledge of the time. The tendency is akin to a rather excessive inclination to powerful and even sensational statement. Occasional descriptions suggest the staccato note of the *Figaro* editorial, while a passage like "les enfants avec la subtile cruauté de leurs yeux" — and this is one among a legion — furnish the proof that the author has not been able to escape that preciousness which the study of the Renaissance seems inevitably to engender.

While the charm and vigor of this biography may be due to the author's desire to produce a work of literature rather than of erudition, it cannot be denied that a modicum of the heartily scorned method of historical science would have saved his work from some disfiguring blemishes. Apparently to avoid the accusation of being scholarly, the author takes pains to conceal from the reader his really profound and original information upon his period. Instead of a running accompaniment of foot-notes, absolutely necessary in a work wherein much is new and open to dispute, we have a jumble of references at the end, very inadequately associated with the text. It is plain that the author wished to preserve an unsoiled, literary-looking page. A genealogical table of the house of Medici is indispensable, also a brief sketch of the history of Florence during Lorenzino's span of life. To such accumulation of mere facts the author, whose concern is with a mind and soul flung to and fro between doubt and aspiration, will not descend. It goes without saying,

after these omissions, that we are denied the thinnest thread of an index. If M. Gauthiez had seen fit to graft the historical method upon his biography, he might, without impairing the effectiveness of his art, have produced a book with a much better claim to usefulness and long life.

Like so many members of his house, like so many degenerates of all ages and nations, Lorenzino was a lover of arts and letters. He even commanded a creative vein, and left behind him two productions which are among the literary curios of the sixteenth century, a comedy, *L'Aridosia*, and an autobiographical fragment, the *Apology*. For most readers the frank matter of the *Apology* has a particular charm, and the work is rare enough to merit incorporation in a volume aspiring to present the complete Lorenzino, but with his usual irritating waywardness the author chooses to give us only the much less important *L'Aridosia* in a new translation of his own. However, as *L'Aridosia* is almost inaccessible, whether in the original or in translation, M. Gauthiez compels our gratitude for his offering, especially as the comedy fairly takes rank with the *Mandragola* of Machiavelli, and speaks more eloquently of Lorenzino's talents than a chapter of encomium.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution. Publié sous la Direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE. Tome V, Partie 2. *La Lutte contre la Maison d'Autriche. La France sous Henri II (1519-1559).* Par HENRY LEMONNIER. Tome VI, Partie 1. *La Réforme et la Ligue. L'Édit de Nantes (1559-1598).* Par JEAN H. MARIÉJOL. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1904. Pp. 380, 423.)

PART two of volume five covers the history of the conflict between France and the house of Austria from the accession of Charles V to the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. It continues the history of French absolutism, of the growth of the French reformation into the Calvinistic system, of the development of the Renaissance into a more formal classicism.

Coinciding in its publication with the recent issue of Bishop Stubbs's lectures, numbers of which treat the same subject in broader outline, the English reader is at once struck with M. Lemonnier's estimate of Charles V. While not so unstinted in praise as that of the late bishop of Oxford, it is yet a clear and penetrating study of the history of the great emperor who too often has been represented by French historians as the gratuitous arch-enemy of France, which Francis I chivalrously sought to defend. English politics, of course, enters largely into the subject, and here M. Lemonnier seems to be unaware of the four articles of Dr. Stephan Ehses published in the *Historisches Jahrbuch* in 1888 and 1892 (IX, 28-48, 209-250, 609-649; XIII, 470-488) and of his collection of *Römische Dokumente* (Paderborn, 1893), which threw new and important light from the Vatican archives upon the divorce of Henry VIII (cf. p. 74). Dr. James Gairdner has directed English attention to the work

of Eshes in the *English Historical Review*, XI, 673-702; XII, 1-16, 237-253; XVII, 572. In the matter of institutional history, in the opinion of the reviewer, the treatment of financial questions under Francis I and Henry II is too brief and too much scattered.

In force of treatment, the latter half of the volume, dealing with the reign of Henry II and French Calvinism, is the better portion. Indeed, it is exceedingly valuable, for, as the author truly observes, there is no adequate history of the reign of Henry II; much of the documentary material yet remains unclassified. As might be expected from one whose specialty is the history of sixteenth-century art and letters, books XI and XII, dealing with the formation of the classic spirit in France, are particularly full and complete.

It is a rather sharp transition from the fifth to the sixth volume; for in both scope and policy there is a difference. Part one of the sixth volume, *La Réforme et la Ligue: l'Édit de Nantes (1559-1598)*, differs from preceding volumes of the series in that it limits the field to political and institutional history only. Unfortunately one feels in reading it that the task of writing the history of this critical period has been assigned to the wrong person. It was a principle of the common law that a child should not be given into the care of a nurse who loved it not. This principle has a certain applicability in the present case. The brilliant work already done in the field of the French Reformation by M. Henri Hauser of the University of Dijon, who in 1894 and again in 1897 lectured at the Sorbonne (cf. an article by him in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* for January, 1899, IV, 217-227: "The French Reformation and the French People in the Sixteenth Century") would seem to have pointed him out as the most capable person to write the volume pertaining to this period.

There is no lack of scholarship on M. Mariéjol's part, for the text bears many evidences of original research (*e. g.*, p. 56, where the K-collection of the Archives Nationales has very plainly been examined). The deficiency is a certain failure to appreciate the double nature of the struggle, a real disinclination, apparently, to look at both sides of the issue. The author assumes from the beginning that the Huguenot party was largely in the wrong and gratuitously made strife for the sake of self-advantage. The reiteration of this idea at last becomes irritating. It is a disparagement of the Huguenot party to say that it was wholly actuated by "le ressentiment d'une injure ou l'amour du changement" (p. 12). What is one to think of the statements that "En réalité, ils [les protestants] n'avaient d'autre excuse que l'intérêt religieux" (p. 69); that Coligny was playing a deep and daring game (p. 119); and that "as friend or as enemy he was equally to be feared" (p. 124)?

M. Mariéjol seems to think the distinction between the Huguenots of religion and the Huguenots of state to have been a suspicious and a specious one, and yet the distinction was fully admitted from the inception of the civil wars (Pierre de la Place, *Commentaires de l'état de la religion et de la république*, 41; Gaspard de Saulx-Tavannes, *Mémoires*, 241).

The issue raised by the former imperceptibly merged into that of the political Huguenots, who not only wanted to alter the foundations of belief but to change the institutional order of things, and who used religious opposition as a means to attack the authority of the crown. If the cause of religion was an issue, that of the state was as much so, and the two conjoined provoked a long series of civil wars. It is to be regretted that this depreciatory treatment of the Huguenot cause should prevail throughout the book, for it vitiates what otherwise is, in the main, a comprehensive survey of the history of France during the civil wars. From the inception of the Holy League in 1576, the residue of the volume (books III and IV) is an adequate account.

Exception may be taken to a number of statements which are errors of fact. On p. 8 it is said that Catherine de Médicis was the person who sent Anthony of Navarre off to Spain in the abortive hope of recovering his lost kingdom. On the contrary, the evidence is in favor of the part of the Guises in this move. With the conceit of a weak man in a prominent position, Anthony entertained schemes of his own at this time. His purpose was to play Spain and England against one another, in the hope that he might persuade Philip II to restore to him the kingdom of Navarre by a firm advocacy of Catholicism in France (which of course prevented him from affiliating with the Huguenot party to which Condé and the Châtillons were attached) or, in the event of failure in this, to side with the Huguenots and enlist English support. Shortly after his arrival at the court from Béarn, on August 23, 1559, he made overtures to Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France. After a long declaration of his affection for Elizabeth, he said that he would write to her with his own hand, for if either the Guises or the Spanish ambassador knew of it, "it would be dangerous for both and hinder their good enterprise" (August 25, 1559, *Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, Foreign*, I, 498). But the Guises were made aware of Navarre's doings through the treachery of a gentleman of his suite, and shrewdly schemed to rid themselves of his presence by sending him to Spain as escort for Elizabeth of France (Régner de la Planche, *Histoire de l'état de France sous François II*, I, 212-216; Gaspard de Saulx-Tavannes, 246).

The feud between the constable and the Guises over Dammartin is said (p. 9) to have grown out of the revocation by Francis II of the alienations of the royal domain made by his father, and to have begun in October, 1559. Now the Tuscan ambassador, than whom no diplomat in Paris was better informed, first makes mention of it in April, 1560. Moreover, the feud did not have relation to the king's ordinance. The duke of Guise had purchased the right of the sieur de Rambures to the county of Dammartin, not far from Paris and adjacent to that of Nanteuil, which the duke had shortly before acquired, the lower court of which was held in relief of Dammartin. In order to do so, Guise had persuaded Philippe de Boulainvilliers, who had lately sold the property to the constable, to rescind the contract which had been made and to sell it to him

(la Place, 38). But the duke met with a straight rebuff, for when he sent word of the transaction the constable answered by Damville, his son, that "as he had bought it, so would he keep it". The account of the pursuit of the Huguenots after the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise (pp. 16-18) fails to include mention of the important fact that *lettres de cachet* were issued *in blank* to the marshals and other officers, the instructions of the king being a curious monument of the fury of the Guises (*Correspondance de l'Aubespine*, 342-343). Montmorency (p. 14) is acquitted of a knowledge of the conspiracy of Amboise on his own evidence, which was so vigorously given before the parliament after the collapse of the conspiracy (cf. la Place, 37; Michel de Castelnau, *Mémoires*, bk. II, ch. 11). But, protestation aside, there is little room to doubt at least the constable's knowledge of the affair. The conspirators were in the main recruited from the Breton border, Anjou, Poitou, and Saintonge, with individual captains from Normandy, Picardy, Provence, and Languedoc. The rendezvous was at Nantes. In the early winter Montmorency had visited his lands in Poitou, Angoumois, and Buttay, having quitted his usual place of residence at Chantilly and traveled in those quarters of France which are identical with those wherein the conspiracy of Amboise was hatched (la Place, 32; la Planche, 279). Is it reasonable to believe that a man of his political acumen and state of feeling toward the Guises at the time could have been unaware of at least a portion of what was in preparation?

As has been invariably the case, the bibliographies attached to the various chapters are full and discriminating.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company: a Diplomatic and Literary Episode of the Establishment of our Trade with Turkey. By the Rev. H. G. ROSEDALE, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.L., Vicar of St. Peter's, Bayswater. (London and New York: Henry Frowde. 1904. Pp. xii, 91).

THE history of Anglo-Turkish relations still lacks an historian; and the affairs of the Levant or Turkey Company have not as yet received the careful study they deserve. This book, a folio published under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature, is a beautiful specimen of the printer's art and contains twenty-six plates, reproductions of rare engravings, and photographs of pages of manuscript documents; but it does not pretend to illuminate the history of English relations with the Porte, except within a most limited area and in respect to matters of no wide significance. The larger part of the volume consists of documents, at least two of which have already been printed, though the fact is not indicated. The thread of editorial explanation is slight in character and does not on the whole show a very keen appreciation of aught save antiquarian interests. Such statements as that the Janissaries are the "hereditary soldiers of Turkey" are open to comment; and the omission of

explanatory facts, easily obtainable from the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, IX (1592-1603), is a cause of regret. The author likewise forgets the ventures of English merchants in the Levant early in the sixteenth century when he states (p. 41), "In the year 1595 our trade with Turkey had only been in existence about 15 years."

The argument of the work is briefly as follows: Toward the close of the reign of Murad III the Levant Company had made handsome presents to the court at Constantinople. The death of the sultan in 1595 and the accession of his son Muhammad III made it advisable for the English to win favor once more by suitable gifts to the new ruler. Fearful lest the sober merchants of London might rebel at the thought of new presents, the English ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Edward Barton, arranged that an account of the accession to power of the new sultan should reach Queen Elizabeth's eyes in a form most interesting and designed to satisfy her curiosity, while it presented the new ruler in a more favorable light than the facts warranted; all this to the end that the queen might be persuaded to undertake herself the cost of the new gifts. After a considerable delay, the result was the despatch from England of Master Thomas Dallam with an organ for the sultan. Some light is shed thereby on the intricacies of Elizabethan diplomacy as well as on the conditions which governed European intercourse with the Ottoman empire at the close of the sixteenth century. It is unfair to blame the author for not doing what he never intended to do, and yet we must regret that the time and labor evidently involved should not have been productive of larger and more valuable results.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java. By CLIVE DAY, PH.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. xxi, 434.)

THIS excellent work, based upon a wide and critical study of the Dutch literature on the subject as well as of the original sources, presents an account of the development and present character of the economic administration in Dutch India. The book is specially welcome, because the literature in English on the colonial history and methods of the Dutch is very meager and in large part unreliable. The author gives a clear and safe account of the history of Java under the company. He points out very forcibly that the regard for native institutions for which the Dutch have received so much credit was due originally not to any consideration for the natives, but to a desire for a complete and rapid exploitation of the colony with their aid. Thus the tendency to develop communal holdings of land was encouraged because this form of ownership offered few difficulties in administration. In this process, however, many native institutions, though avowedly maintained, were seriously distorted from their original character; and the system of the company, which used the natives as taskmasters to supply its demands, was strik-

ingly like that employed to-day by the Congo Free State. The author discusses the important charter of 1803, the reactionary government of Daendels, and the brief but permanently important administration of Raffles, who introduced the land-tax with the purpose of abolishing forced labor. The historical development leading up to the culture system is carefully and clearly traced; the latter is shown to be a continuation and adaptation of the policy in use under the company; the real cause of its introduction was the financial need of the Dutch government, notwithstanding the ardent professions made by van den Bosch. Throughout his discussion the author expresses a very unfavorable opinion of the culture system, as well with regard to its effect upon the natives as to its general economic efficiency. Although it yielded rich returns to the Dutch treasury, these were gained almost entirely from the culture of coffee and sugar and were due to the high prices of these products and to the excessive burden placed upon the native laborers. In the opinion of the author the system was economically inefficient, as it demanded an undue amount of forced labor and did not permanently increase the economic ability of the natives. The author totally repudiates the opinions expressed by Money, and he demonstrates that Money's book, *Java: or, How to Manage a Colony* (London, 2 vols., 1861), hitherto considered the principal source of information on the Dutch system, is totally unreliable in its facts. The gradual abolition of the culture system and the present economic régime are discussed in the last chapters. The author confines himself, however, to the land and labor questions and the fiscal policy. It is to be hoped that he may continue to work in the rich field which he has opened up and to deal in his thorough and luminous fashion with such matters as the currency, law and the judiciary, and irrigation, and to present to the American people some insight into the admirable scientific work of the Javanese government and of the fruitful study of native institutions by Dr. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the famous advisor on native affairs. While the author has done much to destroy the current admiration for the culture system, he also bears witness to the intelligence and thoroughness with which the Dutch colonial government is at present approaching the many difficult problems of colonial administration.

P. S. REINSCH.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XVI, 1609. Vol. XVII, 1609-1616. Vol. XVIII, 1617-1620. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1904. Pp. 329, 336, 346.)

THE four volumes XII to XVI of this series of translations of Philippine historical documents have been given up mainly to reproductions in English of Spanish works of the beginning of the seventeenth century which are standard sources of authority on early Philippine history under Spain, and to a considerable extent also on the customs and conditions

of the Philippine peoples at the time of the conquest. In volume XVI the work of Antonio de Morga (*Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico, 1609), generally conceded to be the most important of all the early sources, is completed in its second English translation (the first being that of Lord Stanley, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1868). One hundred forty pages are required for its final chapter, dealing with the customs of the natives. Morga asserts (p. 117) that there were "very few" who did not write their dialects in the alphabet they possessed at the coming of the Spaniards. Morga's history of the years 1565-1606, especially for the last ten of those, when he was judge and, part of the time, executive in the islands, and when he collected many of the documents which he cites, is of itself of great value. His treatise on the natives is the most complete we have, and, along with the relations of Loarca, Plasencia, and Chirino (which have all been reproduced in this series) and some of the early missionary letters less formal in treatment (notably the letters of Jesuit fathers, some of them first brought to light in this series), it forms our only contemporary source of information as to the primitive Filipinos. Morga's statements about the natives negate many of the exaggerated assertions made in recent years about their savagery at the time of discovery, and his work was drawn into the very midst of the modern Spanish-Filipino political controversy when José Rizal published his edition of 1890, with annotations semi-scientific and semi-political. Efforts have been made by Spanish reactionaries to impugn Morga's authority as an observer and historian, and his character as well; but his work bears its own internal evidence of the writer's possession, in a remarkable degree for his times, of the "scientific spirit".

The translation, the facsimiles of title-pages, etc., and the annotations (drawn from both the Rizal and Stanley editions and supplemented to some extent) make this on the whole a more satisfactory English edition of Morga than that of the Hakluyt Society. One hundred ten pages of volume XVI are also given to translated abstracts of sections bearing on the Philippines from B. L. de Argensola's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid, 1609), a work that is classic for Spanish style, but not as a history. The work of selection, synopsis, and translation has been well done by Mr. Robertson. The title-page and a picture of the "caracoa" of those times are reproduced. To complete a very interesting volume, and falling in well with Morga's treatise, we have a brief account of the customs of the natives of Pampanga in their lawsuits, discovered in the Seville archives during the search for material for this series, and on very creditable grounds ascribed by the editors to Father Plasencia, author of the more extended relation of 1589. These documents will be studied most profitably in connection with accurate research into the customs of the Moros and other peoples following their primitive customs in the Philippines to-day.

Volumes XVII and XVIII together contain nearly forty documents, dealing with the state of missions, the efforts at the conquest of souls and trade in Japan, the struggles to retain conquest in the Moluccas, the

rivalry with the Portuguese there and in China, overshadowed for the time by the danger from the Dutch, and also, as something never to be dispensed with at any stage of Spanish-Philippine history, the personal jealousies and dissensions over policy of the Spanish officials in the islands, especially of the civil with the ecclesiastical authorities. There stand out above all other things of the time, first, the harassments of the Dutch, who, outside of the immediate neighborhood of the Spanish posts at Manila and in the Bisayas and the island of Ternate, were having the seas of the far east very much to themselves, with occasional reverses to be sure, but frequently putting the Spaniards on the defensive even in the areas mentioned; and, second, the burdens laid upon the Philippine natives to sustain the pretensions of the crown of Spain against these vigorous enemies, and, as if the demands for ship-building, the manning of ships, etc., were not enough, the abuses which were gratuitously heaped upon these Oriental subjects by Spaniards both of sword and habit.

The documents of these two volumes are well selected and well grouped to enable the reader to discern the currents of the times and form his own judgments upon the old rival claims which still play a part in Philippine controversy. The editors have translated some of the laws of the Indies, and given references to various others, bearing on Philippine trade and commerce and on the treatment of the natives. The law of May 26, 1609, regarding personal service by the Philippine natives was taken from book VI of the *Laws of the Indies*, and is law XL of title XII therein, which title is entirely devoted to the subject of the treatment of the natives; it might well have been accompanied by a summary of all these provisions, in fact of the decrees regarding personal service, etc., from the time of Charles V, and especially by a reference to some of the other significant decrees intended to apply directly to the Philippines. The early decrees on this subject, and to a considerable extent also the later, were designed primarily to meet conditions in the American colonies of Spain. The fact that their provisions were constantly repeated during two centuries shows that they are an indication of the abuses that existed rather than a sign of good treatment of the Indians; such a law as that other of 1609 (no. XLVIII of the above title), wherein Philip III declares that his previous injunctions regarding the treatment of the Indians must be held as still in force, even if some have supposed not, sheds a flood of light upon the actual Spanish administration in the colonies. One might expect a reference in this same volume to law XLIII (March 17, 1608), of the same title, forbidding in detail certain abuses of the natives by the missionary priests; but matters of this sort are brought out in the document on "Reforms Needed in the Filipinas", presented to the Council of the Indies in 1620 by an ecclesiastic, and reproduced in part in volume XVIII (to be concluded in XIX). All classes of Spaniards shared in the blame this critic distributed.

The editors are to be commended also for the useful list of governors of the Philippine Islands at the end of volume XVII. It is probably the

most correct and complete list of the sort available. There are some omissions, however, from the brief summaries of important events occurring under each administration, and one detects in the notes on the governors of the last twenty years some gossip from the book of the Englishman Sawyer, which may well be true, yet is not proved, and is in questionable taste. The abstracts from Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid, 1843) and from Montero y Vidal's of 1886 (not 1866, as given on p. 329) give a very fair idea of the administrative machinery of the Philippines up to, say, 1868 and the revolution in Spain; but there was much making and remaking of Philippine governmental machinery, especially by various Liberal administrations, after that date. The outline of Philippine government as here presented needs supplementing, therefore, by some such abstract as that given of the Spanish administration in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, volume I, which in turn was defective precisely in its failure to note that many of the features of government which it outlined were most recent innovations.

Other documents in these two volumes deserving particular mention are the letters of the Jesuit fathers, the letters between the king and governors Silva and Fajardo de Tenza, the anonymous "Description of the Philippine Islands" of 1618, and a letter on ship-building in the islands at that time. The work of the editors has, as indicated, shown steady improvement. The translating staff—and, for such a work as this, translation is all-important—is, as nearly as one may judge without having the original texts for comparison, doing more effective work than at the beginning.

It is highly regrettable to record that a work having the importance which has this, and having such special significance at this time, should up to date have received most unsatisfactory support in the United States, even from libraries. The publishers originally limited the edition to one thousand numbered sets. They now announce that, beginning with February, 1905, the number of each volume issued will be strictly limited to the number of subscribers, and that the excess of the twenty-two volumes issued up to that time will be destroyed, a feature which should receive the attention of libraries and private collectors.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, 1628-1687: a Study in the History of the Restoration. By WINIFRED, LADY BURGHCLERE. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company; London: John Murray. 1903. Pp. ix, 414.)

THE biographies of Restoration worthies have been increased by the life of one whose talents would win him that place were they not neutralized by a character which made him a puzzle to his contemporaries as well as to later generations. Indeed the life of the second Villiers who bore the ill-fated title of Buckingham is no less a study in psychology

than in politics. "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel" might well be taken as the motto of this biography of him who was so various that he seemed to be not one but all mankind's epitome. As courtier or demagogue, rake or devotee, a man of infinite talent and infinite whim, he was at once a perpetual interest if to some a perpetual irritation while alive, and his biography offers an equal puzzle though unmixed with irritation to us who do not suffer from his vagaries. Lady Burghclere has written a charming and useful book on a most perplexing subject. A consistent clue to the mystery of Buckingham's erratic career she has not professed to find, but has painted the portrait of him who was everything by turns and nothing long, and has set him forth fairly and without prejudice. It is an appreciation rather than an apology or criticism, and is as free from controversy as such a book may well be. The truth is that the only real clue to such a character as that of Buckingham is that where most men follow their reason, interest, or conscience in the affairs of life, he followed his fancy. This made his life one long inconsistency, and makes a convincing biography a most difficult task. That the attempt was worth while, the success of the result proves. Much new material is here utilized, and much new proof, though no very startling new conclusions are adduced. The account of parties and the duke's connection with them, and in particular his relations with the men of his day, Clarendon, Shaftesbury, and above all the king, are admirably expressed. This last alone would make the book valuable, even were it not for the numerous side-lights thrown on many transactions of court and politics. Nothing gives one a better opinion of the book than the careful handling of the French evidence in it, whether the *chronique scandaleuse* of Grammont or the often little less imaginative despatches of the ambassadors. Yet when all is said of the historical merits of the book, it is the personality of Buckingham drawn in these pages which remains in mind. Of this there is perhaps no better nor more characteristic illustration than the explanation of the success of that amazing metamorphosis which turned the prince of courtiers into the chief of demagogues. The reasons given (pp. 288-289) are worth quoting in full, as, at least, an ingenious speculation:

Hitherto also, in dealing with the worthy country members or even with the politicians of the Cabal, he had committed an initial blunder. He had so profoundly assimilated the maxims and methods of gallantry that unconsciously he brought something of the atmosphere of the boudoir with him to the Council Board. It was an error. His posturing, his sensationalism, merely alienated the matter-of-fact British legislator. In dealing with the mob, however, it was far otherwise. The feminine element, which underlies its fierce and varying moods, wrought them instantly to a high pitch of sympathy and mutual understanding. All the passion he had brought to the worship of his perverse mistress he now lavished on the wooing of the multitude, till at last he reaped the signal glory of seeing London ablaze with bonfires in his honour, and every street and alley resounding to the cry of "A Buckingham! a Buckingham!"

The amazing vicissitudes and complexities of Buckingham's career are worked out with every care as to authority, and the book is therefore scholarly as well as readable. The index is good, the illustrations excellent, and the form, paper, and typography admirable.

W. C. ABBOTT.

La Guerre de Sept Ans: Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire. Par RICHARD WADDINGTON. Tome II. Crefeld et Zorndorf. Tome III. Minden, Kunersdorf, Québec. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. [1904.] Pp. iii, 488; 549.)

THESE volumes continue the detailed narrative of which the first volume, *Les Débuts*, was published by M. Waddington in 1899; it is here brought down through the events of the years 1758 and 1759. This is a period of much greater military than political interest; its unimportance in the latter respect is the more striking by contrast with the opening period of the war. There is therefore little or no reflection here of the bitter controversies as to that opening period that were raging when M. Waddington began this work, and to which perhaps we owe the undertaking. Those who are interested in this field will remember that M. Waddington is the foremost French representative of the new school of investigators of this epoch that sprang into activity with the publication of the *Politische Correspondenz* of Frederick II, and that he is an adherent of the older German views represented by Koser and Naudé as against the new positions of Lehmann and Delbrück. It is perhaps not always easy to see the differences of position between M. Waddington and M. de Broglie, his most important French forerunner in this field; but there can be no question that the present writer has the advantage of much more complete information and that he is making full use of his opportunities. The merits of the work and its elaborateness are already sufficiently manifest to make it safe to predict that it will preempt this field for many years to come. M. Waddington has a clear and pleasing style and handles his vast material with ease and effect. The maps with which the volumes are provided are doubtless good, but they are not very conveniently placed, and the military reader will probably regret the entire absence of plans.

The present reviewer must confess that he is not a military reader, and that, in spite of the manifest merits of this work, he has been visited during its superficial examination with serious misgivings. The 1,037 pages of the present volumes are overwhelmingly devoted to military movements, and the minor diplomatic narrative seems the more unimportant because the wordy parleying for the most part comes to nothing. Yet this detailed following of the clash of arms must be intended mainly for the non-professional reader; it can hardly be supposed that the professional military student of the Seven Years' War will rest with any civilian narrative; if so, it seems too elaborate a rehashing of campaigns so often dealt with already. No new conclusions of importance seem

to be reached ; and the thousand pages are not apportioned with the strictest regard to the permanent importance of the events. Those relatively unimportant operations in western Germany in which the French were engaged (for the most part very ingloriously) are given more space than the far greater encounters of Frederick with his dearest foes ; while the immortal campaign that gave North America irretrievably to the Anglo-Saxon is given no more space than the almost unknown campaign of Crefeld. Apart from this the narrative seems scrupulously fair, being animated indeed by what may be called the conventional French indulgent attitude toward Frederick and unsparing condemnation of the government and person of Louis XV. The reviewer in objecting to the great detail of the work has in mind that this great length is due mainly to the fact that the author incorporates with the text large extracts from the sources, his foot-notes being used purely for references. This method can scarcely be commended ; one of the natural and inalienable rights of the reader is surely that of skipping the corroborating foot-note.

VICTOR COFFIN.

The Fight for Canada: a Naval and Military Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War. By WILLIAM WOOD. (Westminster : Archibald Constable and Company. 1904. Pp. xxi, 363.)

THE story of the struggle between Britain and her colonies and the French people for the mastery on the American continent maintains its interest to the present day, notwithstanding the many great and important events which followed it. As Parkman studied the fascinating theme, "day and night", it grew with him into an integral portion of the war against the dominance of France under Louis XV which covered Europe and only terminated with the complete exhaustion of the lands which formed the battle-fields of the contending parties. Earl Stanhope, Carlyle, Warburton, and still later A. G. Bradley, have treated it from the same standpoint. Mr. Wood is a citizen of Quebec proud of its historic fame, and is a collaborator of Mr. A. G. Doughty in the collection and publication of the manuscripts and pamphlets on the siege of Quebec, which has recently been issued in six volumes. As a result of his investigation he has become deeply interested in the operations which immediately preceded the Battle of the Plains and led to the surrender of Québec. He has consequently confined himself to this one incident, and that the final one, in a series of campaigns which lasted for over four years. The title of the book therefore is somewhat misleading.

One of the principal ideas of the author is to emphasize the position which Captain Mahan has developed in his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, that the campaign against Quebec should be treated as a naval operation and that this was only possible when the sovereignty of the seas had been gained. Wolfe's army, which numbered only one-half of the marine force, is treated as a landing party of veteran soldiers, who,

once able to meet Montcalm's composite army in the open plain, were sure of success. The conquest of Louisburg and the failure of the French ships to throw supplies into Quebec showed how completely the French navy had been demoralized, and it was nearly a quarter of a century before they recovered their position under Suffren and de Grasse: so in some respects Mr. Wood's point of view is not amiss. On the other hand, the whole of the operations against Canada had for their center Quebec, and by compelling Montcalm to guard the upper St. Lawrence they deprived him of some of his best men. If Lévis and the troops under his command could have been recalled to Quebec, the result of Wolfe's landing might have been very different. In leading up to the actual battle, Mr. Wood has devoted considerable space to the characters of Vaudreuil and Bigot, upon whom he is very severe, and to Anson, Saunders, Montcalm, and Wolfe, who are the heroes of that day. It is difficult at first to see the reason for the introduction of Anson's name, until we learn (p. 82) that "at the head of the Admiralty [he] made the Navy the greatest fighting force on either land or sea". It is however the detailed account of the action which reveals his local and military knowledge and makes his description of the hourly occurrences as vivid as if they had taken place yesterday.

A comparison is forced upon the reader with Mr. Parkman's brilliant chapters, which form a climax in which he has skilfully so elaborated the manuscript and printed authorities as to convey the epic character of the struggle. Mr. Wood has not Mr. Parkman's command of resonant prose, but in simple language details the events hour by hour, describing the character of the ground as one familiar with every foot of it, and the movements of the men on each side as if at a review. He declines to accept the current story of Wolfe and the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard", on the ground that the evidence is insufficient. The principal authority for it appears to be John Robison (1739-1805), who at the time was acting as tutor to the son of one of the admirals and was rated as a midshipman. During the siege he was employed in assisting the scientific officers in surveying. In after years he became famous as a mathematician and was appointed professor of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh (*Dictionary of National Biography*). In 1830 Sir Walter Scott, writing to Southey, says he had heard Robison tell his story that on the night before battle Robison, being in the same boat with the general, heard the latter read or recite the "Elegy" and say to the officers about him that, if he had the choice, he "would rather be the author of these verses than win the battle which we are to fight to-morrow morning".¹ Professor Playfair, Robison's successor, also repeats the story, as having received it at first hand, in the biographical sketch of his colleague (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1815, VII, 495-539). These two witnesses are corroborated by numerous incidental allusions to what appears to have been a well-known Edinburgh story, and

¹ September 22, 1830, printed by Mr. Augustine Birrell in *The Times Literary Supplement*, May 27, 1904, p. 165. See also the *Athenæum*, July 9, 1904, p. 49.

the evidence seems conclusive as to its authenticity. The improbability of Wolfe's reciting a poem, when absolute silence was required, is due perhaps to Lord Stanhope's transferring it from the early evening to the hour of attack next morning, in which he has been followed by Carlyle, Parkman, and others. Professor E. E. Morris, however, has taken the opposite view in the *English Historical Review* (XV, 125-129, January, 1900).

Mr. Wood should not have permitted Bradstreet's name to appear repeatedly as "Broadstreet" nor Robison as "Robinson". The contemporary map, which appeared for the first time in Mr. Doughty's collection, 1901, is a valuable addition to the book.

JAMES BAIN.

Josiah Tucker, Economist: a Study in the History of Economics.

By WALTER ERNEST CLARK, Ph.D., Instructor in the College of the City of New York. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XIX, No. 1.] (New York: Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company; London: P. S. King and Son. 1903. Pp. 258.)

JOSIAH TUCKER (1713-1799), Dean of Gloucester, has received in the past but scant treatment at the hands of economic historians. His acuteness of intellect and the boldness and general soundness of his views have been recognized, but he has been set down as a pamphleteer who discussed questions of the hour and said little of enduring value. Dr. Clark has in this monograph given us the first satisfactory presentation of Tucker's surroundings, life, and work. He has had access to all his writings, including two very rare folios, never publicly printed: *The Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes* (1755), and *Instructions for Travellers* (1757).¹ These two essays, probably unknown to economists until well into the nineteenth century, contain his only systematic attempt to construct a science of economics. Had they come to light when written, they might have given their author a more important place among the predecessors of Adam Smith.

Tucker was a vigorous advocate of an increased population for Great Britain. He observed with regret the emigration to America, urged a tax on bachelors and exemptions for married men, and favored free immigration. He denounced monopoly in all its forms, the exclusive trading-companies, the artisans under the protection of the Elizabethan apprenticeship law, the British ship-owners and sailors under the Navigation Act, and the combinations of factory laborers. On no other topic did he write so voluminously. He preferred the domestic to the factory system of industry for its effect on labor and product, advocated piecewages, but argued for a low rate of wages to increase England's competitive strength. His views on population and wages indicate Tucker's mer-

¹ In addition to the three copies of this work located by Dr. Clark, there is one in the Library of Congress. ED.

cantilist sympathies, yet he occupies an intermediate position between the rigid exclusiveness of mercantilism and the freedom of trade of Adam Smith. He disposed of the fallacy that one nation could thrive only at the expense of another and condemned "going to war for the sake of getting trade" (p. 170). There is "something ridiculous", he said, "in the farce that a shopkeeper should bully his customers to compel them to deal with him against their interests" (p. 173), a good answer to the fallacy that trade follows the flag. He avoided the error of identifying national riches with money metal and opposed prohibitions on metal export. But he favored duties upon the import of foreign manufactures and upon the export of raw materials, and advocated bounties and premiums as encouragements to industry while in the infant stage. "Attempts ought to be made to wean this commercial child by gentle degrees" (p. 183).

His hostility to distant colonies had an economic motive. Colonies were costly, they added nothing to the trade advantages of the mother-country, they drew population from home, and they sought independence as soon as it was to their economic interest to do so. As early as 1749 he asserted that the American colonies would seek independence as soon as they no longer needed Great Britain's assistance. Tucker will be remembered by students of American history as one of the few men in England who consistently wrote and preached American independence, and who scouted the idea that the separation of the colonies would spell the ruin of England.

The fact that all of Tucker's published writings were of a controversial nature on current questions, and that his more extended and systematic work was never published, would explain the slight influence which this writer has exercised upon the development of economic thought. Dr. Clark insists, however, upon crediting Tucker with a considerable indirect influence upon the development of British economics in paving the way for the *Wealth of Nations*, and declares that he deserves a greater recognition than he has as yet received. By his thorough and scholarly monograph the author has done much to give Tucker this recognition. A complete and excellent bibliography of Tucker's writings is added.

FRANK HAIGH DIXON.

The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army. By LOUIS CLINTON HATCH. [Harvard Historical Studies, X.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Pp. viii, 229.)

THE effect of the democratic principle when applied to the administration of an army is rather ruthlessly shown in this monograph. The weakness of Congress, too, as a central government is clearly demonstrated in this close study of one of its most important functions. Until the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, Mr. Hatch shows, any state, and even any individual who was not in the actual

service of Congress, could refuse obedience to its commands, on the ground that it was unable to show any right to issue them. Even in the formation of the army, where Congress might assume the greatest power, it acted mainly through the state governments. So jealously did the state representatives in Congress keep the power in their own hands that, though a War Department was needed, the representatives in Congress at first administered military affairs themselves; frequently allowing even their committees only the authority to report, not to act. A war office became imperative, however, and in the summer of 1776 a Board of War and Ordnance was devised, and in 1777 a new board, not members of Congress, was appointed. In 1781 General Lincoln was made Secretary of War, thus securing the advantage of a single-headed department.

After accounting for the evolution of the Continental army and discussing the relations between Congress and the commander-in-chief, Mr. Hatch has contributed a valuable chapter on the subject of the "Appointment and Promotion" of officers, showing the jealousy of the members of Congress for the rights of their states. The several colonies wished not only to furnish officers for their troops, but also to make appointments for all ranks below that of brigadier-general. Washington was greatly hampered by the state jealousies. In the matter of a certain promotion, he wrote to Sullivan, "If in all cases ours was *one* army, or *thirteen* armies allied for common defence, there would be no difficulty in solving your question; but we are occasionally both, and . . . sometimes *neither*, but a compound of *both*" (p. 45).

The chapter on "Foreign Officers" is the least valuable in the volume, adding little to the account in Tower's *Lafayette* and that in Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence*. The following chapter, on "Pay and Half-Pay", is, on the other hand, a real contribution, treating clearly the subject of bounties, the real as compared with the apparent pay of the soldier, the inequalities of pay, which provoked so great discontent, and finally the long struggle in Congress over half-pay and the resolution to grant half-pay for seven years. To the assertion of Congress that the American soldiers received pay "greater than ever soldiers had", there is a commentary that the soldiers of New England were not, as in Europe, the wanderers of the city streets or half-starved peasants, but were frequently landowners or the sons of landowners who lived in a sort of rude comfort, and who could not see in poor food and six and two-thirds dollars a month a proper compensation for the camp dangers and hardships. The next chapter deals with the difficult question of "Supplying the Army", the mismanagement in the feeding and clothing of the army, and the consequent suffering at Valley Forge. It is, on the whole, the most accurate account we have, and is stated with moderation and without sentimentality. The mutinies of 1781 are well treated without, however, adding anything to our previous knowledge, or putting a new interpretation upon the events discussed.

The "Newburg Addresses" in the following chapter are, however, treated in a fuller and more conclusive manner. Mr. Hatch points out

that the long war and the intercourse with the French army had resulted in a diminution of pride in "Spartan simplicity", and an increased sensitiveness at being compelled to live in a manner unbecoming "an officer and a gentleman". Not only were there temporary discomforts, but there was anxiety for the future. The war would soon end, leaving them without money, credit, or business connections, but with themselves and families to support. Congress had been asked for half-pay, but the New England delegates were opposed, and, since no appropriation could pass Congress without the assent of nine states, it was doubtful whether the measure would succeed. As a result of this condition appeared the anonymous Newburg addresses urging the officers to compel Congress to do them justice. Mr. Hatch thinks that on the whole we may dismiss as unlikely Judge Johnson's theory of a plot of the officers to establish monarchy. More likely many of the officers hoped to compel Congress to retain them in service permanently. As to the civilian members of the conspiracy, it is held that they cared little for the claims of the officers, but desired political reform, hoping that the fear of military revolt would induce the states to increase the powers of Congress, or that Congress, with the support of the army, might assume additional powers itself. Gouverneur Morris was most seriously implicated in this plot, as his own correspondence shows.

The last chapter treats the "Mutiny of 1783 and Disbandment of the Army". The book closes with the general comment that the administration of the Revolutionary army is not one in which an American can take pride. "The people were often indifferent, the officers captious and quarrelsome, and Congress inefficient and negligent" (p. 196). Yet an excuse is offered for each, and Mr. Hatch urges that, though we may note their errors, we must not forget their sufferings and their achievements. The book is well organized and well written. It is a source study of high merit, and is well worthy its place among the Harvard Historical Studies. There is a valuable bibliography and a good index.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late LORD ACTON, LL.D. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Vol. VIII. *The French Revolution.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xxvii, 875).

THE reviews of volumes I and VII of the *Cambridge Modern History*, which have appeared in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (IX, 142-147, 365-369), have determined the canons of judgment which must hold in respect to the fashion of coöperative historical production exhibited in this series of twelve volumes. The respective tasks of editors, contributors, and even of reviewers have been well defined; and in view of what has already been written it appears unnecessary on this

occasion to enter into any further general discussion regarding these matters. Even with the aid of this process of elimination, much more remains for consideration than the limits of this review will permit. It is therefore possible to write only of the scope and relative value of the various divisions of the work and of the character and merits of the book as a whole. Details must as a rule be neglected. The technical appearance of the book is of course good, and the bibliographies and index will prove useful.

The editors have succeeded in their plan of fixing the main attention of the reader on Paris, though the foreign policy of Pitt (1783-1793), the successive partitions of Poland, and European opinion concerning the Revolution receive more or less adequate recognition. Whether this scheme is open to criticism or not, the volume unquestionably gains thereby in unity of theme. The twenty-five chapters are by thirteen writers, a proportion which, as compared with the other volumes, shows a steady decrease in the number of different contributors. *The Renaissance* contained nineteen chapters by seventeen writers. This change should aid in securing unity of treatment, though it tends to decrease the coöperative character of the whole work. For example, the domestic political history of France from the accession of Louis XVI to the establishment of the Directory, a period of twenty-one and a half years, is in the hands of only two writers.

If we disregard for the time being the division by chapters, the book permits of four general topical divisions. The first, the *ancien régime* in France, with treatment of philosophy, government, finance, and political history (1774-1788), occupies 118 pages; the second, the Revolution in France from the call of the States-General to the fall of the Directory, with special treatment of Revolutionary finance and law, occupies 333 pages; the third, the international military and naval history of the period, 1792-1799, occupies 199 pages; the fourth, the history, chiefly diplomatic, of the rest of Europe (*circa* 1780-1797), except in so far as it is incidentally treated elsewhere in the book, occupies 127 pages. These natural divisions, except in one or two notable instances, agree successfully with the separation and arrangement of chapters, though readers may dispute as to the wisdom of the above allotment of space, especially in the last-named division. With this brief statement as to the general plan, an expression of opinion on more specific matters now becomes possible.

Mr. P. F. Willert in the opening chapter writes of philosophy and the Revolution. He summarizes the tendencies and conclusions of seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century thought only to deny to philosophy direct causal value in the outbreak of the Revolution; but he recognizes the function of philosophy as that of expressing articulately what was the feeling of the people at large and he concedes its ability thereby to excite fervor, akin to that of a religious faith, in the hearts of those who had longed for a new and definite creed and a promised specific relief, and also to menace, in the minds of those who had defended or

palliated existing conditions, their belief in the essential righteousness of their order. Material conditions, rather than theory aside from fact, were the chief efficient. The views of politics and economics presented in the next three chapters are similarly marked by an unwillingness to recognize aught save material facts and by a temperate and non-partizan judgment which refuses to be led into mere adversative generalizations. The evils shown are concrete; the mistakes of a personal administration are differentiated from the evils of a theoretical system. It would, however, have added to the value of these opinions had a comparative method been followed to a greater extent. If we heard more of the *ancien régime* in the rest of Europe, the Revolution in France would acquire a more correct basis as to cause; but much has been gained when men consent to write of the advantages and advances as well as of the misfortunes and evils of France.

The heart of the work is contained in an even account of succeeding events in France, 1789-1795, which, for the period after the adoption of the constitution of 1791, threatens at times to become a chronicle. Further, the need of a discriminating and connected account of French diplomatic policy becomes evident. The Directory gets more vivid treatment in proportionately much less space; but here, as for the earlier years of the Revolution, the problem of construction should not have been as to the mere succession of events, but as to the proper subordination of details. The entire decade, however, profits by the illuminating survey of French law in the Revolution contributed by M. Paul Viollet and by the review of financial experiments and conditions given by Mr. Henry Higgs.

The military and naval history of the years 1792 to 1799 is the work of three writers. The land campaigns to 1795 are clearly described by Mr. R. P. Dunn-Pattison with welcome technical comment and explanation but without sufficient consideration of those political facts which would effectively relate the chapter to the history as a whole; nor are such matters as the policy of the allies, the militant revolutionary spirit, or the significance of the treaty of Basel satisfactorily treated elsewhere. The work of Mr. H. W. Wilson on the naval struggle, in this volume as in volume VII, also does not show a proper appreciation of the relation of the naval operations to the general principles and development of political policy; and in chapter xv failure to note the extent of the depredations of French privateers on the east of Africa and the neglect of the real purpose and bearing of the naval operations in the West Indies should be noted. The chapter on the naval operations in the Mediterranean would better have been consolidated with that by Mr. J. H. Rose on the Egyptian expedition. Mr. Wilson not only repeats part of Mr. Rose's work, but at least in one instance repeats himself; aside from a page or two condemning Nelson's Neapolitan policy, there is little in chapter xx which does not more properly belong in chapter xix. This, however, was a matter for the editors rather than for the individual contributors. It may be noted that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Rose differ slightly

as to the strength or classification of the French naval forces bound for Egypt. The accounts by Mr. Rose of the Italian campaigns, the Egyptian expedition, and the second coalition are all that could be desired.

The history of Europe outside of France, and of Europe in relation to the Revolution, in so far as such topics are included within this volume, constitutes the last general subject to be noticed. The chapters involved are x, xi, xvii, and xxv, an arrangement which does not on the whole appear very satisfactory, though a more closely connected scheme was probably not possible. Chapter x is by Mr. Oscar Browning and consists nominally of a survey of British foreign policy as inspired by Mr. Pitt (1783-1793); in reality it is almost a summary review of the diplomatic history of Europe for these years. The result is to obscure with detail the general line of British policy, while at the same time essential factors in the larger field are neglected; and the forces and events which, either openly or secretly, made for the outbreak of war with France in 1793 are not clearly marshaled. In view of this, chapters xi and xvii, which are by Mr. Richard Lodge, have a peculiar burden to bear; they can be estimated independently or in connection with what has been written by Mr. Browning and others. The editors alone can decide the question. One thing is obvious—that both writers deal in part with the same events and that repetition thereby becomes inevitable, not always, however, with identical interpretation or conclusion. A wider range was apparently given by the editors to Mr. Lodge, who covers the history of the Polish and Eastern questions during the last quarter of the century. With the aid of an excellent grasp of the material, he has successfully treated a complicated subject. It is only fair to add, however, that several matters dealt with in these three chapters are still open to discussion. The concluding chapter of the volume is entitled "Europe and the French Revolution" and is thirty-six pages in length. It consists of a series of abstracts reviewing in convenient fashion, nation by nation, the intellectual opinions of the chief minds in Europe concerning the Revolution. There is no attempt to gather up the loose threads or to measure the real influence of the Revolution.

The general result of all this tends to make the volume a narrative political history of France and of French activities in the last decade of the eighteenth century. This is somewhat balanced by the fact that, except for the work of Mr. Rose, the institutional and administrative topics receive on the whole the best treatment. With but few and generally unimportant exceptions, the spirit and judgment shown deserve special recognition. Many of the time-worn but misleading generalizations, perpetuated in spite of the results of research, have been discarded. As a rule fairness and moderation based on recognition of a wide range of facts characterize the work. As compared with preceding volumes of the series the result is a slight advance, though most of the natural limitations and dangers of the coöperative method, as well as some of its advantages, might find illustration here. The editors have not as yet en-

tirely succeeded in giving coherence, nor have they been able properly to relate chapters on domestic topics to those which deal with foreign affairs. Europe during the Revolution, apparently intentionally, suffers for lack of sufficient or connected treatment. Yet whatever doubts remain concerning the construction of the book, it should be welcome for the wealth of information it supplies and for the impartial review of fiercely-debated questions which it affords. As a rule it exhibits the tested results of sound scholarship.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

The Constitutions and other Select Documents illustrative of the History of France, 1789-1901. By FRANK MALOY ANDERSON. (Minneapolis: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1904. Pp. xxi, 671.)

THE work of the teacher of modern French history will be rendered easier and more effective by the publication of Professor Anderson's volume. Aside from a few documents printed in the University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints*, there has been little illustrative material available for this subject. Professor Anderson's selection has been made with special reference to the requirements of practical work. One of the limitations upon the use of documents in the class-room is the relatively small amount of information which may be extracted from them unless the student is already familiar with the subject and understands what questions to address to his documents. The editor has sought in many cases to minimize this limitation by choosing several documents which illustrate the principal elements of a single topic. For example, he includes nine upon the "Convention and Religion", eight on the "King's Flight" to Varennes, eight upon the "July Revolution", and nine upon the "Proclamations and Decrees of the Provisional Government of 1848". With such groups the student should be able to work in partial independence of his text-book. The same is true on a larger scale with the many constitutions of France, which are printed in full. The term documents is employed in a broad sense, embracing decrees, laws, treaties, petitions, and official letters. Since 482 out of 660 pages are given to the Revolution and the Empire, the volume will be of especial assistance in the study of these periods.

As Professor Anderson remarks, there will be differences of opinion upon the principle of selection, and possibly upon its details. Although the title emphasizes "Constitutions", the necessity of complete translations of each may be questioned. The constitution of 1795 covers forty-two pages. Would it not have been possible to summarize the less significant articles, so that the ordinary undergraduate might not be in danger of losing his way in the search for the principal features of the new government? Again, the constitution of 1830 is a verbatim reproduction of the charter of 1814, with a few omissions and changes. If these changes were noted, the other articles need not be reprinted. Professor

Anderson's plan of complete translations of constitutions has given to those of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods nearly as much space as has been reserved for all the documents of the period from 1815 to 1901. Such a distribution of space has necessitated the omission of material illustrating important phases of French economic and institutional development. There is nothing on the assignats except a portion of the decree of May 10, 1794. In at least one case further material is needed to guard the student against misconception. The decrees of August, 1789, abolishing the feudal system, cannot be understood without careful comparison with the decree of March 15, 1790, which reversed in part the principle of abolition proclaimed in August.

In his notes introductory to each document, Professor Anderson has referred only to the most available books. It would have been well, however, in giving the decrees upon the formation of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety to have mentioned Wallon's *Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris* and Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

La Peur en Dauphiné (Juillet-Août 1789). Par PIERRE CONARD, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure Agrégé d'Histoire. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne, Tome I, Fascicule 1.] (Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition. 1904. Pp. 283.)

THIS monograph is a microscopic study of the Great Fear in a single province of France. In time as well as in space its limits are narrow. The first tremor of the great popular apprehension was felt in Dauphiné July 27. Becoming quickly a panic, it raged for three days with great violence and much damage to the landed nobility of the province. Two of the six chapters of M. Conard's book are devoted to these four days. They present a detailed, critical, and graphic history of a popular movement, obscure in origin, rapid in development, terrifying in many of its manifestations, fruitful in its results. The author traces with gratifying precision and clearness the first appearance of the fateful rumor, the course of its dispersion along the different country roads, the hour of its arrival at this town and that, and its effect in the various communities. He shows how a vague report of an invasion of brigands or of Sardinian soldiery became transformed into a passionate attack on the feudal privileges of a landed aristocracy. It was not at all for this that the peasants flocked together, but solely to help defend the fatherland against an unknown danger. Finding that the alarm was a false one, humiliated, indignant, they first began their work of destruction as a revenge upon the nobles, who, they believed, had set this rumor afloat for some malignant purpose. Immediately there was an irresistible insurgence of all their long-pent-up hatred of aristocratic oppression. They began striking wildly, burning châteaux, and violently assaulting individuals. But they quickly came to see that the one thing needful was not the destruction of

persons or of buildings, but of titles. M. Conard describes the methodical, keen-scented pertinacity of these ignorant peasants in this hunt, their immediate detection of any subterfuge or deception on the part of those whom they were forcing to relinquish the hated registers that described the various forms of their subjection to the nobility.

In a preliminary chapter the author describes the material situation of the peasants throughout the province, their sense of complete estrangement from the existing régime, and in succeeding chapters the vacillating conduct of the authorities at the beginning of this brief social war and their revengeful policy after it was over. The interplay of other factors in the tragedy, the attitude of the bourgeoisie, of the artisans of the towns, of the National Assembly, are shown with admirable lucidity and impersonality, and with minute detail. M. Conard's conclusion is that we are not concerned with a "conspiracy" or with a "commotion électrique" but simply with the transmission from village to village and from province to province of a piece of news which had at the beginning, perhaps, some foundation.

The book is thoroughly documented and rests upon an exhaustive examination of municipal and departmental archives, mostly unpublished. It contains over one hundred pages of *pièces justificatives* and a valuable map of Dauphiné taken from the *Atlas National* of the year 2. It is also well indexed.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires, 1789-1792. Par ALBERT MATHIEZ. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne, Tome I, Fascicule 2.] (Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition. 1904. Pp. 151.)

THE Société d'Histoire Moderne, which was founded in July, 1901, is becoming the promoter of a number of enterprises of importance to the study of modern French history. During 1904 the society began the publication of a series of historical monographs and documents, after the manner of the German *Beiträge*. If the contents of the first volume are to be taken as a sample of what the series is to become, the undertaking will surely prove an important one. In addition to the subject of the present review, the initial volume contains: *La Peur en Dauphiné, Juillet-Août 1789*, by Pierre Conard; *Le Grand Bureau des Pauvres au Milieu du XVIII^e Siècle*, by Léon Cahen; and *Les Procès-Verbaux du Comité de Travail de l'Assemblée Constituante de 1848*, edited by Georges Renard. Excellent judgment has been shown in the mechanical make-up of the series, and the careful and complete tables of contents and indexes contribute largely to the usefulness of the studies.

The present number is, as the author himself acknowledges, an attempt to establish a new historical thesis concerning the Revolutionary cults, and not an impartial and complete study of the origins of those religious manifestations. Considered as a thesis and not as a history,

the pamphlet has the merit of setting the whole religious history of the Revolution in a new light, making what have seemed unrelated or accidentally related phenomena appear as the expressions of a new national religious motive. The national festivals, the adoration of Marat, the Worship of Reason, the Worship of the Supreme Being, Theophilanthropy, and the *Culte décadaire*, instead of being merely political manifestations, appear preëminently religious in character. The religious manifestations of the Revolution are to be treated not as politics, not as irreligion, but as religion, and as parts of a whole.

M. Mathiez sets forth his thesis in the following manner (p. 13):

Si je montre que les révolutionnaires. . . . ont eu, malgré leurs divergences, un fond de croyances communes, s'ils ont symbolisé leurs croyances dans des signes de ralliement pour lesquels ils professèrent une véritable piété, s'ils ont eu des pratiques, des cérémonies communes où ils aimaient à se retrouver pour manifester en commun une foi commune, s'ils ont voulu imposer leurs croyances et leurs symboles à tous les autres Français, s'ils ont été animés d'une fureur fanatique contre tout ce qui rappelait les croyances, les symboles, les institutions qu'ils voulaient supprimer et remplacer, si je montre tout cela, n'aurai-je pas le droit de conclure qu'il a existé une religion révolutionnaire, analogue en son essence à toutes les autres religions? Et s'il en est ainsi, comment continuer à ne voir, dans les cultes révolutionnaires, que je ne sais quelles constructions factices, quels expédients improvisés, quels instruments éphémères au service des partis politiques?

With this conception in mind, the author cites Rousseau and the other eighteenth-century philosophers, and then reviews the religious measures of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies and their manifestations of patriotic enthusiasm, and carefully enumerates all of the more or less spontaneous expressions of religious and patriotic feeling by the people. He studies the enactment of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the treatment of the priests whether jurors or nonjurors, the attitude of the anticlerical papers such as the *Feuille Villageoise*, the federations, the civic oaths, the civic festivals, the posthumous honors paid to Voltaire, to Mirabeau, and to other friends of liberty, the patriotic prayers and hymns, the cockades and liberty-trees and national altars. All these the author considers the expressions of a religion whose creed is to be found in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The fundamental principle of this new faith is that the chief end of man is the pursuit of happiness, that man possesses in himself the means of attaining happiness, and that the highest expression of this endeavor is by the people as a nation. Hence the love of country and the honoring of the nation's benefactors are religious acts, for they are the adoration of the noblest manifestations of the supreme religious principle.

Obviously the conclusions of this thesis will not commend themselves to Catholics any more than the whole religious policy of the Revolutionists has done. Protestants, in like manner, will find it difficult to accept them fully. Views repugnant to Christians concerning events that shock

Christians are not for that reason false. In fact it is reasonable that the religious history of the Revolution, which is a chapter of anticlericalism, should be more correctly analyzed by an avowed anticlerical like M. Mathiez than by the Christians who are shocked by the very facts which they are studying. Certainly the sympathies of an anticlerical should be accorded equal respect with the horrified sensibilities of the martyrologist, if the historian is to be impartial. A detailed criticism of this thesis is impossible within the limits of this review, for it would necessarily start with the determination of the validity of the definition of religion which the author has assumed.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, 1747-1827. Par FERDINAND-DREYFUS.
(Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1903. Pp. xvi, 547.)

A BIOGRAPHY of the duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt was issued in 1827 and again in 1831 by his son. As an account of the duke's character, position, and ideas, the work was valuable. In details it was not always accurate. The present work, an exhaustive study of a great mass of material, is not a biography alone; the last three of its eleven chapters discuss at length the institutions and reforms in which the duke was concerned. Liancourt was a royalist and a democrat. He despised Louis XV and disliked Marie Antoinette enough to decline to her face a request that his wife should become her lady of honor. Louis XVI he respected. Before the Revolution the duke founded the first technical school in France. Its centenary was celebrated in 1880. In 1789 he sat at Versailles for the nobles of Clermont, and supported voting *par tête* and the abolition of privileges. In the National Assembly his activity centered in the Comité de Mendicité, of which he was president. At the time the church controlled public charity. The committee's reform embodied the principle, which obtains to-day, that the state must be its own almoner and must dispense its assistance without regard to creed. In 1792 Liancourt failed in a project to bring Louis XVI from Paris to Rouen. He fled to England, but applied in December to become the king's advocate before the Convention. Barère, then president of the Convention, had sat also on the Comité de Mendicité. By pocketing Liancourt's application, he saved his former associate possibly from the fate of Malesherbes.

The years 1795 to 1798 Liancourt spent in America. In his *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*, a work of eight volumes, his comments are flattering at times and always frank. In spite of promiscuous domestic arrangements due in part to cramped quarters, the virtue of American women he found above reproach. The vice of the lower class was drunkenness. In Harrisburg, among its three hundred houses he counted thirty-eight saloons. In 1795, while in the wilds of Canada, the duke, who was out of sympathy with the plottings at Coblenz, received a request from Louis XVIII to resign his post as grand master of the robes. He refused. The post was hereditary in his family by right of purchase.

For this refusal, Lord Dorchester, pettily enough, expelled him from Canada. The 18th Brumaire restored Liancourt to France. Of his sequestered estates, a portion, including his château, had been saved from alienation by connivance of the authorities of Oise, where the duke was popular. The duchess in 1792 had obtained a divorce on the ground of her husband's emigration. By this device, not uncommon at the time, she preserved her own property. She remained in France but established herself on the frontier in a French villa from which she could adjourn at any moment to a Swiss garden. She survived the duke three years. After his repatriation she was associated with him from time to time in beneficence. They never remarried.

Under the Empire Liancourt was active in a number of unsalaried offices which he retained under the Restoration until the reaction of the early twenties. On July 15, 1823, Corbière notified him that he was retired from the office of inspector-general of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, from the council-general for prisons, the council-general for manufactures, the council for agriculture, the council-general for the Paris hospitals, and the council-general for the department of Oise. In his reply on the sixteenth, Liancourt twitted the minister with forgetting in this formidable list the duke's presidency of the committee on vaccination. On the same day this committee was abolished. The government pressed its vengeance to the grave. At the duke's funeral in Paris, the pupils at Châlons wished to carry their dead benefactor. The police, pleading express orders, commanded them to place the body on the hearse. In the scuffle which followed, the coffin fell to the pavement and broke, and the duke's body was soiled in the gutter. The affair was discussed in the Chambers, and the king, against the wish of Corbière, expressed to the family his regret for the occurrence.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Napoleon the First: a Biography. By AUGUST FOURNIER. Translated by MARGARET BACON CORWIN and ARTHUR DART BISSELL. Edited by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, Professor of History in Yale University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1903. Pp. xviii, 836.)

THE hackneyed proverb that the most valuable things often come in small packages is once again exemplified by the history of the great Corsican written by Dr. Fournier, a member of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies and professor in the University of Prague, which was originally published in German in three volumes 1886-1889, and, after being translated into French by E. Jaeglé in 1892, now appears in English as a result of the joint labors of Professor Bourne, Mrs. Corwin, and Mr. Bissell, assisted by an earlier unpublished translation made by Mr. F. H. Schwan.

Almost every student who has become thoroughly conversant with the unique era of nineteen years (1796-1815) which has been roughly

styled the Napoleonic, had been obliged to obtain his knowledge by wading laboriously through the countless works which treat of that period in nearly all its varied aspects, and has often been at a loss for an answer when confronted by the question, "What is the best short history of Napoleon for the general reader?" His mind at once recurs to the endless pages contained in the voluminous works of recognized authorities like Sloane, Thibaudeau, Bignon, and Thiers; Scott, Abbott, and Hazlitt he rejects as untrustworthy, Lanfrey as too envenomed, and Alison as not wholly accurate, while both Fyffe and Lavissee and Rambaud embrace all Europe. Of the two-volume histories unquestionably the best is Rose, although due allowance must be made for a slightly biased point of view of certain episodes, but this work comprises not less than a thousand pages. Of the single-volume histories Ropes is merely a series of interesting lectures incorporated into book form; Seeley is so rabidly hostile as to destroy all sense of perspective and hence all merit; while William O'Connor Morris, although distinctly good, is by no means so profound as many of the others.

The solution of this perplexing question is fortunately to be found in Fournier's *Napoleon*, which not only condenses within its two covers the essence of the knowledge given by the best authorities, but treats it with a directness, impartiality, and breadth of view which cannot fail to demonstrate that its author possesses, as the result of the most profound research and painstaking consideration of all the dominant influences, a grasp of this difficult subject unsurpassed by any of the general historians of this many-sided colossus. Although unquestionably "Drudgery is the gray angel of success" and although Fournier's work is manifestly the outcome of many years of unremitting labor and most careful thought, it is far from being the product of a plodder; on the contrary, the vigorous mentality of the writer is evident on every page, and sparks of light fly at every blow of his intellectual hammer as he forges with master hand his chain of historical evidence, every intricate link of which stands out clear and distinct. The reader's interest never flags, for the reason that the style is always vivid and frequently dramatic, and that each link is shown in its true proportions and relationship to all the others. Another feature of this work is the admirable classified bibliography, which is of inestimable value as a guide for the reader of the Napoleonic era or for the librarian who has constant use for a comprehensive manual. The French edition, which contained many works not mentioned in the German original, was used as the basis for the English translation; and Professor Bourne has added a large number of recently published books, although some notable articles and monographs have escaped his attention and some unimportant errors in spelling have been overlooked. The work of the translators has been admirably done, but more careful proof-reading would have eliminated a few typographical errors.

The greatest characteristic of Fournier's history, and the one which perhaps distinguishes it from all the others, is the irrefutable logic with which he demonstrates that the principal motives and actions of Napoleon

were dictated by a fixed policy, from which he never swerved. If authorities most competent to give testimony regarding the events in which they participated are entitled to any weight, then Fournier is not wanting in convincing argument; and his contention reminds one most forcibly of the famous diatribe against Napoleon by Châteaubriand, who declared: "His part, invented by himself, was terribly unique. Never was there so ambitious, so restless a spirit; never so daring, so fortunate a soldier. His aim was universal dominion, and he gazed at it steadfastly with the eye of the eagle and the appetite of the vulture."

Napoleon has often been termed "the child of the Revolution", and the appellation is undoubtedly justified, since the First Consul himself retorted to Josephine, when she pleaded for leniency toward the Duc d'Enghien, "I am the man of the State, I am the French Revolution, and I shall uphold it" (p. 273). The Convention and the Directory bequeathed to their successors certain policies which assisted materially to mold the course of France for many years after those governments had passed out of existence. The "theory of the liberation of nations" was soon metamorphosed into implying facilitation of conquest; and peace, as Mallet du Pan wrote in 1795, "must be understood to mean submission" (p. 190). The extension of the boundaries of France was stoutly opposed by England, against which opposition retaliatory measures were promptly directed, so that there was formulated "as early as the summer of 1796, a clearly defined intention not only to land an army in the British Islands, but also to annihilate that country by closing to her commerce all the ports of all Europe" (p. 190). The Directory busied itself also with "rousing Persia to rebellion, working up Constantinople, and peopling Hindostan with its emissaries" (p. 191), so as to attack England through her richest possession. The idea of secularizing the German ecclesiastical principalities originated with the Girondists, and in 1795 the celebrated Abbé Sieyès suggested a plan for indemnifying and aggrandizing the secular principalities at the expense of the ecclesiastical, which was carried out with slight modifications during the Consulate (1803). A league of Rhenish princes under French protection; to act as "buffer states", was also broached during 1798, and eight years later bore fruition in the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine under the suzerainty of Napoleon. In a like manner arose the policy of crowding Austria and Prussia, the most dominant states of the continent, as far as possible toward the east, for the obvious reason, as Sieyès reported from Berlin in 1798, that the German coast bordering on the North Sea was "for France the most important portion of the earth's surface in view of the fact that by means of it the Directory may at its will close to English commerce all the markets and all the ports of the Continent from Gibraltar as far as Holstein or even to the North Cape" (p. 191).

These far-reaching schemes, which embraced substantially the entire continent, were formulated without semblance of method or system, but they awakened a dormant movement which contained germs that took deep

root in the new life of France. The Convention was supplanted by the Directory; this in turn fell before the "man of destiny", who possessed not only the perspicacity and insight to understand the vast latent possibilities of these policies, but also the power to carry them into execution, especially since they conformed to his own desire for universal dominion. With these facts always in view, the motives and actions of the great emperor are perfectly clear and logical, for once in control of the requisite power "Napoleon followed, it is true, the course of development which France was undergoing, but always with the stamp of his own individuality and according to his own judgment" (p. 211).

There is a German proverb to the effect that God sees to it that the tree does not grow up to the heavens, and Napoleon is a notable example. Knowing that he used France as a ladder to climb to heights which in civilized ages it is not intended for man to attain, we are minded to ask, "By what means did he enslave France to the extent that she willingly left the bones of her sons to bleach from the sands of Syria to the snows of Russia in order to gratify his insatiable ambition?" There are two answers; the first is given by Châteaubriand:

"The weight of the chains which he imposed upon France was forgotten in their splendor; it was glorious to follow him, even as a conscript. The arts became servile in his praise, and Genius divided with him her immortal honors. For it is the mind alone which can triumph over Time."

The second answer is that of Talleyrand to Mme. de Rémusat when she complained of Napoleon's evil qualities:

"Child that you are, why is it that you are always putting your heart in all that you do? Trust me, do not compromise it by feeling any attachment for that man, but be assured that, with all his faults, he is still very necessary to France, which he knows how to uphold and to this object each of us ought to contribute all in our power" (p. 406).

FREDERIC L. HUIDEKOPER.

Personal Reminiscences of the First Duke of Wellington. By the late GEORGE ROBERT GLEIG, M.A. Edited by his daughter, MARY E. GLEIG. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904. Pp. x, 409.)

GLEIG's intimacy with Wellington began in 1829 and was continued until 1852. His relations with the duke were closest from 1829 to 1834, and most intimate in 1831 and 1832, when Gleig was much in counsel with the duke as to the means by which the Grey administration could be overthrown and the Reform Bill wrecked. His reminiscences of the duke as a soldier form a small and immaterial part of the present volume, which is almost wholly concerned with the duke's career in politics and with his place in society. Gleig was an admirer of the duke, but was much more restrained and discriminating in his admiration than Croker. He was a Tory of the most pronounced Bourbon type; and he was a Bourbon to the last. While his political convictions were as intense as

those of Wellington, he put forward no claims for Wellington as a statesman.

Wellington's political career was practically comprised within the four years from 1828 to 1832; and in retrospect it half a century later, Gleig concludes that the duke has no title to rank as a constitutional politician or as a political leader, and that it is beyond denial that the duke's two years in office as first lord of the treasury added nothing to the glory which his eminent services in the field had insured him. "I have often heard him say", Gleig adds, "that they were to himself the most unsatisfactory in the course of a long life."

It is of the years when Wellington was premier and of those in which he was concerned with the futile opposition to the Reform Bill that Gleig's *Reminiscences* are of most value. Notwithstanding the many memoirs covering that period which have been published, among which on the Tory side the *Croker Papers* are so enlightening and important, Gleig's volume throws much new light on the Tory position, on the tactics of the Tory party, and on the personality of the Tory leaders between the death of Canning and the incoming of the short-lived Tory administration under Peel in 1835. They tell over again, but with freshness and much additional new matter, the history of the break-up of the Tory party after Catholic emancipation had been conceded in 1829. They also make much clearer a matter which has always been a subject of much speculation: namely, how it came about that while the landed aristocracy could before 1830 control more than half the members of the House of Commons, Grey after the elections of 1830 and 1831 could command sufficient votes to carry the Reform Bill. The fact was that the rank and file of the Tory party were convinced that reform was necessary and inevitable, and they were not prepared to rally to the support of any Tory administration whose leaders held the Bourbon views of reform that were held by Wellington and by men of lesser importance like Croker and Gleig. Gleig found this out when he sought to organize the Tory squirearchy of the county of Kent to oppose reform. He had proof of it in another quarter when as the emissary of Wellington he endeavored to bribe several of the London daily newspapers to open their editorial pages to attacks on Grey and the reformers, which were to be inspired by the duke, by Lord Mahon, and by a few other extreme men who had thrown in their fortunes with the duke, such as Croker and "Billy" Holmes, an Irish adventurer in politics who had become whip and borough-broker for the Bourbon Tories. Money was raised to hire two or three London newspapers — none of them now in existence — to support the duke's opposition to the Reform Bill. But the proprietors, in addition to demanding heavy pay for the use of their editorial pages, insisted on compensation for the loss of circulation which they were confident would follow advocacy of an unpopular political cause. Nothing came of this scheme. Nothing came of another scheme to use the drill-meetings of the yeomanry cavalry to arouse hostility to reform; and nothing came of a third scheme, or rather a plot, to bring about disunion

in Earl Grey's cabinet. Wellington, who had hitherto had nothing but contempt for the press, was zealous for the scheme of bribing the London newspapers; but the suggested use of the yeomanry and the plot to dis-unite the cabinet were low political devices to which even when urged on him by a clergyman — for Gleig was at this time a beneficed clergyman in Kent — he would give no countenance. Bourbon Tory as Wellington was, these reminiscences show that at a most critical and disturbing time for the Tory party he stood on a much higher level in politics than the Crokers and the Gleigs and the Billy Holmeses whom he had permitted to surround him and take part in his political councils.

Gleig wrote well, and his ability to write stayed with him to his last years. The only drawback to his *Reminiscences* is one that is common to most books of this class which do not fall into the hands of an editor like Jennings. Dates are too sparingly given; and there are frequent references to minor events and minor figures in politics long ago forgotten. Even for the present generation of English readers, foot-notes are frequently necessary; and Miss Gleig, who has seen the book through the press, has left it without a foot-note from the first page to the last. It might have been thought that little new in the way of diaries and memoirs of the period between Waterloo and the Reform Act could be forthcoming. But this year has seen two valuable additions — one from each political party. The present volume, not containing so much material as the *Creevey Papers*, is of nearly the same historical value.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Journal des Campagnes du Baron Percy, Chirurgien en Chef de la Grande Armée (1754-1825). Publié d'après les manuscrits inédits par M. ÉMILE LONGIN. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1904. Pp. lxxvii, 537.)

BARON PERCY was not of English origin. His father, originally from the village of Parcey in the department of Jura, was a country surgeon at Montagny in Haute-Saône. The son, a brilliant student and a favorite pupil of the celebrated Louis, won with such regularity the annual prize of the Académie Royale de Chirurgie that he was requested, in order to revive waning competition, to compete no longer. After holding a number of lower positions, he succeeded Sabatier in 1792 as consulting surgeon of the Army of the North. Thence he passed to the Moselle, Rhine, and Danube. In 1800 he was with Moreau. Appointed after the peace of Lunéville to a chair at the École de Santé and to the office of surgeon-general of the army, he followed Napoleon from 1806 to 1809 and again to Waterloo. The last service cost Percy his post in the army but not the friendship of Louis XVIII, whom he had attended during the First Restoration. A disease of the eyes barred him from the Russian campaign.

Eulogies of Percy by his contemporaries, both medical and military, are many and warm. General Lecourbe styled him the father and stay

of military surgery. It appears in fact that Percy at least shares the honor, usually ascribed to Larrey alone, of inventing the mobile ambulance. Napoleon, who in later years addressed him familiarly in conversation, created him a baron of the Empire in 1810 and bequeathed him fifty thousand francs. By Alexander I and Frederick William III he was received in private audience at Tilsit. The same monarchs decorated him with the orders of Sainte Anne and of the Red Eagle at Paris in 1814, and Percy allowed himself the pleasure of declining at this time a snuff-box offered him by the English ambassador in the name of George III. Why has the recipient of such honors been forgotten, while the name of Larrey is remembered? Larrey published in many volumes the record of his activity and left a son prominent under the Second Empire; Percy was childless, and concerning him, beyond the biography by his nephew Laurent issued in 1827, little was printed. A work on Percy by M. Dujardin-Beaumetz, himself a retired chief surgeon of the French army, is now under way, and M. Longin's introduction is a judicious appreciation of Percy's career and character. The journal itself is not intact, and the editor is convinced by search that the lost parts will not be recovered. It opens with Jourdan's operations in 1799; the bulk of it, three hundred pages, narrates the campaigns of 1806 and 1807; the rest recounts the Spanish campaigns of 1808 and 1809. Much space is given by Percy to interesting descriptions of the districts through which he is passing and to comments, at times startling enough, upon the people. The distinctive feature of the journal is, however, that it paints war as it appears to the surgeon and really is—a shambles. To the horrors of non-anesthetic surgery was added in this case bad administration of supplies. At Marienburg in July, 1807, amputations were performed with a common knife and a mechanic's saw. Such extreme cases, more common under the Directory, became rare under Napoleon. But corruption was rampant. At a hospital near Cüstrin in August, 1807, Percy found the daily supply of meat, fixed at five hundred pounds, shortened by dishonest contractors to one hundred and sixty. The case was typical; and "His Majesty", adds Percy, "knows it, swears, and flies into a passion, and the abuse continues."

Percy's character as revealed in these pages justifies the regard felt for him by his contemporaries. In a skeptical and scoffing age he always carried a Bible, and he was genuinely touched when Pius VII, whom he attended at Fontainebleau, offered in return a mass for the recovery of Percy's aged mother. A faithful son of the church, he was unbiased enough to complain that the nuns at Pultusk, and in Poland generally, were grasping, vicious, and, except the younger who still were in the fervor of their calling, without humanity toward the wounded. The last was with Percy a tender point. The sights of a field-hospital, he writes at Friedland, although he had seen little else for sixteen years, never left him cold. Next to the wounded, his chief concern was the welfare of his assistants and the proper recognition of their services. His sympathy with distress was indiscriminate and genuine. With Frederick William

at Tilsit he wept over the fate of Prussia, and at Guttstadt in the same year, when a fellow surgeon tossed a famishing girl a coin, useless in a place stripped of provisions, Percy shared with her his bread and wine. Only by the influence of Moreau was he saved in 1800 from the penalty, presumably death, for assisting émigrés. Percy, indeed, with all his tenderness, was the soul of courage, not merely in battle. Thrice in 1799 and 1800 he received complaining letters from superiors at Paris. Twice he replied bluntly that he had no need of the ministry or of encomiums at Paris; one of these exchanges of compliments he inserted verbatim in Strasburg journals. The third letter, a voluminous, unrepaid exhortation to generosity which cost him over a franc in postage, he returned to the senders and suggested that they put more of that virtue in the carriage of their letters. His desertion of Louis XVIII for Napoleon in 1815 was not so blameworthy as it might at first sight seem. By instinct he was a man of the old régime, but his heart was with the men of the new.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Geschichte der Schweiz im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert. I. Die Schweiz unter französischem Protektorat. Von WILHELM OECHSLI, Professor of Swiss History in the Federal Polytechnicum and in the University of Zurich. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1903. Pp. xviii, 781).

THIS is the first volume of the first special history of Switzerland during the nineteenth century written by an historian who was already an historian before writing it. The subject has proved so attractive of late years that one might fear that the publicists and statesmen it tempted had long since filled the book-stores of publishers. The name of Professor Oechsli, second to none among Swiss scholars, happily triumphed over such obstacles, and Hirzel's *Verlag* in Leipzig generously placed three volumes of their monumental *Staatengeschichte der neuesten Zeit* at his disposal. I can recommend the present volume as containing the most complete and most reliable account that has ever been printed of the fall of the *ancien régime* in Switzerland, the times of Helvetic Revolution, and the protectorate of Bonaparte over the confederation of which he called himself the *médiateur*. The reader will find here a precise and valuable description of the manifold eighteenth-century state governments, sham democracies, and petty aristocracies, whose narrow cantonalism prevented the *Bund* from forming one real state. "Man sprach und schrieb im letzten Jahrhundert viel vom schweizerischen oder helvetischen Freistaate. In Wirklichkeit war die Schweiz gar kein Staat. Sie besass gleichsam die Rohmaterialien zu einem solchen, ein Land, ein Volk und eine Geschichte; aber der Bau, den frühere Generationen begonnen, war unvollendet stecken geblieben und wieder zerfallen" (p. 20).

Professor Oechsli then proceeds to show with numerous references (especially to the big collection of Strickler, *Ämtliche Sammlung der Akten aus der Zeit der Helvetischen Republik*, and to the *Correspondance*

de Napoléon I^{er}) how the Helvetic state was formed under the pressure of the French Revolution and of the armies of the Directory, first as a unitary republic, afterward, under the Consulate and by Bonaparte's imperative mediation, as a federative republic, France progressively assuming all the rights of protectorate.

I have only one criticism to offer concerning the masterwork of my learned colleague of Zurich, which indeed deserves every praise. It is with reference to his judgment of the men of the Revolution, who were fatally the men of French intervention in Swiss affairs, and of the First Consul's attitude toward our country. When treating these questions Swiss historians are still under the influence of their political environment. Generally for those that belong to old cantons Frédéric César Laharpe of Rolle and Peter Ochs of Basel, who were prominent in stirring up foreign intervention, are traitors, and Bonaparte is to be considered without question as an enemy of Switzerland. Quite a different opinion prevails in the cantons that owe their existence as states to the struggle of 1798 and the following years. In Vaud, for instance, Laharpe's memory is worshiped, and it is not unusual, even to-day, to find Bonaparte's portrait as young "général en chef de l'armée d'Italie" or "Premier Consul" in the place of honor in good old country-houses.

Professor Oechsli did much to free himself from prejudice in his excellent narrative of the overthrow of ancient abuses, but, as he tells us in his preface, he confined himself, for this part of the big work he has undertaken, to printed documents. I hope that the results of the investigations which are now in progress in public and private archives, under the auspices of the Valdese authorities, will encourage him to go still farther in the way of historical serenity. Valdese patriots, having no other way of obtaining from aristocratic Bern redress and political life, tried to induce the French government to intervene in their favor and, with bad arguments but with the help of Bonaparte, succeeded. Bernese history may have bitter words for them. They were the cause of foreign invasion and of the fall of Bern. World-history (and Professor Oechsli contributes a part of the *Staatengeschichte der neuesten Zeit*) ought not to treat them as different from the American patriots who, not many years before, had recourse to Louis XVI in order to be helped by French ships, French troops, and French money in their desperate struggle against their mother-country. It is only since the time when nations, when people with representative governments, in the modern sense of these words, were born, that recourse to foreign aid in internal affairs has ceased to be current and can be fairly branded as historically treasonable.

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By JOHN THEODORE MERZ. Vol. II. (London: Blackwood and Sons. 1903. Pp. xiii, 807.)

It is in one sense regrettable that the immense labor involved in this remarkable work has prevented the author from carrying out his original

intention of presenting it to the public as a whole. We have before us at present two volumes; and whereas the complete *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* is to cover the development of political, social, historical, and philosophical ideas during that period, the present instalment deals only with that of scientific thought. This is unfortunate for the author, and even more so for the public, as it may safely be assumed that there are few men of science who will care to devote time to what appears at present little more than a retrospect of the branch of study in which they are interested, and that there are few students of history who will look at their subject widely enough to admit that the tracing of the development of human thought is their concern. And yet Mr. Merz's book promises to be, when completed, one of the most extraordinary and valuable achievements of history, and he has already proved his supreme endowment with many of the historian's greatest qualities — exact and profound learning, breadth of view, sobriety, lucidity, and freedom from prejudice.

Every day we are happily coming nearer a broader interpretation of the scope and utility of history, whatever the superficial indications may be. The tendency to narrow shows symptoms not of increasing strength, only of an increased number of supporters. The late Herbert Spencer, who disliked history and did not read it, has recorded his opinion that it should be considered merely the bricks and mortar of sociology, while Monsieur Langlois, whose name stands second to none in the field of historical science, has recently written, "ce qui manque ce ne sont pas les matériaux mais l'habitude de généralisation scientifique". Is it not curious that the line of thought of two men starting from such opposite standpoints should approach so nearly? Is it not fairly arguable that it is the legitimate business of the historian to address himself to those evolutions of opinion and of the intellect that are destined, as civilization develops, to play an ever increasing part?

It is some such task as this that Mr. Merz has set himself. His present volumes deal with a section of his whole subject that the critic unlearned in science can only approach with diffidence. Yet some slight idea of what they contain can be given in a few words. First, the author recognizes three different national schools of scientific thought — the French, German, and English — and devotes a chapter to the consideration of the characteristics of each; the concluding pages of his chapter on German thought, in which he is concerned with the ideals implied in the word *Wissenschaft*, is particularly striking and will remind those that had the good fortune to hear it of a recent and eloquent address delivered by Professor Harnack at Harvard. Second, turning from this aspect of his inquiry, the author divides scientific thought into its branches — such as physical, morphological, astronomical, biological or vitalistic, psychophysical — and deals with each one in turn, tracing with an erudition that never fails the development of each study and of the theories connected with it down to the present day. And here, in passing, may be noted one more of the great qualities of Mr. Merz, that

he uses but few technical or metaphysical terms, never lets them obscure his perception of essential facts, and, although dealing with an enormous mass of detail, never loses the thread of his narrative and purpose.

There are many notable passages on the fundamental problems of human existence and thought in these volumes. Among them the narrative of the evolution of the conception of energy in the middle of the last century (II, 140-150) is remarkable for its lucidity. In this respect it is worthy of note that in Mr. Merz's opinion, "Next to the conceptions introduced by Darwin into the descriptive sciences, no scientific ideas have reacted so powerfully on general thought as the ideas of energy" (II, 136). A few pages further (II, 214) a determination of the relative importance and position of the morphological and genetic views of nature is a striking example of balanced and constructive criticism and judgment.

In his account of the origin and influence of statistical ideas Mr. Merz stops short of our most recent developments in the application of tabular systems to the teaching of literature and the fine arts. Few who reflect on some of the exaggerations of the last few years, on the statistical methods that are supplanting instead of supplementing accurate knowledge and educated taste, will doubt what these pages suggest at every turn, that in this as in every branch of scientific study there is a term which sooner or later must be reached. The prevailing view that there is no limit to the range of scientific investigation, that we can go on forever extending the bounds of human knowledge by the processes of which Newton and Leibnitz were the great pioneers, will hardly be confirmed by a careful perusal of Mr. Merz's book, will perhaps, indeed, be shaken. There are even passages in which he marks the point beyond which investigation can hardly proceed, as for instance in the study of molecular, protoplasmic, and cellular forms (II, 272). Indeed it appears not impossible that our present modes of thought or modes of approaching scientific inquiry, of which, essentially, the history dates back but a couple of centuries, have now reached their fullest expression, that before long, as possible fields of exploration are successively occupied, new intellectual fashions may set in, and that the modes of thought of the future may by a sort of repetition or reflex action be once more in the plane of generalization and speculation. Even now a reaction is setting in against the too drastic training of immature minds to the exclusive perception of the infinitely little; symptoms are to be seen that we may soon feel the value of training to a sense of the proportion and relation of things.

It is to be hoped that the scientific externals of these first two volumes will not dissuade students of history from reading them. In those that are to follow we shall be on much more familiar ground. Perhaps Mr. Merz will there expose for us the rationale of that vitiating influence of autocratic governments on historical writing of which such curious instances have been witnessed in France under Napoleon III, in Germany under William II. The extraordinary attitude of such a powerful thinker

as Cuvier toward his political masters is another manifestation of a similar phenomenon worthy of the great analytical and synthetic powers of Mr. Merz. In conclusion he may be congratulated on having written one of the most noteworthy books produced in England of recent years.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (1801-1804) et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par Le Comte BOULAY DE LA MEURTHE. Tome I. *Le Licenciement: La Conspiration de Georges.* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1904. Pp. lxvii, 521.)

A CERTAIN melancholy interest attaches to the fate of scions of unfortunate royal families. Personally as unimportant as Louis XVII or the Prince Imperial, the duke of Enghien because of his violent end as the political victim of the First Consul has unlike them attained to real historical importance. Most of the literature concerning the unfortunate duke possesses as little value as that relating to the son of Marie Antoinette or of the Empress Eugénie. Two books only of the many devoted to his career and fate have possessed real historical merit: *Les Dernières Années du Duc d'Enghien, 1801-1804*, by the Comte Boulay de la Meurthe (Paris, 1886) and *Le Duc d'Enghien, 1772-1804*, by Henri Welschinger (Paris, 1888). The centenary of the tragedy at Vincennes has given the occasion for the publication by the former of these writers of all of the correspondence and other primary materials relating to the fate of the last of the Condés so that the student of history might for himself investigate the proofs of his innocence and understand the motives which impelled the First Consul to an act of injustice, to a blunder which was worse than a crime. The editor has ransacked archives public and private from London to Moscow and from Stockholm to Naples, and has laid under contribution the varied printed sources. Naturally some of the most important documents, hitherto unpublished, are the personal correspondence of the Condé family drawn from the archives at Chantilly. The documents are arranged in this volume chronologically under five general headings so that they give a clear conception of the sequence and relation of events. Full notes and some appendixes explain necessary points, while a carefully written introduction correlates the whole mass of information. This volume covers the events prior to the arrest; the succeeding volume should contain all of the materials necessary for a full knowledge of the details of the tragedy itself.

Briefly stated, the first volume shows that the following were the preliminaries of the tragedy: Louis XVIII, king of France, as the royalists regarded him, was residing at Warsaw and seeking to secure his restoration by the creation of a public sentiment in France. He and the Condés, including the duke of Enghien, were opposed to assassination or conspiracy as a means to their end. Not so with the count of Artois (Charles X), who was residing at Edinburgh or in England, and who was alive for any intrigue that might accomplish his purpose. In 1803

he gave countenance to the schemes of Georges Cadoudal, the Chouan leader, and to those of the traitorous general Pichegru, and induced the two to coöperate in a single conspiracy, not for assassination but for an insurrection, in which Bonaparte should be slain and after which the Bourbons should be proclaimed. The plan required a Monk to effect the restoration, but Moreau, who was approached for that purpose, was too loyal a republican and too ambitious personally to consent to play such a rôle. Cadoudal demanded the presence in France of either the count of Artois or of his son, the duke of Berry, as a necessary preliminary to action. Naturally neither cared to risk himself within the reach of Bonaparte's police. These two refusals to act had wrecked the plan of Georges at the very moment when it was discovered to the police of the Consulate. In the opening months of 1804 Bonaparte was busy with the preparations for the war with England and with the plans for the creation of the empire. The sudden revelation of the conspiracy surprised Bonaparte in his ambitious dreams and showed him that all his plans depended upon his own life, which was in such imminent peril. He must strike a blow terrifying to all conspirators. The arrest of Moreau was clearly dangerous owing to his well-known republicanism and to his great popularity, but at the same time it was apparently a necessity which must be justified before public opinion. That too required some sudden and convincing stroke. The arrest in France and the summary execution of one of the principals, Artois or Berry, would have accomplished the purpose. In default of the proper victim, accident revealed to Bonaparte a noble victim, whose residence at Ettenheim in Baden, close to the French border, with certain other things, seemed to mark him out as a principal in the conspiracy of Georges. The resolution to strike the terrifying blow once formed, Bonaparte executed it with characteristic sureness and despatch.

To contemporaries it was clear that a great political blunder had been committed, but all of the convincing proofs of its awful injustice have only now been adduced. These documents show that the duke was opposed on principle to any such act as that of Georges, and that his first knowledge of the plot was the news of the arrest of the conspirators, whereupon he sat down and wrote to his grandfather, "*ces moyens ne sont pas de mon genre*". True, the duke was eager for the restoration of his family, not by foul means but by honorable effort. True also, he was a pensioner of England, he had borne arms against France, and was at the very moment seeking service under the English standard against France in the new war. Yet none of these things could have driven Bonaparte to the desperate measures which ended in the execution at Vincennes early in the morning of March 21, 1804. The necessity of terrifying assassins and conspirators was his sole justification. The blood of Louis XVI had been offered for the safety of the republic; the empire was to be consecrated by the blood of his cousin, the duke of Enghien: in such wise did "the deluge" overwhelm the Bourbons within a generation after the death of Louis XV.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904. By OLIN D. WHEELER.
(New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. xxiii, 377; xv, 419.)

SUCH an account of the Lewis and Clark exploration as will avail to get the spirit and salient incidents of that achievement into the consciousness of this generation of Americans was greatly desired. Mr. Wheeler's work has in it the qualities that promise much toward the accomplishment of that end. Considerable previous experience with surveying parties in the far west gave him acquaintance with the plains, mountains, and cañons and gave him also zest for just the line of investigation that the preparation of these volumes demanded. Because of his long connection with the Northern Pacific railway he had unusual facilities for thorough field-work.

Passages from the texts of the Lewis and Clark journals and from the literature of the later exploration and development of the region traversed by the expedition are most skilfully chosen to bring out pictures of the scenes and the development of the important and critical incidents in the progress of the exploration. The author's narrative giving the setting and connection of the events upon which the attention is arrested is lively and effective. The text is strongly reinforced with a wealth of fine illustrations, including facsimiles of manuscript documents, reproductions of old cuts and drawings, and maps and photographs of the sites of incidents as they appear at the present time. The reader is thus enabled to see the successive stages of the historical process through which present-day conditions along the line of the trail were developed. The historical pilgrim or tourist with these books in his hands can with equal facility trace conditions back and see the difficulties encountered by Lewis and Clark and their party. We are made to see not only the topography of the country, but also the Indian life, and the animals and plants upon which the party depended for subsistence. This thoroughness of treatment is, however, confined to the part from Fort Mandan to the Pacific.

Mr. Wheeler makes us not only see the party as it moves along its toilsome and sometimes dangerous route, but also enter into their life. This he accomplishes by going carefully into the organization and personnel of the expedition. In this manner he contributes much new material to sources of the history of the exploration. Having acquainted us with the characteristics of the separate individuals, he is easily able to take us into their daily struggles and privations because of having had experiences himself somewhat similar to those of the explorers. Although the author is on the whole sympathetic with the conduct of the expedition, he is independent, and he comments with practical judgment upon the tactics and every-day conduct of the explorers.

There is an introductory chapter of twenty-six pages on "The Louisiana Purchase". This brings out correctly the priority of the inception of the exploration, but as an attempt at a review of the diplomatic history affecting this western country the chapter is a positive

blemish. It should be either rewritten or omitted. It must have been an afterthought. The following excerpts will serve as evidence: "Spain had held the island of New Orleans on both sides of the stream to its mouth" (p. 3): "This [the claim of the United States under the Louisiana Purchase] included the greater part of Texas—to which the claim of the United States would seem to have been a righteous one—west of the Great River; . . . the treaty of 1819, in which Spain ceded all of East and West Florida, and all country west of the Mississippi north of the forty-second degree of latitude and westward to the Pacific, to which she claimed ownership" (p. 15). The author also gets into trouble when, out of his province, he remarks that Meares sailed into Baker's Bay (II, 232). It is true that the British commission on England's claims to the Oregon country in 1826 made this claim, and that Travers Twiss contends for it as a fact, yet the log-book of Meares does not admit of that interpretation. In spite of such blunders, the work is well done and is readable.

F. G. YOUNG.

The Battle of New Orleans. By ZACHARY F. SMITH. [Filson Club Publications, Number 19.] (Louisville: John P. Morton and Company. 1904. Pp. xvi, 209.)

THE Filson Club, of Louisville, is a historical society which takes its name from John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky. Since 1884 it has been publishing in handsome octavo volumes various books on state history. One of the tasks which it gave itself was to publish in three dignified narratives the history of the three important battles of the War of 1812 in which Kentucky troops took prominent part. In accordance with this plan there appeared in 1900 *The Battle of Tippecanoe*, by Captain Albert Pirtle, in 1903 *The Battle of the Thames*, by Colonel Bennett H. Young, and now, in 1904, comes the last of the trilogy, *The Battle of New Orleans*, by Mr. Zachary F. Smith. These books are published in the handsome quarto style adopted by the Filson Club in the beginning of its series of publications. They are characterized by fine antique paper, beautiful type, generous margins, and adequate pictures, maps, and charts. The volumes taken all together make a worthy tribute to the patriotic zeal of the club and might well be imitated in other parts of the country.

In regard to the volume under review, the author brings to the performance of his task an evident impartiality and a commendable degree of judgment in the handling of material. Although, as we are informed, he was originally a Henry Clay Whig, brought up in the school which made the hatred of Jackson a standard of political orthodoxy, he has dealt with Jackson as a military leader in a manner which even so partial a biographer as Mr. Buell would approve. He has given us, also, a truthful picture of the main events of the campaign about which he writes, although it may not satisfy some readers who have a fondness for

much detail. In a matter which so much concerns the average Kentuckian as the controversy which was waged between Jackson and General Adair in regard to the conduct of the Kentucky troops on January 8 on the west bank of the Mississippi, Mr. Smith has shown a most satisfactory impartiality. He has been, in fact, so careful to do full justice here that one is apt to find that he has, in doing it, robbed his narrative of some of the interest which one always gets in watching the play of one debater against another. He has been so impartial that in this respect he becomes well-nigh commonplace. All through the book the author follows a steady, thoroughgoing pace worthy of a judge on the bench. So prominent is this fact that the reader will readily agree with the president of the Filson Club, who contributes an introduction to the volume, when he says (pp. xiv-xv), "If Jackson had been as unprejudiced against Adair as the author against Jackson, there would have been nothing like a stain left upon the escutcheon of the Kentuckians". To which the reviewer may add that if Jackson had been as two-sided a man as Mr. Smith, there would have been, very probably, no victory at New Orleans.

On the score of industry we must also commend the author. He has used most of the readily available printed material on the subject. He has shown that he is master of a clear and solid literary style. While he is in love with his task, he does not lack penetration or fairness. He is not sensational or trivial. In all of these qualities he shows that he has the faculty of writing good history.

But the modern historical student will find much wanting. He will find a lack of that balancing of evidence which is of all things his greatest delight. The debate in the mind of the writer between this and that; the candid revelation of how he ought to evaluate this piece of evidence and how that; the abundant use of foot-notes, both to give sources of information and to introduce matter which he does not want to put into the text; the hungry search for new facts; the discussion of the quality of Jackson's military genius; and all the other traits which constitute scientific method—these one does not find in this book. It is written after the style which obtained a half-century ago. Moreover, it is very condensed. There is a long introductory discussion of the events that preceded the battle, and a somewhat shorter account of the events that followed it. It is certainly true that one could get a better idea of what was done out of Parton's *Jackson* or out of Mr. Henry Adams's history. The point on which one would expect this work to be fullest, the controversy over the conduct of the Kentucky troops, is hardly more complete than in Parton. It does not become at this point a discussion, as one might desire, but follows the even tenor of a narrative. On this question the long correspondence between Jackson and Adair, which many historical students would be more than glad to see in an accessible form, is not given in whole or in part; and what is worse, there is no intimation as to where it may be found. As a source of information, therefore, the work has little value; as a popular narrative of the battle of New Orleans it is surpassed by many other accounts; as a

memorial of the Filson Club, expressive of its devotion to the cause of historical publication, it is worthy of all consideration.

Besides these defects, the book is not without errors of fact. For example, Jackson's mother did not die "of grief and the hardships of war", but of prison-fever (p. 160); it was not at Camden jail that the incident of Jackson's refusing to black the boots of a British officer occurred (p. 160); Jackson did not have a sister (p. 119); and when Jackson was fined by Judge Hall he did not take the money "from his pocket" and pay the fine, but sent it to the court by a messenger on the following day (p. 145). Of a very questionable nature, also, is the use of the interview of Mr. Buell with Governor Allen, of Ohio, in which the latter told in 1875 how the British had planned to retain possession of Louisiana, if they once conquered it (pp. 151-153). It is certain that this opinion of Jackson ought not to be regarded as sufficient to establish the point. Finally, in Mr. Smith's whole book there is hardly a note of criticism. Those who understand best the character and the career of the quick-tempered, rash, and untechnical Jackson will know that it is impossible to pass under review all his actions at New Orleans—which is in fact the most creditable phase of his career—without having occasion to pass an adverse judgment on some of them.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Les Voyages du Naturaliste Ch. Alex. Lesueur dans l'Amérique du Nord (1815-1837). D'après les Manuscrits et les Œuvres d'Art conservés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris et au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle du Havre. Par le Dr. E. T. HAMY. [Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, V, No. 1, March, 1904. Numéro dédié par la Société à l'Occasion de L'Exposition Universelle de Saint-Louis aux Académies et Sociétés Savantes des États-Unis d'Amérique.] (Paris: Société des Américanistes. 1904. Pp. 111.)

CHARLES ALEXANDER LESUEUR came to the United States in 1815 and, after a stay of twenty-two years here, returned to France, where he died in 1846. He was noted as a traveler and a draftsman. One of his early explorations was made under Napoleon, and in its published volumes his sketches first appeared. Before the last volume was issued (shorn of some of his best work lest it might irritate the English, for Napoleon had fallen and the Bourbons cared little for the glory of his empire), Lesueur had come to America, having signed an agreement in August, 1815, by which, with William Maclure, he became an associate in a proposed geological survey of the United States. Maclure was a man of fortune, who devoted himself primarily to natural history, but during a long stay in France shortly after the French Revolution gathered a large collection of pamphlets and books relating to that period. These are now in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

After some preliminary work in England, Maclure and Lesueur

spent some time in the West Indies, reporting their observations in the first volume of the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*. After a short stay in New York and Philadelphia, they went slowly to Pittsburg and Lake Erie, then through New England and New York, returning to Philadelphia, where Lesueur made his home from 1816 to 1825. Maclure had brought Lesueur to this country as a draftsman and naturalist; associated with him were Thomas Say, Gerard Troost, and some other foreign naturalists, all of whom labored with great zeal and success. Their contributions were published by the American Philosophical Society and later by the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and in Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts*. Apart from his work with and for Maclure, Lesueur found employment as an engraver and as a teacher of drawing. The early volumes of the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* contain many of his drawings and engravings.

The socialist colony at New Harmony, Indiana, established by George Rapp in 1814, was bought by Robert Owen. A party of men, women, and children, including Owen, Maclure, Say, Lesueur, and two teachers of the system of Pestalozzi, set out late in 1825 for New Harmony. Lesueur's journal of this trip, with illustrations from his own hand, is still preserved in the library of the museum at Havre. Two years of his life were spent there in scientific work, while Owen and Maclure were trying hard to introduce new methods of school-teaching as part of the kind of reform they hoped to bring into the world for its improvement. Lesueur seems to have had little interest or faith in Owen's schemes, but he worked steadily with the group of naturalists, including Say and Troost. The results of their scientific explorations were published in the *New Harmony Gazette*, the organ of the educational and social reforms tried with such poor success in the final outcome.

From 1828 to 1837 Lesueur made a number of journeys through what was then the almost unknown west and south. His travels covered the territory from Illinois to the delta of the Mississippi. His frequent visits to New Orleans, in order to collect his small French pension, gave him unusual opportunities for studying the prehistoric grave-mounds and other interesting ethnological and archæological objects of the Mississippi valley. His main work, however, was as an ichthyologist, and he added largely to the contemporary knowledge of the subject both in this country and abroad.

In 1838 Maclure went to Jalapa, Mexico, to introduce in that country the peculiar doctrines he shared with Owen; he died in Mexico in 1840. The death of Say and of another co-laborer, Barrabino of New Orleans, and the absence of Maclure and Troost, broke the ties that bound Lesueur to America; in 1837 he returned to France and renewed his old associations with the naturalists in Paris. Indeed, during his stay in America he had kept in touch with the leading French naturalists by correspondence, and had continued to contribute interesting speci-

mens and valuable papers to the French museums and scientific journals. In France he found employment at once in his own field and did much good work. He was employed in the museum of natural history in the Jardin des Plantes, and in 1845 was made curator of the new Havre Natural History Museum; he died in Havre after two years of service.

A memoir of Lesueur was read by George Ord before the American Philosophical Society, April 6, 1849, and published in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, Second Series, VIII, 189-216. Lesueur's papers and drawings were divided between the museums of Paris and Havre; among them were forty boxes containing his collections; his manuscript zoölogical notes filled forty portfolios. Dr. Hamy, of the museum of Paris, has written for the Society of Americanists of Paris a sketch of Lesueur's life and work in America, and this sketch is now printed at the expense of the Duc de Loubat as a contribution to the meeting of scientific congresses at St. Louis. It is dedicated to the scientific societies of the United States as a tribute to the work of French explorers and naturalists in this country, and deserves the grateful acknowledgment of American scientists.

Lesueur had planned some large books; these, however, were never published, but his biography is accompanied by a bibliography of his writings published during his stay in America, showing that he left a long record of good work. An indefatigable draftsman, Lesueur made many sketches during his frequent journeys in this country; twenty-seven of his most interesting drawings, lithographs, and engravings are reproduced in this account of his life and work, adding greatly to its value and interest. The English quotations and references are full of proof-reader's mistakes, which mar a volume otherwise worthy of the subject.

J. G. ROSENGARTEN.

A History of Modern England. By HERBERT PAUL. In five volumes. Vols. I and II. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. vii, 450; vi, 446.)

THE stream of memoirs and biography and special studies which has long been pouring from the press gives us fair warning of the fact which books like those of Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Bright, Sir Spencer Walpole, and these volumes by Mr. Paul are the earliest expression. The nineteenth century, and, in English affairs, the Victorian era, now belong to the ages and to the historian. The borders of the historical field, not so long ago bounded by 1815 or 1832, have been pushed to the middle of the century, to the Berlin Congress, and have now definitely extended themselves to the end of Victoria's reign or of the century; and what was so recently politics that we can scarce think of it as anything else now appears in a new and not always well-fitting guise, as the advance-guard of histories makes its entry. Few if any of these have been on such a scale and with such a field as this now before us. It begins with

a chapter on "The Last Whig Government", specifically with the accession of Lord John Russell as prime minister on June 29, 1846, and the two volumes already issued bring the story down to the death of Lord Palmerston on October 18, 1865. Such a scale, it will be seen, is great enough to admit much detail and form a fairly comprehensive treatment of even this full period. The plan of the work is stated by Mr. Paul in his introduction with characteristic vigor. Following Lord Ellenborough's saying, he declares for chronological order. "History", ran Freeman's famous dictum, "is past politics". "History", Mr. Paul tacitly retorts in these volumes, "is past news", and news is of course chronological. More than a quarter of a century ago the author of the *History of England since the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815* wrote that, by taking up his work in the topical or logical order, he at least avoided the criticism that he had adopted the easier method. That criticism the present author is not only prepared to face, but in a measure courts. Paragraphs follow each other in a rapid succession of likes or of contrasts, with the result that from time to time the history thus written passes before us not unlike that journalistic panorama called Notes of the Day, in which human ingenuity strains to find some connecting link between the apparently irreconcilable contents of succeeding paragraphs. One instance will suffice. The author is describing the events of Parliament in 1852 (I, 265). "Protection", concludes the paragraph, "was not merely dead. It was buried." And the following paragraph begins, "So was the French Republic"; whence ensues a discussion of the assumption of the imperial title by Napoleon III. Such abrupt transition as this somewhat extreme case is not seldom disconcerting, yet whether from Mr. Paul's cleverness, from our own newspaper-reading habits, or from the very nearness of events precluding philosophy and to some extent perspective, the general result is by no means displeasing, and there comes in time, after the first strangeness has worn off, a certain tendency to pity, then endure, and perhaps, after five volumes, to embrace. The style does much to reconcile one to this. This is history written by a journalist, and it partakes, in consequence, of the merits and defects which go to make up the intellectual equipment of that profession. And whatever drawbacks one may remark in the demands of a vocation which by its very nature precludes many qualities useful to an historian — impartial judgment, or statement of facts and positions without judgments, leisurely and deliberate consideration of cause and effect, the insight which comes from long consideration — we may not deny to journalism its great virtues. Mr. Paul's book exhibits these in a high degree. It is clear, vigorous, and direct. Its movement is rapid, its interest seldom lags. It is preëminently readable, and, as a natural corollary, highly entertaining.

As to the content of the book, politics naturally bulks large in these pages, and the House of Commons fills the foreground. On the other hand, much attention is given to the church, and an unusual amount to the law. There are, as well, chapters on art, literature, and science.

The material progress of the country is, on the whole, kept in the background, and we are not deafened by the clang of machinery nor bewildered by an array of statistics; perhaps, in view of the importance of such things to-day, not enough is said of these matters. The reason advanced for such omission is that the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. This is clever enough, but it scarcely applies to many things found in the ensuing pages. Party struggle and Commons divisions, even legislation itself, form inadequate basis for such a defense, beside general social and economic change.

There is no time here to discuss the great question as to whether or not the historian should be a judge. In any event Mr. Paul decides that for himself and us with directness and force, and it is on that side of his book that the greatest criticism is likely to arise. He pronounces at the outset for judgment and opinion. "Perfect impartiality", he admits, "implies omniscience, and is not human but divine. To extenuate nothing, to set down nought in malice, to consider always the actions of men from their own point of view before passing judgment upon them, and not to expect from fallible mortals a fore-knowledge of things, is the elementary duty of the historian" (p. 21). The historian, moreover, he says, must have his opinions like other people, and it is his duty to express them. These are brave words, and such an ideal carried to perfection would do much to produce great work. Yet there lies in them a danger, which Mr. Paul has not been able wholly to avoid. Where opinions are based on exhaustive study and intimate knowledge they are of great value. But in such a work as this, which contains a multitude of opinions on a multitude of men and matters, it is inevitable that many cannot be based on that first-hand knowledge which alone gives weight. Mr. Paul disclaims omniscience, and it would be unfair to judge all of his clever instantaneous photographs and thumb-nail sketches by the standards of historical portraiture. Many are obviously incomplete, but they are enough; they illustrate the text. On the whole, however one's own opinions of the characters and events on which Mr. Paul passes judgment must differ in individual cases from his, those opinions on English men and affairs seem generally well-informed and fair. Here he has the advantage of that great body of knowledge and tradition which is the heritage of every well-informed Englishman, and his political views, which would appear from his pages to be those of an imperialist free-trader, give him a foot in each of the older camps. But where one passes from the safe haven of English politics into the strange lands, the same cannot be said. Deprived of his former support and in unfamiliar and often unfriendly fields, with insufficient bases for judgment, his opinions and especially his estimates of character are often improbable, not infrequently absurd. Here his judgments seem to argue too often a hasty and imperfect knowledge of the facts, a conclusion borne out here and there by the number and the character of the works cited as references, upon which presumably those opinions are in some sort based. Two instances which perhaps best illustrate these are those

which will doubtless be seized upon by even the most casual reader — the character of Napoleon III and that of Jefferson Davis. One might almost have believed the ogre extinct in the world of historical writing since Macaulay's Tyrconnel, were it not for the portrait of Napoleon III here set forth by Mr. Paul. In his hands that monarch becomes a composite of his great uncle's bogey, a midnight conspirator, and Hugo's Napoleon the Little. Many phrases bear this out; one, in which we are told of the prince consort that "he saw through the superficial qualities of the French Emperor to the hollow and treacherous depths below" (II, 313), will suffice. The character and the acts of Napoleon III may perhaps deserve much censure, yet such phrases do little to explain or illuminate that character, and still less to make clear to the reader the causes and circumstances which allowed this monster to become the head of a great nation. Nor does his characterization of the president of the Confederacy as "a man of no account" and a "puppet chief" (II, 297, 341), besides its absurdity, do more than confuse us, as in the case of Napoleon III, as to the situation and motives of a community which raised him to the highest place in government. It is, in short, more than the damning of an individual, it is in each case the indictment of a people. Such methods add neither to our knowledge nor, still less, to our understanding of great movements. This, as has been said, will probably remain the most serious criticism of a book in most other ways excellent. Such work as that of Mr. Paul may not be judged by the standards of final and definitive statement. Years which bring not alone the philosophical mind, but the necessary information, as yet buried in archives and letter-books and diaries, must elapse before we can come to that maturer judgment we call historical.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

A History of England. By the Rev. J. FRANCK BRIGHT, D.D.
Period V. *Imperial Reaction, Victoria, 1880-1901.* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Pp. xv, 295.)

AFTER an interval of many years since its inception, the final volume in that history of England which has long found favor as the best of its compass finally appears, bringing the story down almost to the present time. The qualities of the earlier volumes are here still apparent. A certain plainness, almost austerity of style; a directness of narrative; few excursions and those never dictated by a search for the picturesque; a reliance on the subject rather than on style or ornament to sustain the interest; a great body of information clearly arranged; and impartiality of statement and reserve of judgment have been common to the preceding volumes. But as the narrative now approaches completion, as many of the characters depicted still live, and many events are still in suspense, such traits as described come into more and more prominent relief. An author treating of a transition stage between politics and history must needs remember the warning given long ago by Sir Walter Raleigh, that

he who aspires to write contemporary history must be careful of treading too close on the heels of Truth, lest his front teeth be kicked out. Such caution might be well urged upon many now engaged in similar pursuits, but in the present case it would be at least superfluous. The difficulties of the situation are not only apparent to the author, but the responsibility seems almost to weigh upon him. Here is none of that sureness and decision which make for brilliant writing and oblivion. "It is scarcely possible," says Mr. Bright in his preface (p. 6), "to dignify these concluding chapters, or probably any narration of contemporary events and opinions, with the title of history. The passage of years is necessary to winnow the wheat from the chaff, to distinguish in the midst of the chaotic confusion of authorities and memories the points which are of real historic value. The writer wades hopelessly amid the flood of Blue-books, reports, newspaper articles, magazines, and political speeches. He is further hampered by his own recollections, and in danger of regarding as all-important the ephemeral quarrels of party which have filled the world with their clamour to the exclusion of the weightier principles that underlay them. The most that he can hope to achieve with any chance of success is to give such a consecutive and simple narrative of the facts, grouped as far as possible around certain leading lines of thought, as shall render them intelligible and assist the memory in retaining them." The subtitle of his book, *Imperial Reaction*, indicates the author's general characterization of these twenty-one years. The grouping of movements within those years Mr. Bright classifies as the Irish question, the reconstruction of parties, a Conservative legislation infused with Liberal ideas, a temperate but imperial foreign policy, and an unprecedented advance in the importance of the colonies.

The narrative which follows is plain, straightforward, and as impartial as could well be. Its length, 280 pages, is, indeed, somewhat disproportionate to the period covered as compared with the preceding volumes of the series, but the extreme complexity of the questions involved, the mass of material to be digested, and the nearness of the perspective make this more or less unavoidable. The lack of controversy, the suppression of personalities, and the moderation of opinion throughout, even in such absorbing matters of debate as the Irish question and the Boer war, are remarkable. To some the volumes will thus appear tame, to others it will be as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land of barren dispute. It is above all eminently usable, stating arguments with precision and impartiality. These qualities of the narrative, a good index, and seven maps, all of the contested spheres at the extremities of empire in Asia and Africa, make it useful for reference. And, finally, not the least important and perhaps the most purely interesting part of the volume lies in the conclusion, the "Signs of reaction", which the author notes as the prevailing tone of the times. These signs he finds in "ambition and the love of rule, belief in extended empire, in restricted and selfish commerce, in the superiority of a military life, in the value and importance of the privileged classes, and the substitution of sym-

bolism for higher spiritual creeds" (p. 273), a catalogue common enough in the eighteenth century but which nineteenth-century Liberalism fondly hoped had vanished never to return. Expressing themselves in desire for increased territory, in the increasing importance of the lords, in the growth of the High-church movement, in the love of amusement and the desertion of country for town life, in the recrudescence of military spirit, these tendencies among Englishmen are at once striking and to a sincere Liberal ominous. Little less important is the new place of England among the nations, her commercial supremacy threatened by Germany and America, and the coincident movements toward greater self-government among the colonies and that looking toward imperial federation. Written three years later, the author could have found in the crusade for protection a new confirmation for his conclusion, and perhaps in the apparent apathy over that crusade some consolation. In any event these closing pages supply matter for thought which fittingly sums up the excellent résumé which precedes.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, Volume I. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1904. Pp. viii, 439.)

Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections, Volume III. The Manuscripts of T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, Esq., and W. Cleverly Alexander, Esq. (1904. Pp. lxxvii, 281, ix.)

Sixteenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. (1904. Pp. 173.)

THE *Report on the Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts* differs from the other reports in the series in that it is a reprint of an earlier volume, with the addition of much new matter. The commission began its work in 1869, when it was deputed to ascertain what unpublished manuscripts were extant which would throw light upon the civil, ecclesiastical, literary, or scientific history of Great Britain. Its first report was published in 1870; and, including the reprint of the Stopford-Sackville manuscripts, it has now published sixteen reports, which are contained in 111 volumes. From 1870 until 1884 the reports were issued in foolscap size; and in all seventeen volumes were published in this form. Since 1884, beginning with the *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury*, the volumes have been issued in the more convenient octavo size, and have been printed in larger type. The earlier report on the Stopford-Sackville papers—which will form two volumes in the present octavo edition—was the last in the foolscap size; and it is a good indication of the value which has long been placed on the reports that the commission has reprinted the Stopford-Sackville report, for the commis-

sion is by no means in sight of the end of the enormous task which was committed to it in 1869.

Out of the 111 volumes which have been published, only eight are now out of print; and all the reports published since 1885 are now obtainable from the king's printers. It is evidently the intention of the commissioners to reprint the earlier reports which were issued in foolscap, and also to reprint all reports which are not now in print; so that in a few years it will be possible to obtain all the reports in a uniform edition; and dealers in second-hand books will no longer be able to mark any of the reports in their catalogues "out of print and scarce". This should be welcome news to American libraries and to American students; for all the reports are published at cost, at prices seldom exceeding half a crown a volume; and while some of them are exclusively devoted to the municipal history of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to continental politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a large number of them are full of material relating to the history of America and Canada, much of which cannot be obtained from any other source.

Another satisfactory feature about these reprints—certainly about this reprint of the Stopford-Sackville papers—is that it is much more than a reprint. All the manuscripts at Drayton Hall were reexamined by the late Mr. R. B. Knowles, one of the subcommissioners, who was at work upon them at the time of his death. The completion of the report was then put in the hands of Mr. W. O. Hewlett; in this way much was added to the report. This revision preparatory to reprinting will be commended by many students who in using the reports have often come on an abstract of a letter or document of which they would like to have a more extended summary, if not a reprint in full. The reissue of these earlier reports, and the labor and care which is being given to these reissues, show that the royal commissioners fully realize that the great work they are superintending is of wide and increasing value; and that they understand that, in some of the earlier reports on collections of manuscripts, omissions were a little too frequent, and that at times the plan of calendaring the manuscripts was carried a little too far. So far as the printing is concerned, the reports are paying their way through the press; as editions increase in number, they are probably doing more; and as for the cost of examining the manuscripts, copying them, and otherwise preparing them for the printer, that can be but a small charge on a wealthy nation like Great Britain, in view of the unique and permanent value of the work accomplished.

Families and institutions possessing manuscripts have from the first, and increasingly as time has gone on, welcomed the visits of the subcommissioners to their muniment-rooms, just as students who have learned to value the reports welcome each new volume. Long ago the subcommissioners secured the good-will and confidence of the owners of private collections of manuscripts; so much so that the duke of Rutland, the duke of Portland, the late marquis of Salisbury, the earl of Bath, and

the earl of Lonsdale, to name only a few, allowed their papers to be removed from their muniment-rooms to the Record Office in London, so as to facilitate the preparation of the commission reports. Scotch and Irish noblemen and gentlemen acted in a similar manner, and permitted the temporary removal of their treasures to the Record Office in Edinburgh or to that in Dublin.

The death of the late Queen Victoria made it necessary that King Edward VII should ratify and confirm the commission under which the work of publishing the manuscripts was being done. At the time of this ratification fourteen additional royal commissioners were named. It is to be regretted that at this time, when the work of the commission was before the cabinet and the king, opportunity was not taken to extend the scope of the work, and to empower the commission to examine and publish letters and documents throwing light on the industrial history of Great Britain. The terms of the reference confine the work to subjects connected with the civil, ecclesiastical, literary, or scientific history of Great Britain. The term "scientific" may be extended so as to embrace many phases of industry ; but the commissioners, up to the present time, have not so regarded it. There is much matter of importance for industrial history, particularly in the Irish papers. It is not wanting as regards Ireland in the present volume. But the commission reports, so far as they have gone, have not thrown much light on the beginnings of the woollen, the cotton, or the iron industry in England, or on the coming of the factory stages in these industries. England is a country of industrial firms of long standing, and of families which for generations have been in the same line of industry. All over the country there are industrial concerns which have been in the same families for a hundred or a hundred and fifty years. These families have their muniment-rooms ; and so long as trade secrets are not divulged, they would welcome visits from the subcommissioners of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Most students of English history are familiar with the Stopford-Sackville report of 1884 ; for the manuscripts at Drayton Hall are about the most varied and the most valuable that have been reported on by the commission. As a reprint the present volume does not call for extended notice. It may, however, be well to remind students of the Revolutionary period who have come into this field in recent years that it contains a valuable series of letters which passed between Lord George Germain and General Sir John Irwin in the years 1761 to 1784 ; and as both Lord George and General Irwin were of the House of Commons, there are many side-lights on the attitude of ministers and Parliament at the time of the American revolt. The Irish papers are numerous and important. Those which embrace the correspondence between the earl of Buckinghamshire, who was lord-lieutenant from 1777 to 1780, are unusually interesting, especially to students who are concerned with the extent to which the American Revolution affected the political, ecclesiastical, and fiscal systems of Great Britain and Ireland. The second volume of the

Stopford-Sackville report, which is now about due from the press, will be devoted to India, America, and Canada; and most of the fresh material is promised in this American volume.

The most numerous and most valuable manuscripts in the second of these three volumes are those of Mr. Clarke-Thornhill. They are interesting in themselves, and interesting also on account of their history and the way in which they were brought to light. They were discovered at Rushton Hall, in Leicestershire, in 1828, when in the demolition of a thick partition wall the workmen broke into a large recess in which they found an enormous bundle containing manuscripts and theological books. The manuscripts begin in 1576 and go to November, 1605. In that month they come to an end; and from the contents of the bundle and from the history of the former owners of Rushton Hall there is good ground for believing that they were deposited in the recess and walled up in the alarm which followed the Gunpowder Plot.

In Tudor and Stuart times Rushton Hall was a seat of the Tresham family. They were steadfast adherents of the old faith; and in the reign of Elizabeth the head of the family, Sir Thomas Tresham, suffered much for his prominence among the few aristocratic families that remained loyal to the Roman Catholic church. Some members of his family had knowledge of the Gunpowder Plot, if they were not, actually concerned in it. Francis Tresham, Sir Thomas Tresham's son, was arrested for his part in it; and it is supposed that the Tresham manuscripts were walled up at Rushton Hall when there was an apprehension that search would be made there for documents which would establish his complicity in the plot. Possibly the search was made; but the precautions which had been taken served their purpose, and when the manuscripts were found they had every appearance of having lain undisturbed in their hiding-place for two hundred years. They had been little injured by damp. In this report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission they are reproduced almost in their entirety, with an introduction of fifty-seven pages by Mrs. S. C. Lomas, who prepared the documents for the press. They rank among the most important private documents touching on the Reformation in England which have been reported upon by the Commission; and in particular they show what it cost in actual suffering and loss for a territorial family in the reign of Elizabeth to maintain its adherence to the old faith.

Between 1581 and 1599 Sir Thomas Tresham was continually in and out of prison. For a long time he paid a monthly fine of £20 as a recusant; and when he was out of prison he was compelled to find heavy bonds for his good behavior, and oftentimes to secure a license from the bishop before he moved from one place to another about his ordinary affairs. Neither imprisonment nor fines nor the arguments of the learned theologians who visited the recusants in jail served to shake his loyalty to his church; and there is no proof that Sir Thomas was disloyal to either Queen Elizabeth or King James.

Under the plan adopted for publishing the manuscripts reported on by the commission many volumes are included in one report. For instance, until the sixteenth report was published this year, the last report was that of 1899, in which were included no fewer than forty volumes, beginning with the Dartmouth papers, published in 1896, and ending with the calendar of the Stuart manuscripts at Windsor Castle, only partly issued as yet. It is only in the reports that the royal commissioners note the progress of their work and the changes in the personnel of the commissioners and in the staff of examiners and compilers. In the last report, the sixteenth, these changes are recorded, and there is a complete list of all the collections of manuscripts which have been reported on since the commission was organized. The list occupies twenty-nine pages, with an average of forty-three entries to a page. From a perusal of these pages a student can learn at once the nature of the contents of the 111 volumes published between 1870 and 1904. There is also a second list in which the collections reported on are topographically arranged. For England this list is arranged according to counties; but there are no county subdivisions for Scotland and Ireland. Accompanying these two lists there is a list of the volumes of the reports as they have been issued from the press. The table of contents of each volume is given, with the price at which it is published; and mention is made of the volumes that are out of print. This last report is published at 9d.; and students who have not easy access to the 111 volumes will find it of much service, for it contains the most comprehensive account yet issued in any form of the enormous amount of work which the royal commission and its staff of trained and expert examiners and compilers have accomplished.

EDWARD PORRITT.

A School History of England, by Harmon B. Niver (New York, American Book Company, 1904, pp. 406, xvi), is intended for use in the higher grades in the elementary schools. The introduction of numerous classic anecdotes, of extracts from standard historical poems and of vivid bits from the sources, together with the simplicity of the style, seem to make the work suitable for its purpose. The repetition of discarded errors and the method of treating the more subtle and complicated problems indicate that the author is not a specialist. The bibliography is meager and bizarre, and one frequently wonders whether the best choice has been made in the case of particular references. On the other hand, the questions are stimulating, and the general tone of the book is sensible and pleasing.

The Domesday Boroughs, by Adolphus Ballard (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Henry Frowde, 1904, pp. vi, 135), fills a large gap in the literature of English municipal history. Thanks to Mr. Ballard's efforts, we now have an excellent survey of all the material relating to boroughs in Domesday Book; and in an appendix he also gives a succinct statement of the main facts concerning the Anglo-Saxon boroughs. About one-quarter of his monograph is an expansion of the evidence in

support of Maitland's discovery that many rural magnates were bound to perform the duty of fortifying the boroughs, and that they did this by keeping in those boroughs houses which were regarded as appurtenances of their rural estates. Mr. Ballard is unwilling, however, to accept the whole of Maitland's theory, for he says little concerning the garrison duty of the burgesses. He believes that their main function was *burhbot*, the repair of the town-walls, which they undertook on behalf of their lords, the owners of the rural properties. To prove this he relies mainly upon the Domesday entries concerning Oxford; and the evidence which he presents regarding Chester and Rochester (p. 35) seems to conflict with his general conclusion. He is also inclined to reject Maitland's doctrine that the borough-court was originally established to keep the peace between the warriors who garrisoned the town. He believes that the burghmote did not exclude the hundred court, because, according to a law of Edgar, the former was to be held only thrice a year, but he overlooks the phrase "unless there be need oftener" in the corresponding doom of Cnut (II, c. 18). In fact, he belittles the activity of this tribunal and does not try to explain its functions or *raison d'être*. He intimates his willingness to accept Maitland's garrison theory "with a slight modification" (p. 35); but that theory ascribes importance to the borough-court, which kept the special royal peace conferred on fortified places.

Mr. Ballard distinguishes "the composite borough" with tenurial heterogeneity from "the simple borough" with tenurial homogeneity: in the former other lords besides the king hold houses and have rights of superiority over the burgesses, while the latter forms part of the estate of a single lord, and all the burgesses are his men. He gives a full and scholarly account of the organization of both types. Errors of detail are not numerous. There are some lapses in proof-reading: p. 4, n. 1, "Places" for Districts; p. 112, n. 2, "Manderitte" for Mandeville; p. 119, n. 1, "Hawker's" for Hawkins. It is not safe to say that Henry I ordered the burghmote to be held twice a year because this enactment occurs in the so-called *Leges Henrici Primi* (p. 121). Mr. Ballard would have had less difficulty in identifying the "lawmen" at Lincoln and Stamford with the "judges" at York and Chester (p. 53) if he had known the passage relating to York in the *Visitations of Southwell* (p. 192): "hereditario jure lagaman civitatis, quod Latine potest dici legislator vel judex". Probably a diligent search of the available records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would throw some gleams of light on the earlier period. Despite minor defects, we are thankful, however, for this useful addition to Domesday literature.

CHARLES GROSS.

The Office of Justice of the Peace in England in its Origin and Development. By Charles Austin Beard, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Volume XX, Number 1.] (New York, The Macmillan Company, Columbia University Press,

1904, pp. 184.) The history of the peace magistracy of England is a subject of considerable interest; in the words of Coke, "it is such a form of subordinate government for the tranquillity and quiet of the realm as no part of the Christian world hath the like". Mr. Beard traces its development to the accession of James I, devoting especial attention to the Tudor period, though he does not neglect the middle ages. In his preface he says: "The county records now in existence, so far as I have been able to discover by personal research and correspondence, do not extend beyond the reign of Elizabeth, and the documents of that time are few and fragmentary." With more research he would have discovered that there are sessional rolls of Essex for the reign of Philip and Mary, and that many Elizabethan rolls of Essex and other counties are extant. His knowledge of the sources and literature of his subject might easily have been augmented. He does not mention Howard's *Peace Magistracy*, and exhibits no acquaintance with the printed extracts from the Quarter Sessions Rolls of the counties of Middlesex, Derby, Essex, York, and Worcester, the exploitation of which should have enabled him to penetrate more deeply into his subject; these rolls might throw light, for example, on the "justices at work", and on the important office of the clerk of the peace. So too in his meager account of the borough justices (pp. 148-155) he relies on Merewether and Stephens "in the absence of a better authority", when he could have found valuable material in works like Nathaniel Bacon's *Annals of Ipswich* and W. H. Stevenson's *Records of Nottingham*. A more careful study of this topic would lead him to modify his statement that "the general practice of establishing municipal magistrates by charter may be said to have begun with Henry VI." (pp. 148-149). A minor fault is the omission of information regarding the editions of works cited in the foot-notes — for example, those of Lambard, Reeves, Gneist, Cunningham, and Pollock and Maitland. A list of authorities might also have explained the meaning of "Rymer, O.", and might have indicated more clearly which of Prynne's two hundred books and pamphlets is referred to on page 31, under the title "Prynne, *Institutes*." A work which gives "about one hundred references to the Close and Patent Rolls concerning the conservators [of the peace] before Edward III." should be cited with more care. Mr. Beard's book contains a fuller account of the early history of the peace magistracy of England than will be found elsewhere, but his researches have not yielded new general conclusions of much importance.

CHARLES GROSS.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France des Origines aux Guerres d'Italie (1494). Par Auguste Molinier. IV. *Les Valois, 1328-1461*. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1904, pp. 354, 12.) The fourth volume of this important series involves complexities from which its predecessors have been relatively free. The thirteenth century saw the end of the long period of intensive development of the French monarchy begun un-

der Louis VI and continued until the reign of Philip IV. The Hundred Years' War, the conflicts of the papal government at Avignon with the English kings and Ludwig IV of Bavaria, the war of succession in Castile, in which France and England participated, the Italian ambitions of Louis d'Orléans and the Duke of Anjou — all of these facts and forces combined to complicate French politics. In consequence, the historical bibliographer is led far afield in his investigations. It is the minimum of praise to say that M. Molinier has overcome these difficulties most admirably. The English and American scholar will note the omission of the fact that the translation of Froissart by Sir John Bouchier (Berners) was reprinted in London in 1812 and lately again in the series of Tudor translations.

J. W. T.

The Sons of the Clergy, 1655-1904. By E. H. Pearce, one of the court of assistants. (London, John Murray, 1904, pp. xi, 298). Macaulay and Green would have found good and frequent use for this monograph had it been in existence when they were at work on their histories. In its pages Macaulay would have discovered additional material to justify his description and estimate of the social and intellectual condition of the clergy in the seventeenth century; for then and much later many of the clergy were so poor that they were glad to accept help from the Sons of the Clergy — the oldest charitable society in England — in apprenticing their boys with printers, tailors, and blacksmiths and other handicraftsmen, and in extricating themselves from difficulties which seem inevitable in the case of English clergy with small stipends and large families. Green would have drawn upon the first-hand material of this book for the economic as well as the social and religious chapters of his *History of the English People*. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the society was celebrated at St. Paul's cathedral on the second of May last. Mr. Pearce's history of the institution was written for this anniversary; and the book no doubt owes its introduction to a constituency wider than the friends of the society to the fact that Mr. John Murray, the publisher, is of the court of assistants. However this may be, it is well that a wider constituency was sought, because Mr. Pearce's book shows that it is possible to make the letter-books and minute-books of a great charitable organization of popular interest and also of real value to students of social and institutional history.

E. P.

Mr. Osmund Airy tells us in the preface of his *Charles II* (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1904, pp. ix, 416) that his principal business is with Charles himself, and that he has treated the history of his time and the men and women who surrounded him, only in so far as they throw light on the character of Charles. Judged from this standpoint, and keeping in mind the limitations which Mr. Airy has strictly observed, it must be acknowledged that there is little to add to this monograph. It is unlikely that there will arise any

defender of Charles II, who will attempt to rehabilitate his character. If any such should appear, he will find his task exceedingly difficult in face of the calm, almost cold-blooded analytical dissection to which Mr. Airy has subjected the gay monarch. Whether the author is equally as successful in tracing the causes of Charles's depravity as in bringing out the colossal selfishness and duplicity of the king is open to question. It may seem fantastic even to the adherents of the theory of heredity, and to the firm believers in atavism, to trace the Oriental licentiousness that characterized Charles II to so distant an ancestor as Henry of Navarre; and Mr. Airy surely lays too much stress on the influence of the earl of Berkshire, who was Charles's governor for only a few years after 1642. This, however, is a minor point; and the author well brings out the immense influence which Charles exercised upon London and English society at the time of the Restoration. The present edition is a reprint of a finely illustrated volume published by Goupil in 1901.

A. G. P.

Die ersten Deutschen am unteren Mississippi und die Creolen deutscher Abstammung. By J. Hanno Deiler. (New Orleans, the author, 1904, pp. 32.) Professor Deiler of Tulane University has made his name favorably known by a considerable series of pamphlets devoted to the history of the Germans in the United States, and especially in Louisiana. The present pamphlet is one of the most interesting of these. After a glance at the German Hans who accompanied La Salle in 1684 and avenged his murder, he takes up in minute detail the history of the German immigration into Louisiana during the period while the colony was under control of John Law and his company. After careful researches Professor Deiler fixes upon 3,000 as the probable number of the Germans who landed in Louisiana during the period of Law's régime. He points out the inaccuracy, in respect to this episode, of French's translation of Penicaut's "Relation", and follows down through the eighteenth century the history of the German immigrants into Louisiana, especially in the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. He exhibits in an interesting manner, and with tabulated examples, how this large element in the population, Creoles of German descent, became concealed through striking perversions of their patronymics into names more or less resembling names which might be found in French. The pamphlet has interesting maps and illustrations and is, in its limited field, of genuine historical importance.

Volumes III and IV of the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, published by the state under the supervision of Hugh Hastings, state historian (Albany, James B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1902, pp. xl, 1443-2308; lix, 2309-3146), cover the period from 1701 to 1750. Like their two predecessors, noticed in some detail in the REVIEW (VIII, 551-553), these volumes contain considerable hitherto unpublished material relating to the history of the Dutch Reformed Church.

in New York. On the other hand, the matter relating to the other religious bodies consists almost solely of extracts from printed and easily accessible works. An interesting exception, however, is "An Account of the Present Condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate", 1699 (III, 1453-1459), one of several pamphlets relating to the Palatines reprinted from copies of the originals in the British Museum secured by Reverend William J. Hinke of Philadelphia.

A. L. C.

The Youth of Washington, told in the Form of an Autobiography, by S. Weir Mitchell (New York, The Century Company, 1904, pp. 290), may be judged as history or as fiction, according to the taste of the reader, and possesses high merit in either aspect. It deserves consideration as a serious attempt to reconstruct the character of Washington, to portray the life in which he lived to the close of the old French war. There is just enough of fact woven into the story to give a true foundation, and the deft touch of a master of story has given life to details that must be sought in scattered records of colonial life in Virginia. The charm of style will cause the book to be read by many to whom a more serious attempt would be distasteful, and few readers will appreciate how closely Dr. Mitchell has followed his authorities, or how extensive were the studies required. In this he has followed the example of Thackeray, whose notes for his unfinished *Denis Duval* proved his care for truth in his fictitious characters. The words put by Dr. Mitchell into the mouths of Tilghman, Hamilton, and others may be paraphrases of actual letters; the chats with Lord Fairfax probably rest upon tradition or the writer's imagination; the use of historical names, sometimes thinly disguised under initials (as was customary in that day), afford a touch of reality to the story; and the summaries of diaries and extracts from letters, based as they are upon actual records, make good historical reading. It would be possible to criticize some of Dr. Mitchell's statements, and the conception of Washington's mother is too harsh and even contradictory in detail to be either true or pleasing. We think, too, that the writer errs in saying that Washington's features and body were those of his father, for a descendant of the Balls long prided himself on his striking resemblance to the General, and on slight provocation would exhibit himself in Continental uniform to prove that resemblance. Of course, Washington would never have written such an autobiography, for it was not in him to do it. We have here much of the real Washington, with such additional accessories as a literary artist thought necessary to complete a picture. The difference between Washington in a reminiscent mood and Dr. Mitchell in his literary venture may be seen by comparing the account of the Braddock campaign which Washington drew up, now in the Pickering family, and the story of the same campaign as told in this volume. It is no adverse criticism to say that the former is the true Washington, while the latter is much more readable.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Burnaby's Travels through North America. Reprinted from the third edition of 1798, with introduction and notes by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. (New York, A. Wessels Company, 1904, pp. 265.) A real service has been rendered in including this mine of information in the "Source Books of American History". The last edition dating from 1798, the work has long been too rare to be easily accessible. This has been a distinct misfortune inasmuch as the narrative of the honest and observing Englishman, describing social, economic, and political conditions from Virginia to Massachusetts in the years 1759-1760 has always been a valued and trustworthy source. Mr. Wilson has, as editor, done little more than lend his name to the volume. An introduction of two pages gives a brief sketch of Burnaby's career and states how the *Travels* came to be printed. In twenty notes, filling nine pages, he includes biographical accounts of individuals mentioned in the volume, and brief descriptions of some of the places and buildings. Of critical notes there are none, which seems unfortunate. Especially might some attention have been paid to the estimates of population in the various colonies, the more so since Mr. Dexter has brought together all the material that would have been required. The form of the book is, however, very attractive, and the narrative was well worth reprinting even without editorial annotations.

Mr. Edward Bicknell's *The Territorial Acquisitions of the United States, 1787-1904* (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company, 1904, pp. xii, 144), is a clear and concise statement of the superficial facts concerning our accessions of territory. It contains a few errors, such as the statements that France had no trouble in securing the retrocession of Louisiana, that the right of deposit was suspended through French influence, and that Spain thought the money worth more than Florida, but for the most part the text is accurate as far as it goes. The style is too colloquial, but as a whole the book is better than many more pretentious ones. A good deal might be said of the inaccuracy of the statistical appendixes in all the books of this class. We note only that the present one gives an old estimate of the area of the state of Florida as the area of the Florida purchase, although stating at the same time that the purchase included parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

F. H. H.

Influence of the Breton Deputation and the Breton Club in the French Revolution (April-October, 1789). By Charles Kuhlmann. [Nebraska University Studies, Volume II, No. 4.] (Lincoln, Nebraska, Jacob North and Company, 1903, pp. 92.) This monograph contains the only satisfactory account of the so-called "Breton Club" that has yet been published. The chapter devoted to the subject in J. W. Zinkeisen's *Der Jakobiner-Klub* (1852) was based upon the most unsatisfactory evidence, the *mémoires* of the Revolutionary period; the few pages of sources upon the subject in F. A. Aulard's *La Société des Jacobins* (1889)

contain little but extracts from the *mémoires* used by Zinkeisen. Besides these two works, little of value has been published on this famous club. The most noticeable thing about Dr. Kuhlmann's monograph is the documentation; he has utilized the voluminous correspondence of the Breton deputies with their constituents. Although much of this material has been published and partially exploited in connection with other topics, strangely enough no one had attempted to rewrite the history of the Breton club from the only sources from which it could be written scientifically.

A critical discussion of the evidence upon which the study rests is followed by a chapter treating of the rôle of the Breton deputies in the provincial revolution in Bretagne. This preliminary study makes intelligible the part played by the deputies in the assembly at Versailles; it brings out the facts that the club was the natural continuation of provincial gatherings of a similar character, and that the hostility to the nobility of the deputies from Bretagne was due to the bitter civil war that had broken out in the province previous to the meeting of the States-General. A brief chapter disposes of the Breton Club, which was never so called in the correspondence of the deputies and which was never anything more than a series of irregular gatherings with the Breton delegation as a nucleus. The larger part of the monograph deals with the influence of the Breton deputies in the National Assembly from April to October, 1789.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Le Clergé et le Culte Catholique en Bretagne pendant la Révolution. District de Dol. Documents inédits. (Rennes, Plihon et Hommay, 1903, pp. iv, 365.) This is a collection of documents edited by P. Delarue showing the experience in applying the Revolutionary régime in Bretagne so far as it related to the church. These documents not only furnish us with detailed information on the conflict between the Revolution and the church in a very limited area, but serve at the same time to illustrate the struggle throughout the whole of Bretagne. The volume, the result of very conscientious work, is a useful contribution to the great undertaking in France looking toward the writing of a complete series of local histories as a basis for a more reliable general history after 1789. This is the first part, and covers Antrain, Bazouges-la-Pérouse, and Sens; four more volumes are to complete the collection for the district of Dol.

CHARLES KUHLMANN.

Correspondance de Le Coz, Evêque Constitutionnel d'Ille-et-Vilaine et Archevêque de Besançon. Publiée pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par le P. Roussel, de l'Oratoire. Tome II. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1903, pp. xv, 521.) This correspondence is a selection chiefly from Le Coz's letter-books. Volume I, covering the years 1791 to 1801 when Le Coz was bishop of Ille-et-Vilaine, appeared in 1900. The notice of it (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VI, 133-134) sketches concisely the prelate's life. Under the Concordat he was elevated to the

archdiocese of Besançon, and the present volume covers his occupancy of that post from 1802 to his death in May, 1815. Le Coz's duties were heavy from the nature and mere size of his diocese. It covered three departments and was partly mountainous. He faced also the task of conciliating his clergy. A third of them were, like himself, *assermentés*. The rest were *insermentés* who, rather than take the oath of submission to the civil constitution of the church, had gone, many of them, into exile. These, now returning, said openly that they had not come from the depths of Germany to recognize Le Coz's authority. To them he seemed in fact less an archbishop than an arch-heretic, and the height of feeling in corresponding circles of the laity may be judged when a general officer at Vesoul inquired publicly of Le Coz concerning the health of the archbishop's wife and children. The affront presumably was groundless. This opposition and Le Coz's success in dealing with it are a prominent feature of this volume. The question bulks largely in the letters of 1802 and 1803, which form nearly a third of the total.

The leanest years in the correspondence are 1806 and 1810 to 1812. In 1814, when the allies invaded France, the correspondence swells both in bulk and in interest. Le Coz shared in the defense of Besançon. Apparently his real sympathies lay with Napoleon. By a coincidence startling enough, Le Coz wrote to Marie-Louise, on the day after Leipzig, that for twenty years it had been impossible not to see the hand of God guiding the career of her imperial consort. Six months later he wrote to the count of Artois, on the occasion of the First Restoration, "The day of the Lord has appeared". By March, 1815, Napoleon again, according to the archbishop, is the choice of heaven. One is tempted to recall the vicar of Bray, perhaps unjustly. Le Coz at times could be outspoken. In 1804 he protested to Napoleon against his implied acceptance of the briefs and rescripts of Pius VI; and to Caprara, cardinal and papal legate in France, he wrote in 1802 that while the church of Christ was founded on eternal truth, for several years recourse had been had for its support to falsehood, imposture, Machiavellism, and all the shameful means which worldly rulers blush to use. Le Coz was a stanch Gallican with large views. He associated intimately with Protestant pastors especially in his diocese, and he discussed plans for the organic reunion of Christian churches. A respect not usually given to *assermentés* is accorded him even by opponents. Among the latter, apparently, is Père Roussel. In his introduction he disclaims sympathy with the ecclesiastical tendencies of Le Coz.

H. M. BOWMAN.

The second volume on "Pioneer Roads" in the series of *Historic Highways*, by Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904, pp. 202), is devoted to roadways connecting the Atlantic coast plain with the Ohio valley. One of these is the old Northwestern Turnpike, constructed in 1827, leading from Winchester, Vir-

ginia, to Parkersburg, on the Ohio river. The author considers it the last attempt to construct a highway across the mountains. It was always overshadowed by the parallel Cumberland National Road and was consigned to oblivion by the completion of the Erie Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Another highway described in this volume traversed the state of New York from Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk, to the Genesee river. It was built about 1796 from the proceeds of the sales of state land and of lotteries. It first opened up the low central portion of the state to traffic and settlement. Another New York highway, the Catskill Turnpike, connecting the Hudson and the Susquehanna, finds a place in the volume by a chapter reproduced from the recent and admirable work of F. W. Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier* (1901). This is quoted entire, "through the kindness of the author". Quotation, indeed, seems characteristic of the volume under review. More than three-fourths of its space is occupied by descriptions of journeys on public highways taken from accounts of travelers. Among the authorities thus levied upon are the journal of Thomas Wallcutt, taken from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1879; Timothy Bigelow's *Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805*; Charles Augustus Murray's *Travels in North America* (London, 1839); and the familiar *American Notes* of Charles Dickens. These are supplemented by several original letters descriptive of journeys across the mountains.

A candid judgment will admit that the volume calls attention to certain connecting links in American highways which are likely to be forgotten, but that it serves small additional purpose. It might be added that a service is performed in collecting under one cover these contemporaneous descriptions of early travel. The local color to be gained from them is obvious and indisputable. Their use in swelling an extended series is likely to be more in question.

E. E. SPARKS.

Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century, delivered at the Cambridge University Extension Summer Meeting, August, 1902. Edited by F. A. Kirkpatrick, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1902, pp. viii, 384.) It is not often that a series of university extension lectures is planned on so scholarly a scale as to be available, after their immediate purpose has been served, for a wider audience. Attempts of this character hitherto made have been only moderately successful, because the demands of university extension students do not customarily call forth lectures that can be deemed sufficiently scholarly to warrant their perpetuation in print. The volume under review, however, stands in a class by itself. It consists of lectures on the history of the nineteenth century delivered to university extension students in Cambridge by distinguished scholars, masters of their subjects, and in many instances natives of the countries of which they treat. The exceptions to the latter rule are the lecturers on the United States, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and the Far East, each of whom is an

Englishman. The same is true of those who treat of general European politics and of international relations. It was, as the following names will show, a rare company of historical writers that the Cambridge committee was able to bring together on this occasion for the benefit of its university extension students.

Of the lectures here printed four at least may lay just claim to the title of genuine contributions to historical literature: those on Russia by Professor Vinogradoff and those by Mr. Gooch and Professor Browne on the Ottoman Empire and Pan-Islamism. Scarcely inferior is that by Mr. Rose on the Continental System, in which the reader familiar with that author's work on Napoleon may find many new points of view. Closely following these are the chapters by M. Mantoux on France, Mr. King on Italy, Professor Marcks on Germany, and Dr. Reich on Austria-Hungary. The dominant note in each of the lectures is high appreciation of the work which the particular country has accomplished for the betterment of its people in the last fifty years.

Possibly the authors are too appreciative of the merits of their respective heroes, and the reader may feel that the last word has not been said upon the life and influence of Mazzini, Bismarck, and Gambetta. Professor Marcks certainly furnishes the text for a chapter of commentary on the moral and intellectual aspects of Bismarck's work when he says that "the nation of poets and thinkers has become a nation of power and business" (p. 96); and Mr. King has gone some distance beyond his estimate of Mazzini, as expressed in his little life of that genius, when he says that he was the greatest of modern Italians. Still, in spite of occasional exaggerations, the tone of the essays is wholesome and the flattery easily discounted.

On a lower level of originality and scholarship may be placed Professor Laughton's lecture on "Britain's Naval Policy". It is written too dogmatically and with too evident an attitude of condescension toward his ignorant hearers. It reads not a little like a Parliamentary speech supporting a naval estimate. On a still lower level are the lectures of Principal Ward, Professor Westlake, and Professor Lawrence on European politics, international relations, and England and the United States. They are good enough in a way, but are devoid of originality or novelty of any kind. Least satisfactory is the lecture of Mr. Hannah on China and Japan, which glides merrily over the surface, closing with the happy but unsuccessfully prophetic word that the Anglo-Japanese alliance, with its ability to command the seas, "constitutes the strongest possible guarantee that in present circumstances could exist of permanent peace" (p. 383). Mr. Hannah disarms criticism by acknowledging the omission of all mention of Russia, but we must insist that a lecture on "Political Problems of the Far East" which says nothing of Russia, Manchuria, and the great question of land supremacy in that part of the world has not fulfilled the promise of its title.

To readers already possessed of some knowledge of the subject we can recommend this book in very high terms, as giving in compact and

lucid form the dominant features of European development. On the other hand, it is not a book that can be recommended to beginners, for the manner of treatment presupposes a reasonable familiarity with the events of the period.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Gass's Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with an introduction by James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1904, pp. liii, 298.) This volume in McClurg's "series of Americana reprints" has justly received considerable attention, for its publication renders once more available the earliest printed narrative of the expedition by means of which the United States made an appraisal of its first territorial bargain. The journal as we have it before us is an exact reprint, including title-page, publisher's preface, notes, and illustrations, of the third American edition of 1811, itself printed without change from the original volume put forth by Zadok Kramer of Pittsburg in 1807. This is not, unfortunately, the original journal kept by the sergeant. That document, now, so far as is known, no longer in existence, was, before publication, placed in the hands of David M'Keehan, schoolmaster, who whipped it into approved rhetorical form as unceremoniously as though it had been a composition by one of his own backward pupils. Hence Patrick Gass, whose academic career extended over exactly nineteen days, narrates his adventures in painfully correct English, suitably spelled and punctuated. It is to be feared furthermore that the fastidious pedagogue did not confine his editorial labors to the expurgation of grammatical and orthographical blemishes. How many details, perhaps of historical value as well as of human interest, are omitted cannot be known.

Gass's journal was one of eight or nine similar documents kept by members of the expedition, and is one of the five still extant. Until the publication in 1814 of Nicholas Biddle's digest of the Lewis and Clark journals, it was the only printed account of the exploring tour, and, together with these latter, it long remained the only available source of information. Dr. Hosmer has confined his editorial work to supplying an introduction. In some thirty-odd pages he has brought together what is known of the personnel of the expedition, both as regards the part borne by each member and as regards the subsequent career of each. It seems a pity that so good an opportunity to annotate the text should have been passed by. Had the editor been able to enlighten us as to the identity of the nameless heroes of the various adventures narrated by the sergeant, he would have supplied a personal element which is strikingly lacking. Especially would geographical notes and comparisons with other accounts of the expedition have been of value to the student. As it is, the volume contains no new contribution, nor does it make the journal of Gass much more valuable as a source. It does, however, restore it to common use (the last reprint was issued in Dayton, Ohio, 1847) in a most attractive form; and the introduction, in an easy though sometimes rather

personal style, always with a view to the picturesque, is a convenient summary of the results of recent research. The portrait of Gass, from a rare wood-engraving, which serves as a frontispiece, is a distinct addition, but the map of the Lewis and Clark route, promised on the title-page, is, in the reviewer's volume at least, conspicuous by its absence.

Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860. By Charles Clinton Weaver, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXI, Nos. 3-4.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1903, pp. 95.) This work is of some real interest and value. It deals with an unworked field in southern history. A good deal of interesting and valuable information has been brought together by Dr. Weaver, but that he has used his material in the best and most scientific manner cannot be claimed. While reading his monograph, one is impressed with the largeness of the subject and with the incompleteness of the treatment. The conviction that his work is by no means complete, comprehensive, or fundamental is very strong. In the first part he attempts to explain the general movements for the improvement of the physical bases of the state, tracing out in part the causes and the results of these movements. It is here that Dr. Weaver gives evidence that he does not thoroughly comprehend the situation and that he has not seriously analyzed it. The second part, in which he makes a narrative statement of the companies organized to improve the Cape Fear, Roanoke, Tar, Neuse, and other rivers, and in which he tells of the life and experiences of the companies interested in the canals and early railroads of the state, is of more interest and value than the first part; he presents us with a consecutive statement of the leading facts, though he has not made a fundamental analysis of them. No one can write the history of internal improvements in North Carolina, or in any other section, without knowing the economic history of that section far back into the past. As yet the economic history of North Carolina during the eighteenth century is unknown. Dr. Weaver really begins his study with about 1815. Had he made a study of the economic conditions of the people of North Carolina during the eighteenth century, his treatment of the period covered would have been very different and of far greater value.

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

Under the title *History vs. The Whitman Saved Oregon Story*, Mr. William I. Marshall, principal of the Gladstone School of Chicago, has brought together three of his contributions to the Whitman controversy. (Chicago, Blakely Printing Company, 1904, pp. 92, 221-236.) The first is a review of Mowry's *Whitman*, originally printed in the *Daily Oregonian*, September 3, 1902; the second is an examination of Eells's *Reply to Professor Bourne*, not before printed; and the third is a discussion of Professor Bourne's paper, reprinted from the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900. The matter of the three papers is so arranged as to cover the controversy systematically. They

reveal the author's intimate knowledge of Oregon history, and their conclusions are irresistible. Particularly to be noted is the additional evidence indicating that the supposed recollections of Dr. Whitman's visit to Washington really related to Dr. White. Mr. Marshall attacks the subject in the spirit of the crusader and with rather more "vehemence" than the circumstances require. The later sponsors for the Whitman story were very probably deceived in the beginning and in the end deceive themselves. Mr. Marshall cannot understand how any one can cling to preconceived opinions in the face of evidence conclusively disproving them, yet the phenomenon is very common, and results more often from intellectual blindness than from intentional dishonesty. Moreover the correction of misstatements of historical facts is the essential thing, in comparison with which the question of the motives of those who make them is altogether secondary.

F. H. H.

The volume on *Francis Parkman*, which Mr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick contributes to the "American Men of Letters" series (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1904, pp. x, 345), is much shorter than the official biography by Mr. C. H. Farnham (1900) and hardly comes into comparison with it. If the distinction be valid, Mr. Sedgwick is Parkman's interpreter rather than his biographer. While narrative occupies a large part of the book, one's attention is not diverted from personality to events. Mr. Sedgwick avoids magnifying the incidents of a career which, apart from the adventures related in the *Oregon Trail*, was uneventful. Throughout the early chapters he keeps himself carefully in the background and by citing fragments of autobiography makes Parkman illustrate his own character. The salient features no one can mistake — honesty, firmness of resolve, contempt for folly, and admiration of the strong. Were we bent on offering a detailed criticism of Mr. Sedgwick's work, we should look for a text in the last twenty-five pages, where Parkman's opinions are discussed and we are given a glimpse of his family life. "To his daughter he was a 'passionate Puritan,' — the phrase is just. Under his stoicism, under his reserve, under his gentleness, all cast in the Puritan mould, was this passionate spirit. *Chi non arde non risplende*, as the Umbrian proverb says" (p. 306). Words like these strip away externals and show us what prompted the daily heroism of an arduous, exacting life. Among the new materials which Mr. Sedgwick uses, the most interesting are Parkman's letters to the Abbé Casgrain (pp. 267-280). Our concluding word must be that this little volume is not only well written but contains much thoughtful and illuminating criticism.

C. W. C.

Select Statutes and other Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1861-1898. Edited, with notes, by William MacDonald. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1903, pp. x, 442.) With this

volume Professor MacDonald completes his well-known series of which his *Select Charters, 1606-1775*, and *Select Documents, 1776-1861*, form the other two parts. The series is widely used by teachers of American history. It originated from the author's desire to make available to college students more of the sources in American history and to enable them to examine critically a considerable number of well-known documents. The final volume contains, in all, 131 documents, beginning with Lincoln's "Call for 75,000 Volunteers" and closing with the "Treaty of Paris" of 1898. Certain classes of documents are omitted entirely, for instance, those relating to public lands; but the more important subjects relating to the political history of the period are well presented in a representative list. The political and civil phases of the war; slavery and civil rights; reconstruction and the readmission of the states; legal tender, silver coinage, banking, and finance; the amendments and acts relating thereto; naturalization, polygamy, and Chinese exclusion; the election of senators; the electoral count; the presidential succession; and recent phases of expansion — these subjects indicate the scope and importance of the topics selected. Certain notable presidential messages, like the Venezuelan message of President Cleveland of 1893, are included. The valuable notes and references preceding each document are included in this volume as in the others. Professor MacDonald's final volume sustains the merit of a series whose usefulness and value have already received wide recognition. JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Life of Joseph Cowen (M. P. for Newcastle, 1874-86). By William Duncan. (London, Newcastle, and New York, The Walter Scott Publishing Company, 1904, pp. xi, 252). The late Joseph Cowen was one of the most prominent politicians and publicists of the Victorian era in England — one of the men with a national reputation who for some reason or another never reached ministerial or cabinet rank. He was the proprietor-editor of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, and as editor and politician was a man of pronounced individuality. In the later years of his life he clashed with Gladstone and also with Mr. John Morley, who succeeded him in the representation of Newcastle in the House of Commons. He was the friend and champion in England of Garibaldi. He was also for many years the friend of William Lloyd Garrison; and he and his newspaper stood out for the cause of the North, when Gladstone declared at Newcastle in October, 1861, that the South had made a nation. Mr. Cowen was also an advocate of coöperation in the days when the movement in England had few friends outside the working-classes; and he had a prominent part in the contest for the nine hours' day, which was waged by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1871. Mr. Cowen was a man of varied public activities and much more than local fame; and he certainly was worthy a better biography than this which has been written by Mr. Duncan, who was for many years closely associated with him as subeditor of the *Chronicle*. The incidents and episodes of Mr. Cowen's life are narrated with some detail; but he does not live in these pages,

nor do we find an adequate treatment of his political influence or of his career as a journalist. In the letters collected here is valuable material concerning the relations between members and constituents under the altered conditions consequent upon the Reform Act of 1867, the act which may be said to have brought these local political associations — the caucuses of the English electoral system — into existence.

Of the two recently published volumes touching on Irish political history from the time of O'Connell to Parnell, Mr. Michael Davitt's *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland* (New York, Harpers, 1904, pp. xvi, 751) is from every point of view most likely to have a permanent value. It will have this value for two reasons. Mr. Davitt gives the platforms and manifestos of the Land League and the National League, many of the resolutions which were adopted at the important meetings of these two bodies, and much of the correspondence which has any significance in the history of the agrarian and home-rule movements. All through his work he is careful and precise as to dates. He writes from a partizan viewpoint and, as might have been expected, makes no attempt to conceal his partizanship. Despite this fact he has done good service to contemporary history by the care he has bestowed on the documentary part of his exhaustive work. The second reason why his *Fall of Feudalism* is likely to be turned to by English and Irish historians is that he gives an insight into the character of Parnell. What Parnell stood for in English and Irish politics, how little sympathy he had with democratic thought and democratic movement in England, is made clearer in Davitt's pages than in any other of the numerous volumes which have been written about the Irish movement since 1885, not excluding Richard Barry O'Brien's *Life of Parnell* (2 vols., London, 1899).

Mr. Justin McCarthy in *An Irishman's Story* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904, pp. 436) goes over much of the same ground as Davitt. He was in Parliament from 1879 to 1902, and he details the conditions under which Biggar and Parnell began their policy of obstruction, explaining anew what the Nationalists hoped to gain from making the House of Commons an unworkable institution. He was long in close association with Parnell, but he was and is such an indiscriminating admirer of Parnell that his chapters on the Parnell Commission and the exposure of Parnell's duplicity can have no permanent value. A serviceable chapter in Mr. McCarthy's autobiography, from an American point of view, is the one in which he shows that middle-class and working-class England had no part in the sympathy which official and aristocratic England evinced toward the South in the War of the Rebellion, and in which he recalls the efforts which he made, when he was in this country from 1868 to 1870, to correct the prevailing misapprehensions here as to the real feelings of the English people on the issue between the North and the South. Historical students who may turn to either of these volumes will be compelled continuously to keep in mind the nationality

and political environment of the writers; for with both Davitt and McCarthy every Irishman on the popular side is a patriot, an orator, or a statesman. Irish history since the Revolution of 1688, written by Irishmen, has ever been cast in this mold.

E. P.

To readers who desire to study war as war, Colonel W. H. H. Waters's translation of *The War in South Africa*, prepared in the historical section of the General Staff, Berlin (London, John Murray; New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, pp. ix, 280), will be of more than ordinary value, and will supersede most of the books published in England by newspaper correspondents. With the causes leading up to the war, the German military authorities give themselves no concern. There is a splendidly-written description of the topography and climate of what are now the four British colonies: Natal, Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal; and with this as a preface the history of military operations begins. It is written in a coldly scientific spirit, very much from the objective point of view, and deals out praise and censure — mostly censure — for the British generals with as little regard to personal feelings as though the authors were critically examining the military careers of Cromwell or Wellington. The one department of the army which comes in for unstinted praise is that concerned with the commissariat. The history begins with the attack on General Symons at Dundee in Natal, October 20, 1899, nine days after Kruger's ultimatum, and in the present volume is carried only to Kronje's surrender at Paardeburg on February 27, 1900. A second volume is to be published which will treat of Roberts's march to Bloemfontein and the guerrilla fighting which continued until the Boers accepted terms in May, 1902.

In view of the present political situation, it may not be out of place here to make a few brief comments on some of the chief books about Russia which have appeared in English during the last couple of years. It is true that none of them are strictly histories,¹ but all refer frequently, with more or less accuracy, to recent historical events. Unquestionably the best of them is Mr. Geoffrey Drage's *Russian Affairs* (London, John Murray; New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1904, pp. xv, 738), an excellent study of present conditions, full of useful information. The author deals in fact not fiction; he is careful and discriminating, moderate in statement, and wisely cautious in his conclusions. Even his discussion of foreign politics, though not free from partizanship, is never offensively English in tone.

For more optimistic views, we have but to turn to *All the Russias* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, pp. xii, 476), by Mr. Henry Norman, M.P., a journalist and traveler of much experience, wide reputation, and great self-confidence. He has given us a painstaking work,

¹ The recent historical works of Messrs. Kovalevsky, Morfill, and Skrine have all been reviewed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

not very profound, to be sure, but well written, and he at least deserves credit for being the one English writer who has had the no small courage to state fairly the St. Petersburg government's side of the case in regard to its recent policy in Finland. Mr. Norman is full of admiration for what the Russians have done in Central Asia, and equally so for the achievements of Mr. Witte, who at the time that these words were penned was at the height of his power, and not yet, as far as the general public knew, the object of relentless criticism at home and abroad.

On the other hand, if we wish for the extreme opposite point of view to that of Mr. Norman, we can get it in *Russia, Her Strength and Her Weakness*, by Wolf von Schierbrand, Ph. D. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, pp. xv, 304), whose production, in spite of its claim of impartiality, suggested by the title and promised in the preface, is nevertheless little more than a long rhetorical diatribe, neither new in its facts nor convincing in its conclusions.

All three of the above volumes are general in their scope, though they deal at some length with Russia's progress in Asia. Should we desire more specific works on this last subject, after passing over the records of mere Siberian globe-trotters like J. F. Fraser, J. W. Bookwalter, M. M. Shoemaker and Miss A. M. B. Meakin, we can find much satisfactory information in *Asiatic Russia*, by George Frederick Wright, LL.D., F.G.S.A. (New York, McClure, Phillips, and Company, 1902, 2 vols., pp. xxii, 290; xii, 291-637), a good compendium of geographical, statistical, and other facts concerning Russia of the present day. Its tone is appreciative, but Mr. Wright is primarily a geologist, not an historian, and his political comments at times betray a certain naïve optimism and credulity. Although in general knowledge he is far superior, the insight he displays is often less keen than that of Mr. Wirt Gerrare, author of *Greater Russia* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1903, pp. xiii, 337), a superficial but well-written and amusing book. The chapters in it that treat of agricultural and industrial expansion can be compared with Mr. Norman's roseate picture, though neither can be taken so seriously as the more thorough and more recent study of Mr. Drage. Mr. Gerrare's account of his own experiences is entertaining, and his observations are good, but he is not accurate. For instance, his new Russian railway in Mongolia from Khailar to Kalgan at the foot of the Great Wall does not seem to exist except in his imagination. At any rate, though hesitatingly referred to by Drage, it is contemptuously dismissed by B. L. Putnam Weale (the nom de plume of a young Englishman of Semitic blood, resident in China) in his extremely clever and entertaining, if highly prejudiced, *Manchu and Muscovite* (New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. xx, 552), which, thanks to its author's knowledge and acute observation, makes an excellent complement to Alexander Hosie's standard work on *Manchuria* (London, Methuen, 1901, pp. xii, 293).

Finally we must not forget to mention the volume that has had a greater circulation in this country than any of the above-mentioned,

namely, *The Russian Advance*, by Albert J. Beveridge (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1903, pp. v, 486). The writer has had to suffer from the disadvantages as well as from the advantages which are inherent to the position of a traveling American senator. He saw what was easily to be seen, he judged hastily but intelligently, and he was ready to generalize on the slightest provocation. Still we must admit that even when grandiloquent he studiously tries to be fair. It is just this fairness which is perhaps the quality most conspicuously lacking in the ordinary American appreciation of things Russian at the present moment.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Greater America, by Archibald R. Colquhoun (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1904, pp. x, 436), is an excellent book, but one which will claim more attention from the historians of a coming generation than from those of to-day. Mr. Colquhoun is not content with the historian's usual practice of illustrating the present by the past; he would foretell the future by the present; his book may be said to be not only up to date but beyond it. "An attempt is here made—it is believed for the first time—to present American evolution as a whole, to treat her history from the stand-point of its wide national significance, to show to what point she has progressed, to indicate what her future may be."

The scope of the book is the whole wide world. Most of the seventeen chapters refer by title to the affairs of North, Central, and South America, but these affairs are now so interwoven with the interests of other continents that scarcely one of the states that figure in the *Almanach de Gotha* fails to receive consideration. There is no room for the details of history in such a book, and the reader will not find them. He will find instead a suggestive appreciation of the present position of the United States and a forecast of its future position by a man who, if he lacks some of the attributes of the professional scholar, has others still more important for his difficult task—wide travel, keen observation, a ready discrimination of values in the phenomena of modern life. The author justifies his freedom from the trammels of "documents" by the use he makes of it.

The contents of the book are so varied that they cannot be described both briefly and accurately. Neither do the author's prophecies lend themselves to condensation; they are too carefully guarded by the provisional form of statement to be twisted into positive predictions. This, at least, can be said: that every American reader will find the book both interesting and instructive, and that those who are concerned with the foreign relations and colonial problems of this country cannot afford to neglect it.

CLIVE DAY.

America, Asia and the Pacific, by Wolf von Schierbrand, Ph.D. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1904, pp. ix, 334), is a book

of different caliber. The author is a journalist of real distinction, and has put under obligation all people interested in modern Germany by his writings on that country, but he has apparently entered an unfamiliar field in this venture, and made a book on the question of America's interest in the far east as he would write up a story for a paper about to go to press. The book is a compilation of ill-digested material, containing, so far as the reviewer could learn, nothing that is at the same time new, true, and important.

C. D.

The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1904, is a stout volume of seven hundred pages compiled by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, the state director of archives and history. Although intended primarily for the use of members of the legislature and state officers, it contains some well-selected material of value to students of Mississippi history. In the first place, there are reprints of various organic acts relating to the territorial history of the state, such as the act of Congress for the organization of the territory, the first territorial law enacted by the governor and the judges, the enabling act of Congress, etc. This is followed by reprints of the several constitutions which have been in force, the last of which is carefully annotated, and all of them containing authentic lists of the signers. Of particular value to the historical student are an outline sketch of the history of the state, a list of territorial and state officials from 1798 to 1904 (which is a compilation containing evidence of considerable research and painstaking effort), and a number of informing essays by local experts on the resources and industrial growth of the state. The least useful part of the *Register* is that containing biographical sketches of the state officers and members of the legislature, which in the case of prominent persons often include their ancestors as far back as the Revolution.

J. W. G.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE PHILIPPINE "SITUADO" FROM THE TREASURY OF NEW SPAIN.

MR. JAMES A. LE ROY in his review of volume XIV of *The Philippine Islands* in the October number of the REVIEW (p. 169) calls attention to an explanation of this old-time annual remittance of specie to the islands which is widely at variance with the accepted view that before the nineteenth century the government expenditures in the islands always exceeded the receipts and that the deficit was made up from the treasury of New Spain. The new explanation of this annual remittance was offered by Señor Felipe Govantes, a Spanish official of long service in the islands, in his *Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas* (Manila, 1877), appendix 23. As this work is not accessible to me, I am limited to the citation made by Pardo de Tavera in his *Biblioteca Filipina*, 193, to which Mr. Le Roy referred, and which I will give in an English translation :

Many erroneously believe that the *situado* that came from Mexico to the Philippines was in consequence of a deficit in the treasury of the archipelago. We shall point out their mistake, which has been and still is of serious consequence to the Philippines. . . . The ships that carried the products of the Philippines went from Manila to Acapulco, and in the latter port the export duties were collected on the cargo from Manila as there was no custom-house in Manila ; and since the expenses of the Philippines were calculated in Mexico, exactly what was needed of the amount realized from the exportation from the Philippines was transmitted, and the larger part was retained in Mexico. That which came to Manila was called the *situado*. There was then no deficit, but on the contrary a considerable surplus.

This explanation apparently is accepted by Pardo de Tavera. It is, however, I am convinced, entirely erroneous. In 1608 the expenses exceeded the income by 135,017 pesos (*The Philippine Islands*, XIV, 268). In 1637 D. Juan Grau y Monfalcon prepared an elaborate report to the king on Philippine commerce and finances (see *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias, América y Oceanía*, VI, 364-484). In this he gives an average Philippine budget as follows :

Expenses 850,734 pesos ; receipts 573,922 pesos. The item of receipts includes 309,000 pesos derived from "the duties, freights, *almojarifazgo* [import duties], and the rest collected in New Spain from the merchandise that each year comes from the islands and remitted to Manila" by the law of 1606 (*ibid.*, 425-428). There was then in the first half of the seventeenth century a deficit of about 276,000 pesos. Over-against this, Grau y Monfalcon would set 30,000 pesos collected in New Spain through the *alcabala* (the tax on sales) from the Philippine products. The net deficit would then be nearly 250,000 pesos.

The law of February 19, 1606, reads: "We ordain that the duties and freights that are collected in the port of Acapulco from the merchandise from the Philippines shall not be covered into the treasury of Mexico, but shall be expended for things needed in those islands, and that so much less be remitted from the treasury of Mexico" (*Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, 5th edition, Madrid, 1841, IV, 131, lib. IX, tit. 45, ley 65; see also *The Philippine Islands*, XVII, 45-46).

If the duties collected on the goods from Manila were not covered into the Mexican treasury, they would not appear in the Mexican budget; and consequently the *situado* that does appear there is not, as Govantes asserts, a return of part of the revenue received from the duties on the Manila shipments, but a pure subsidy. These duties in the middle of the eighteenth century amounted in general to 7,500 pesos for the export duties, and 176,000 pesos for the *almojarifazgo*, which was used for refitting the ships, etc. (Delgado, *Historia de Filipinas*, Manila, 1892, 224. This is one of the most important of the old histories and was written about 1750). The French astronomer Le Gentil, who was in Manila for several months in 1765-1766, quotes a treasury report which showed a deficit in 1749. At the end of the report the remark was made, "le Roi faisant passer tous les ans du Mexique, cent dix mille piastres, il s'ensuit que les Philippines qui devoient profiter au Roi, lui sont au contraire très à charge" (*Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, Paris, 1779-1781, II, 170).

Juan de la Concepcion discusses at length the Philippine budget of the middle of the eighteenth century (*Historia General de Filipinas*, XIV, 38-76). Among the assets is the *real situado*, 250,000 pesos; on the debit side (p. 46) is the item "Baxas de el Real situado de estas Islas" (abatements from the royal subsidy), 140,106 pesos.¹ This leaves 110,000 pesos as the net subsidy, the same figure given by Le Gentil. Even then there was a deficit of nearly 80,000 pesos. Juan de la Concepcion's budget is reproduced in condensed form by Foreman (*op. cit.*, 281).

Evidence could be multiplied to this effect. As I have said above, the entering of the *situado* among the expenditures of the kingdom of New Spain when the duties collected on the cargoes from Manila were not covered into the treasury proves the case if no other evidence were advanced. Humboldt gives the average items of appropriation of the Mexican budget for the years 1784-1789. The largest in the list is *situados* which have been sent to the colonies of America and Asia, 3,011,664 pesos. These *situados* averaged between 1788 and 1792 as follows, in pesos: Cuba, 1,826,000; Florida, 151,000; Porto Rico, 377,000; Philippines, 250,000; Louisiana, 557,000; Trinidad, 200,000; San Domingo, 274,000. During the Napoleonic wars the Philippines re-

¹ Explained by Foreman, as remittances in merchandise as a partial equivalent for the subsidy. *The Philippine Islands*, ed. 1899, 281.

quired a *situado* of 500,000 pesos (A. von Humboldt, *Ensayo Político sobre la Nueva España*, 2d ed., 5 vols., Paris, 1827, IV, 232, 239-240).

According to Govantes's hypothesis, if the *situado* of 250,000 pesos was only the smaller part of the duties collected at Acapulco, the rest being retained in Mexico, then the duties must have been over 200 per cent. when the Manila-Acapulco cargo was limited to 250,000 pesos in value and over 100 per cent. when the value limit of the cargos was raised to 500,000 pesos. But this is contrary to all the evidence. As noted above, in the middle of the eighteenth century the export duties and the *almojarifazgo* collected at Acapulco amounted to 183,500 pesos on the Manila valuation of 500,000 pesos, and this money was used to refit the galleon and to procure supplies for the return voyage (Delgado, *op. cit.*, 224). In 1696 the Acapulco collections amounted to 80,000 pesos on a Manila valuation of 250,000 pesos (John Francis Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage round the World*, in Churchill, *Voyages*, London, 1732, IV, 480, entry for January 31).

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARTS AND SCIENCE.

THE International Congress of Arts and Science, which met at St. Louis during the third week of September, brought together distinguished scholars from every part of the world and was, perhaps, the most important episode of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Many readers of the REVIEW are already familiar with the fact that in the choice and arrangement of subjects the interests of history were not neglected. The key to the whole scheme of proceedings is furnished by the official programme of the Congress, wherein the chief branches of knowledge are divided and subdivided. In this document "Historical Science" stands out as one of seven main divisions, the others being "Normative Science", "Physical Science", "Mental Science", "Utilitarian Sciences", "Social Regulation", and "Social Culture". That historical science was conceived of in a broad spirit by those who prepared the programme is also evident from the scheme of subdivision. Not only did political and economic history appear under this heading, but special categories were provided for law, language, literature, art, and religion. In a word, the value of the historical method was fully, even generously, recognized. Of the seven main divisions no other embraced so many sections. A chart of graphic statistics could be made to show in vivid colors that "Historical Science", with thirty-two sections, ranked before "Physical Science", with thirty-one.

As illustrating the catholicity of scholarship the International Congress was a fine spectacle, but as to its usefulness a final verdict must rest upon the quality of the papers it drew forth. At the present moment no human being can venture to appraise the value of the addresses which were delivered in the division of Historical Science alone. The sessions

of the Congress covered less than a week, and so many meetings were in progress at the same time that it proved physically impossible to attend more than a small fraction of them. Until the proceedings are in print judgment must be suspended, but meanwhile two things may be said with some confidence. It is doubtful whether any one who spoke at St. Louis treated the Congress contemptuously in the sense that he paid little heed to the preparation of his address. Lamprecht, it is true, spoke from the full heart without the least vestige of a note, but to say that he spoke carelessly or that he gave his audience much less than he might have given it, would be unjust. Bury seems to have voiced the general sentiment when in his closing words he observed: "It is not very bold to predict that historians of the distant future in tracing the growth of coöperation and tendencies to a federation of human effort . . . will record this Congress . . . as a significant point in this particular stage of man's progress towards his unknown destiny." One who wrote thus was not likely to let his own contribution fall far below his best level.

In the second place it should be stated that the personnel of the Congress was on the whole remarkable. Conspicuous gaps were, of course, visible among the historians as among the representatives of other branches, but making every possible subtraction on this score there remained enough speakers of high standing to invest the sessions with extraordinary interest. In the department of political and economic history the foreign delegation comprised Mahaffy, Pais, Cordier, Lamprecht, Bury, and Conrad; while Furtwängler, Budde, Harnack, and Réville were speaking in other departments on subjects of deep historical significance. Among American scholars, President Woodrow Wilson delivered the address with which the proceedings of the historical division opened; and papers dealing, the one with "Historical Science", the other with "History and Literature", were given before the department of political and economic history by Professors W. M. Sloane and J. H. Robinson. Professor G. B. Adams discussed the problems of medieval history, Professors F. J. Turner and E. G. Bourne represented the history of America, and Professor S. N. Patten was the colleague of Conrad in the section devoted to the history of economic institutions.

A criticism or even a description of the views advanced in all these papers would lead us far beyond the limits assigned to the present notice. Here one must be content with saying that for historians, no less than for the exponents of the physical and utilitarian sciences, the St. Louis Congress was a memorable occasion. It is expected that the text of the addresses will be published in full by the Directors of the Exposition.

C. W. COLBY.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Honorable George Frisbie Hoar, ex-president of the American Historical Association, died at his home in Worcester, Massachusetts, in the early part of October, at the age of seventy-eight. Mr. Hoar was born in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1826, graduated from Harvard College and the Dane Law School (Harvard), served in the Massachusetts legislature, was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Forty-First Congress, and in 1877 was elected United States Senator. His interest in American history was always keen, and while his public duties prevented him from devoting any appreciable time to historical research or writing, he was an important member of such organizations as the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and the Virginia Historical Society. He served one year, 1895, as president of the American Historical Association and was henceforward a life-member of the council of the Association. Most of his historical contributions are to be found in the publications of these societies. In 1882, in the annual report of the council to the American Antiquarian Society, he contributed an account of the materials for historical research in the city of Washington, which, while slight and containing some errors, remained for years the principal source of information. Among other of his articles published by the same society may be mentioned *Government in Canada and the United States Compared* (1891), and *The Obligations of New England to the County of Kent* (1885). His principal service to historians, however, lay in the writing of his own biography, *Reminiscences of Seventy Years* (1903).

Henry Butler Clarke, who had become known in late years as a promising scholar in Spanish history, especially on its literary side, died in the late summer. His writings include a *Handbook of Spanish Literature*, and *The Cid Campeador* (in "Heroes of the Nations"); and recently he was engaged on a history of Spain in the nineteenth century.

M. Henri Wallon, secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres since 1873, died recently, in his ninety-second year. His published writings include many volumes, among them six on *Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris*, and five on *Les Représentants du Peuple en Mission et la Justice Révolutionnaire dans les Départements en l'an II*.

Friedrich Ratzel, professor of geography in the University of Leipzig, died on the eighth of August, in his sixtieth year. American students who have attended lectures of his will remember his strong, active personality, and the clear and large perspective he gave to whatever he discussed. Always occupying some high point and looking far around

him, his principal influence upon historical students — as possibly upon others — was in extending their horizon. This he did in his teaching, and also by many writings, chiefly however by his *Anthropogeographie* and *Politische Geographie*. Americans will recall also his *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*.

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. De Costa, author of *The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America*, *The Northmen in Maine*, and *Verrazano the Explorer*, died in New York on November 4.

John Foster Kirk died at his home in Philadelphia on September 21. He was born in New Brunswick in 1824 and came to Boston in 1842. For eleven years he was secretary to William H. Prescott, receiving an impulse to historical research which resulted in his three-volume *History of Charles the Bold* (1864-1868). In 1873-1876 he prepared the revised edition of Prescott's works, brought out by the Lippincotts. For two years, 1886-1888, he was a lecturer in history at the University of Pennsylvania. His position since 1870 as editor of *Lippincott's Magazine* made extended historical research impossible, and his *Charles the Bold* remains his one achievement in that field.

The next annual meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland will be held in the Washington Square Building of New York University, March 10 and 11, 1905. Papers upon the curriculum in history for grammar-schools will be read and some specific recommendations made with regard to the proper subjects to be taught, the order of sequence, and the content. The discussion of the propositions put forth at last year's meeting concerning the work in secondary schools (given in detail in the *Minutes*, issued about December 15) will be continued, and some features of the work will be entered into in greater detail in order to give a more complete understanding of the committee's idea. On Friday evening Professor Stevenson, of Rutgers College, will speak upon "The Early Cartography of the New World" and Professor Brigham, of Colgate University, will speak on "The Character and Limitations of Geographical Control Illustrated by the Chattanooga Campaign". Fuller announcements will be sent later to those who may desire them by the secretary, E. H. Castle, Teachers College, Columbia University.

It is announced that a number of the scattered writings of the late York Powell will be collected and published in a single volume, together with a memoir based especially on Powell's letters to friends. The work is in charge of Professor O. Elton, of Liverpool.

Professor Ch. V. Langlois, of the University of Paris, visited several of the universities of this country in the fall. At Chicago he lectured on "La Tradition Historique de la France".

The University of Chicago has recently acquired Professor George Elliott Howard's special "Library of Matrimonial Institutions". It consists of about 1,700 volumes and is probably the largest and best col-

lection of monographs ever made on the subject of marriage, divorce, and the family. The books were gathered by Mr. Howard during the many years devoted to his recently published *History of Matrimonial Institutions*. They are of great interest to all students of religious, juridical, and sociological history.

The *New York Public Library Bulletin* for November contains the fifth and concluding part of a "List of Works Relating to Naval History". This bibliography, the first four parts of which appeared in the *Bulletins* for June, July, August, and September, is arranged by countries, and the entries for each country are classified. It fills about three hundred columns, seventy-five of which are devoted to the United States. In the November *Bulletin* are also a "List of Works relating to Shakers", and the journal of an unknown Pennsylvania soldier, kept during the campaign of 1776 around New York and the retreat through New Jersey. The September *Bulletin* contains a "List of Maps of the World". These two hundred thirty-three maps are those that were on exhibition in the Lenox Library during the recent geographical congress.

A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools, prepared by a special committee, of the New England History Teachers' Association, of which Professor H. D. Foster was chairman, has been published by Heath (1904, pp. 375). It covers the four years' work in history and may be obtained entire or in pamphlets that cover a single year.

A "Provisional list of special collections in European history acquired by American libraries during 1903 and 1904", by Professor W. H. Siebert, is in *The Library Journal* for September.

Professor J. H. Robinson's *Readings in European History* (Boston, Ginn and Co., 1904) should meet with a wide welcome in the schools. It is in the main a collection of extracts from the sources, chosen with the purpose of illustrating the progress of culture in western Europe since the German invasions, and the selection of matter has been made with such judgment that the vivifying, interest-creating objects of collections of this sort are attained, in this instance, to an exceptional degree. Though designed directly to supplement the same writer's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, the material here gathered may be used advantageously with any of the usual texts. The first volume (pp. xxxi, 551), closing with selections on the Italian cities during the Renaissance, appeared in the fall; the second volume, beginning with Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century, is to be ready early this year. It is announced also that an abridged edition for use in high-schools is in preparation.

Students in several lines — economics and numismatics, as well as history — will welcome the latest addition to the "Handbuch" of medieval and modern history appearing under the editorship of von Below and Meinecke: *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittel-*

ters und der neueren Zeit, by A. Luschin von Ebengreuth (Munich, R. Oldenbourg). A comprehensive, competent manual on this subject has long been needed.

The second volume in "The Story of Exploration" series, now issuing under the editorship of J. Scott Keltie, describes the exploration of inland Arabia as far as it has been achieved: *The Penetration of Arabia, a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge concerning the Arabian Peninsula*, by David G. Hogarth (New York, F. A. Stokes Company, 1904, pp. xiii, 359). The author sets forth at the outset that he has not penetrated Arabia himself; that his personal acquaintance with its inhabitants and their language is small; that his sole qualification for writing the story of Arabian exploration rests on a long study of the literature of Arabian travel; and that his book must be regarded therefore as a mere essay in the polarization, appreciation, and introduction to the public of other men's first-hand work. The public, for its part, has good reason to be grateful. Mr. Hogarth's record both of "The Pioneers" and of "The Successors" is simple, intelligently proportioned, and humanly interesting. Moreover, the written story is rendered more real by many pictures and maps.

Africa from South to North, through Marotseland, by Major A. St. H. Gibbons (New York, Lane, 1904, 2 vols., pp. xix, 276, xxi, 297), is an extremely interesting account of the expedition organized by Major Gibbons in 1898, the objects of which were to determine the geographical limits of Lewanika's country, making a hydrographical and ethnographical survey of it; to define the Congo-Zambesi watershed, discovering the source of the Zambesi and to what extent it and its affluents are navigable; and to furnish the late Cecil Rhodes with information that would be of service in selecting a route for the projected transcontinental railway. The two volumes are illustrated with many photographs, taken during the expedition, while three large maps in cover pockets represent the results of the exploration.

The Early History of India, by Vincent A. Smith, represents an endeavor to set forth a connected narrative of events in Indian political history from 600 B. C. to the Mohammedan conquest (Oxford, University Press).

Mr. Sidney C. Tapp, of Atlanta, Georgia, has written a small book, though of many chapters—twenty-seven in two hundred and forty-five pages—on *The Story of Anglo-Saxon Institutions, or the Development of Constitutional Government*. Its general character is fairly indicated by the writer's statement of his purpose, "to demonstrate from historical facts that the Anglo-Saxon race is the only race that has ever had a true conception of republican institutions or solved correctly the problem of self-government" (New York, Putnam, 1904, pp. ix, 245).

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* again sees the light in a new edition of two volumes, with introduction, notes, and marginal summary

by Professor E. Cannan, of the University of London (New York, Putnam's, 1904, pp. xlviii, 462, vii, 506). The text of this edition is that of the fifth, which was published before Smith's death; it has been collated with that of the first and the differences have been noted.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *The Oxford School of Historians* (Church Quarterly Review, October); Henri Chérot, *Une Révue de Synthèse en Histoire* (Études, October 20); Simon N. Patten, *The Present Problem in the Economic Interpretation of History* (Annals American Academy, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY.

Under the title, "Die Auswanderung der Krieger unter Psammetich I. und der Söldneraufstand in Elephantine unter Apries", Heinrich Schaefer publishes, translates, and interprets in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (IV, 2, p. 152 ff.), an inscription in which he finds documentary evidence for the emigration of the soldier caste from Egypt to Ethiopia. This remarkable self-exile of 240,000 Egyptians, vouched for primarily by Herodotus, has often been regarded as mythical. Among the communications and reports presented in the same number of the *Beiträge* is one from Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen regarding the publication of the Greek inscriptions. This important work, undertaken over thirty years ago by the Prussian Academy of Sciences, and carried on hitherto under the management of Professor Adolf Kirchhoff, has recently been entrusted to Mommsen's son-in-law, Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. A rearrangement of the parts and a reorganization of the staff have already been effected. A central bureau for the receipt of "squeezes", publications, etc., has been established in Berlin W., Potsdamerstr. 120. This bureau has been put in charge of Baron Hiller, and through the *Beiträge* this genial scholar asks for the coöperation of all those in the possession of pertinent epigraphical material. Professor Hiller is the man who conducted at his own expense very valuable excavations on the island of Thera, and who is held in kindly remembrance by the many Americans who, chiefly under Professor Doerpfeld's guidance, visited Thera while the work was in progress.

The influence of archæology in provoking a reëxamination of the literary sources of Greek and Roman history is evidenced in some recent work by American students. Thus, because of the results reached by archæologists in their studies of numerous theater ruins, Mr. Roy C. Flickinger, now of Epworth University, Oklahoma, has been led to devote his doctoral dissertation to a test of Plutarch upon the subject: *Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater* (University of Chicago Press, 1904, pp. 64). Also, the first of a group of *Studies in Herodotus* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1904, pp. 47), by A. G. Laird, of the University of Wisconsin, deals with statements of Herodotus in connection with the inscription on the Serpent-Column of Delphi and its counterpart at Olympia. The other studies in Mr. Laird's pamphlet are upon

"Herodotus, and the Greek Forces at Salamis and Plataea", and "The Battle of Salamis".

Roman history during the later Republic and the early Principate is to be treated on an elaborate scale by A. H. J. Greenidge. The first volume covers about thirty years, 133-104 B. C.; five other volumes are to follow (London, Methuen).

Professor W. C. Lawton's *Introduction to Classical Greek Literature*, which was well received, is now followed by a similar *Introduction to Classical Latin Literature* (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. x, 326). It tells of Latin writers in such a manner as to kindle desire to read of them and in them—which cannot be said, alas, of all like books about the classics.

Available material for the use of classes in Roman history has been notably increased of late through *A Source Book of Roman History*, by Dana C. Munro (Boston, Heath, 1904, pp. viii, 258). Two hundred and five pieces are thus brought together and made conveniently accessible—pieces covering the time from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Diocletian. They are numbered consecutively, but are classified in twelve groups, under such captions as "The Roman Army", "The Last Century of the Republic", "Christianity and Stoicism", "Roman Life and Society".

An English translation of Harnack's recent work on the spread of the Christian religion is among the announcements of Messrs. Williams and Norgate, London: *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, translated and edited by James Moffatt.

Much has been done upon the history of early Christianity within the Roman empire but relatively little upon its history in countries beyond the empire. Particular interest therefore is attached to *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide (224-632)*, by J. Labourt, recently published by the house of Lecoffre, Paris.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Guiraud, *La Population de la Grèce Ancienne* (Revue de Paris, October 15); F. Martroye, *Une Tentative de Révolution Sociale en Afrique. Donatistes et Circoncillions*. I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

M. Charles Diehl's latest work relative to Byzantine history will doubtless find many readers: *Theodora, Impératrice de Byzance* (Paris, Rey).

A long work upon Mohammedan history has been undertaken in Italy: *Annali dell' Islam*, by L. Caetani, published through the house of Hoepli at Milan. The first volume contains, besides an extended introduction, the record of the first six years from the Hegira. It is planned that the work shall comprise twelve volumes in all, and come down to 1544.

Ethnological and political conditions bearing upon the history of both Europe and Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries are treated in a recent work by J. Marquart: *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, published with the aid of the Royal Academy of Berlin (Leipzig, Weicher).

Number xv of the *Lists and Indexes* descriptive of material preserved in the Public Record Office of England, that is, "List of Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and Exchequer" (1902), is reviewed in a specially scholarly and serviceable manner by Ch. V. Langlois, in the *Journal des Savants* (July, August, 1904). Especially set forth is the value of the material described for French-English history of the thirteenth century.

A sort of aid for the use of classes in history which has not been employed before in this country was recently brought out by the Century Company: *Medieval Civilization, Selected Studies from European Authors*, translated and edited by Professor Dana C. Munro and Dr. George C. Sellery (New York, 1904, pp. x, 391). It is a book similar to the collections of "Lectures Historiques" which flourish in France. With two exceptions the selections are from modern writers — Lavissee, Luchaire, Lamprecht, among others — and concern a variety of subjects, such as "Faith and Morals of the Franks", "The Realities of Feudalism", "City Life in Germany". The editors state that this volume is designed for the use of beginners in medieval history, and that another volume, intended to afford additional supplementary material for more mature students, will be issued later.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Jacquin, *La Question de la Prédestination aux V^e et VI^e Siècles* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); Ph. Heck, *Ständeproblem, Wergelder und Münzrechnung der Karolingerzeit* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, II, 3, 4); G. Schlumberger, *Une Révolution de Palais en l'An 1042 à Byzance* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); K. Hampe, *Deutsche Angriffe auf das Königreich Sizilien im Anfang des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, October); P. Arminjon, *Universités Musulmanes d'Égypte. I* (Revue de Paris, September 15).

MODERN HISTORY.

It is, possibly, the publication of lectures delivered by Bishop Stubbs that has suggested bringing out similar material left by Freeman. At all events, two volumes of Freeman's lectures are announced by Messrs. Macmillan, one on *Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century*, the other on *Western Europe in the Eighteenth Century*.

The connection between England and Zürich in the sixteenth century, in the spheres of literature, theology, and commerce, is the subject of a work announced by Mr. Elliot Stock, London: *The Relations between England and Zürich during the Reformation*, by T. Vetter, of the University of Zürich.

Mr. Andrew D. White has begun a series of articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Warfare of Humanity with Unreason". The first one, in the November number, treats of Grotius.

Contemporary questions concerning Morocco have doubtless led to the publication of *Les Relations de l'Espagne et du Maroc pendant le XVIII^e et le XIX^e Siècle*, a recent work by E. Rouard de Card, of the University of Toulouse (Paris, Pedone).

Among the most important accessions to historical literature upon the period of Napoleon are *Select Despatches from the British Foreign Office Archives relating to the Formation of the Third Coalition*, edited for the Royal Historical Society by J. H. Rose, Mr. R. M. Johnston's *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies*, 2 vols. (Macmillan, 1904), and the eighth and concluding part of M. Albert Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, which is occupied with the Coalition and the treaties of 1815.

The *Letters and Memoir* of the English Quaker, John Bellows, edited by his wife, form a volume of about four hundred pages (Holt, 1904). Among the few matters of historical interest treated are the conditions in Metz in 1870-1871, and the Armenian massacres of 1896. The interest of the letters lies mainly in their descriptions of persons and places.

Count Charles de Motly, who was the secretary of the Congress of Berlin, has recorded his recollections of that assembly, of the scene, personages, questions discussed, and principal decisions, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for October 15 and November 1: "Souvenirs d'un Diplomate. — Récits et Portraits du Congrès".

To the Cambridge Historical Series has just been added a volume on European relations with the Orient: *Europe and the Far East*, by Sir R. K. Douglas, keeper of oriental printed books and manuscripts in the British Museum and professor of Chinese in King's College, London (Cambridge, University Press, 1904, pp. viii, 450).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. F. Preuss, *Mazarin und die "Bewerbung" Ludwigs XIV. um die deutsche Kaiserkrone 1657* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, October); De Fréville, *Une Armée Coloniale au XVII^e Siècle. Dupleix aux Indes* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); F. de Navenne, *Le premier Séjour de Christine de Suède en Italie* (Revue Historique, September); W. Miller, *Greece under the Turks, 1571-1684* (English Historical Review, October); A. Auzoux, *Conquête de la Colonie du Cap par les Anglais (1806)* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); A. d'Hautpoul, *Souvenirs d'Espagne et d'Angleterre (1811-1814)* (Revue de Paris, November 1, 15); C. Oman, *The French Losses in the Waterloo Campaign* (English Historical Review, October); A. D. White, *Chapters from my Diplomatic Life. Embassy at Berlin (1897-1902)*, I (Century, December); *The Japanese Revolution* (Quarterly Review, July).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The University of Oxford has accepted the offer of Mr. Alfred Beit to establish a resident professorship of colonial history. The lectures are to deal with the history of British colonial policy, the detailed history of the self-governing colonies, including those in America prior to 1776, and the detailed history of all other British possessions, past and present, exclusive of India.

We have received a new and revised edition, with introduction and annotations by John M. Robertson, of Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (London, Routledge; New York, E. P. Dutton, 1904, pp. xlviii, 915). The volume is a complete reprint of Buckle's work, with all the notes; unfortunately the nine hundred pages of the text are in such small type as to try the strongest eyes.

Professor George B. Adams has a note in the *English Historical Review* for October, on the question as to whether London ever had a commune in the strict, legal sense of that term. After analyzing the available evidence, he concludes, in substance, that John, in 1191, assuming to represent the crown, granted such a commune to the city, but that the crown as such never recognized London as a true commune.

Dr. J. F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, read a paper before the Royal Historical Society in November on "The Beginnings of the King's Council in England". He laid special stress upon the activities of the council during the minority of Henry III. The paper is to appear in the society's *Transactions*.

Mr. Sydney Armitage-Smith has written a biography of John of Gaunt, drawing therefor upon both printed and unprinted material: *John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Seneschal of England* (London, Constable, 1904, pp. xxviii, 490).

The fall publications in the field of history include a new book by Mr. Sidney Lee, entitled *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xxiii, 337), based on lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston.

A series of reprints of the best of the historical biographies of English sovereigns made by writers in the Tudor and Stuart periods is announced by Messrs. T. C. and E. C. Jack, London: "Lives of the Kings", under the general editorship of Mr. Charles Whibley. The first number will be Edward Hall's *Chronicle of Henry VIII*; the second number, Camden's *Queen Elizabeth*.

We have received volume II of J. R. Tanner's *Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library* (Publications of the Navy Records Society, XXVII). The letters here calendared are those in the second and third manuscript volumes, and are between June 19, 1673, and December 31, 1674. Many of them relate to matters of mere

routine, but as a whole they throw much light on naval administration, and some letters are of importance. A short introduction, similar in arrangement to the general introduction in the first volume, is provided.

The recent publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission include *Calendars* of Stuart papers in the Royal Library — those relating to the Old Pretender and his sons — and the tenth volume in the series relating to manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House. The Hatfield manuscripts here included are of the year 1600.

The fifth volume of *The History of the English Church*, jointly edited by the late Dean Stephens and the Reverend W. Hunt, covers a specially significant period: "The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625)". It is written by W. H. Frere (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904, pp. xii, 413).

The annals of Victoria, from its earliest settlement as a British penal colony to the close of the last century, have been written by H. G. Turner, who has lived in Victoria for fifty years: *A History of the Colony of Victoria from its Discovery to its Absorption into the Commonwealth of Australia, 1797-1900*, 2 vols. (Longmans, 1904, pp. xvi, 396, x, 389.)

The bicentenary of the birth of a man of so large a following as that of John Wesley could hardly pass without occasioning commemorative writings. Of such order is the Reverend W. H. Meredith's *The Real John Wesley* (Cincinnati, Jennings and Pye, 1903, pp. 425). It disclaims any pretense to being a detailed biography, and is rather a series of pen-pictures, beginning with one upon the home at Epworth and closing with "His Translation" and "The Mother Church of Methodism". The lines are often interestingly drawn.

M. Jusserand has found time in the midst of his public life to continue his literary work. The second volume of his *Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais* was published recently in Paris (Firmin-Didot).

The second instalment, consisting of four volumes, of the *Letters of Horace Walpole*, which has recently been published by the Clarendon Press, covers the period from November, 1760, to May, 1774, a time of great mental activity. The editing, as was the case with the other volumes, is done with remarkable thoroughness and conscientious care. A few letters not appearing in the Cunningham edition are given; but, though welcome, they do not seem on the whole significant. It is no exaggeration to say that one reads these pages with almost breathless interest. The letters during these years were not so much taken up as were the earlier letters with entertaining trivialities; political conditions, especially, and other matters of serious import receive more attention.

A short biography of Joseph Lancaster, who had a pioneer's part in elementary education in England, has been written by Principal Salmon, of the Swansea Training College, and published by the British and Foreign Schools Society, through Longmans, Green, and Company.

Two volumes of biographical matter upon so vigorous and fruitful a man as was the late Bishop of London will hardly seem too much: *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, published by Longmans, Green, and Company. Of special interest also is the volume of *Letters of Bishop Stubbs*, edited by W. H. Hutton (London, Constable); likewise *The Life and Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England*, two volumes, edited by E. H. Coleridge (London, Heinemann).

In a new book, entitled *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, Professor Hume Brown treats solely of the social and economic aspects of the period in view (London, Methuen).

Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, by C. Litton Falkiner (Longmans, Green, and Company), consists of (1) a series of original papers by the author illustrating "the manner and degree in which the local and general history of the country are intertwined", and (2) "descriptions of Ireland in the seventeenth century by seventeenth-century writers".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Haverfield, *The Last Days of Silchester* (English Historical Review, October); Charles Gross, *The Medieval Law of Intestacy* (Harvard Law Review, XVIII, 2); H. Thurston, *The Canon Law of the Divorce [of Henry VIII]* (English Historical Review, October); Alexander Savine, *English Customary Tenure in the Tudor Period* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); W. R. Scott, *Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union. II. The Scots Linen Manufacture* (Scottish Historical Review, October); R. Garnett, *Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke during the Revolution of 1745* (English Historical Review, July and October); J. H. Stevenson, *The Scottish Peerage* (Scottish Historical Review, October); E. M. Graham, *The Charities of the Boxe* (Scottish Historical Review, October); *British Rule in Egypt* (Quarterly Review, October).

FRANCE, SPAIN, ITALY.

A life of the Huguenot leader Coligny, both before and during the wars of religion, with supplementary chapters on Coligny's efforts to colonize the New World, the problems of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the causes of the rise and fall of Huguenotism, is among the books published recently by Messrs. Methuen, London: *Coligny*, by A. W. Whitehead.

An able, entertaining, and suggestive criticism of Montesquieu's theories, by Sir Courtenay Ilbert — the Romanes lecture of 1904 — has been published by Henry Frowde (1904).

Among the most important and interesting of the "Cahiers of 1789" are those of rural communities, which portray the condition and mind of the peasants of France on the eve of the Revolution; and many of them are still unpublished or are lost. Those relating to maritime Flanders

have been found in the archives of the Département du Nord by A. de Saint-Léger and P. Sagnac, and these gentlemen are preparing a critical edition of them, which is to be published this year under the auspices of the Société Dunkerquoise, in two volumes: *Les Cahiers de la Flandre Maritime en 1789* (address, H. Terquem, 12 rue Royer, Dunkirk).

He who would write the history of the kingdom of Leon—which has not been done as yet in a critical manner—will find some well-prepared material from which to draw in part in a series of forty-one royal charters, published by L. Barrau-Dihigo in the *Revue Hispanique* (Nos. 35 and 36). “Notes et Documents sur l’Histoire du Royaume de Leon. I. Chartes Royales Léonaises, 912–1037”.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. E. Fry, *French Painting in the Middle Ages* (Quarterly Review, October); G. Roloff, *Das französische Heer unter Karl VII* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIII, 3); H. Hauser, *Le Journal de Louise de Savoie* (Revue Historique, November); P. Gachon, *Le Conseil Royal et les Protestants en 1698*, II and III (Revue Historique, September and November); F. Masson, *Les Bonaparte et la Corse* (Revue de Paris, September 1); Ph. Sagnac, *De la Méthode dans l’Étude des Institutions de l’Ancien Régime* (Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); H. Bourgin, *L’Histoire Économique de la France de 1800 à 1830. État des Travaux et Questions à Traiter* (Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); P. Caron, *Les Sources Manuscrites Parisiennes de l’Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 et de la Deuxième République* (Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November); W. P. Ker, *A Great French Scholar—Gaston Paris* (Quarterly Review, July); *The Commercial and Fiscal Policy of the Venetian Republic* (Edinburgh Review, October); A. Bonnefons, *La Cour des Deux-Siciles dans les premières Années de la Révolution Française* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM.

German publications of the year 1903 that relate to modern German history are surveyed by Dr. Philippson in the *Revue Historique* for November–December.

The latest issue in Lamprecht’s *Deutsche Geschichte* (Freiburg i. Br., Heyfelder) is the first part of volume seven, which closes at the middle of the eighteenth century. At the same time and through the same publisher has appeared a volume in which Lamprecht surveys the course of historical writing since the middle of the eighteenth century: *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft*.

The reimpression of *Germany, the Welding of a World Power*, by Wolf von Schierbrand, which was issued recently (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1904, pp. vii, 307), appears to contain no variations from the original publication of two years ago. It may be recalled that the writer of this book attempts to set before Americans—his adopted

countrymen — what are the principal characteristics of their German rivals, in the lines both of strength and of weakness.

Among recent publications relating to nineteenth-century history are two volumes of autobiography which should be of much interest, especially for students of Austrian history in the late sixties and early seventies: *Staatsminister Albert Schöffle. Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin, E. Hofmann).

It will be recalled that Professor Jackson's volume on *Zwingli* in the "Heroes of the Reformation" series contained an introductory chapter by Professor J. M. Vincent on "Switzerland at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century". The writer of this chapter has lately treated the same subject in a more extended way, giving further citations of sources and additional material, so that the survey which occupied forty-five pages of the *Zwingli* volume now forms a pamphlet of fifty-five pages, in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (Series XXII, No. 5).

The *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de Flandre (1596-1635)*, publication of which was signalized in the REVIEW for April (p. 634), possibly forms the first definite step toward an edition of the entire collection of papers which passed between the papal court and its nuncios and internuncios between 1596 and 1795. The pieces here given include only the general instructions to the earlier of these representatives, covering the period, generally speaking, of the reign of Albert and Isabella; but they indicate clearly the importance of this mass of documents for the religious history not only of the Catholic Netherlands, but also of the neighboring nations, especially Holland, Germany, France, and England. The work has been done by A. Cauchie and R. Maere, of the University of Louvain, and is issued under the auspices of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission (Brussels, Kiessling, 1904, pp. xlv, 283).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Hampe, *Kritische Bemerkungen zur Kirchenpolitik der Stauferzeit* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIII, 3); A. Richel, *Armen- und Bettelordnungen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der öffentlichen Armenpflege* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, II, 4); F. Lorenz, *Zur Geschichte der Zensur und des Schriftwesens in Bayern. III. Schwankende Zuständigkeitsverhältnisse in Zensursachen* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, II, 4); P. Matter, *La Prusse au Temps de Bismarck. La Défaillance d'Olmutz* (Revue Historique, November); E. Bernheim, *Entstehung und Bedeutung der deutschen Kaisersage* (Deutsche Rundschau, October).

AMERICA.

In addition to the regular archives of the Navy Department, the Naval War Records Office has a large collection of papers of officers of the Navy. It is the desire of the superintendent, Mr. Charles W. Stewart, to add to this collection. Log-books, journals, reports, letters, charts, and other material are sought for. The naval records are intelli-

gently administered, and access to them for purposes of historical investigation is liberally afforded. It is to be hoped that they will be largely added to through responses to Mr. Stewart's request.

A conference of the historical societies of the Mississippi Valley was held in St. Louis on September 16. It was resolved to form a federation of the historical societies located within the Louisiana Purchase, for the purpose of publishing historical documents, encouraging historical research, and urging desirable legislation for the preservation of the materials of history. A committee consisting of Professor Alcée Fortier, Mr. Walter B. Douglas, and Reuben Gold Thwaites was appointed to organize this federation. Papers were read by Mr. Warren Upham on "The Progress of the Discovery of the Mississippi Valley", by Alcée Fortier on "The Expedition of Governor Galvez against the British", and by Reuben Gold Thwaites on "The Duties and Purposes of Historical Societies". Messrs. Fortier and Zacharie also told of over fifty volumes of documents discovered in Paris relating to Louisiana, and of similar documents in Spain and Cuba.

The North Central History Teachers' Association has published, in the form of a small pamphlet, its *Proceedings* for the years 1899-1904. Abstracts of many of the papers and discussions are included. Among the subjects discussed may be mentioned "How far is the special study of limited periods of history desirable and practicable in secondary schools?"; "The place of civics in grammar and high schools"; "The purpose in teaching history"; "Cosmopolitanism versus patriotism".

The visit of the earl of Dartmouth in connection with the laying of the corner-stone of the new Dartmouth Hall is a reminder of the origins of the college. The exercises of October 25-26, at Hanover, were accordingly made distinctly historical. Ten historical tableaux pictured incidents in the first half-century of the institution. In an address on "The Origins of Dartmouth College", Professor Francis Brown of Union Seminary, with more insight than has been shown by any other writer, traced the coöperation of four men of like "historic purpose"—Wheelock, Whitefield, Dartmouth, and Governor John Wentworth—in the founding of the college. The sites of the earliest buildings were marked and in President Wheelock's former mansion-house were exhibited over two hundred rare manuscripts, text-books, coins, articles of furniture, and other memorabilia of the days of the first two presidents. At the banquet in his honor, Lord Dartmouth made a speech of marked felicity and grace. The responses of the presidents of Harvard, Yale (by letter), William and Mary, of Elihu Root of Hamilton, and Dr. Charles A. Eastman, of the class of 1887, the latest Indian graduate, all illustrated the thought dominant throughout the celebration, and happily phrased by President Eliot as "transmissive power". The proceedings, including all the speeches, will be published.

The manuscripts presented to the college by Lord Dartmouth, on the

reception of his honorary degree of LL.D., are with a few exceptions those noted under the heading "Wheelock" in the *Index to the Calendar of Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth*. They embrace fifteen letters to Lord Dartmouth from Eleazar Wheelock, John Thornton, John Wentworth, John Wheelock, the Bishop of London, Samuel Lloyd, and from members of the school and college; seventeen letters to various persons from Lord Dartmouth, Eleazar Wheelock, Sir William Johnson, Nathaniel Whittaker, Matthew Graves, from missionaries to the Indians, and from Indian pupils. The college now possesses between seven and eight thousand manuscripts bearing on the early history of the college, the state, the Revolution, the New England churches, and the work among the Indians. They include: the "main collection", 4,200 documents (chiefly on Wheelock and the college), calendared, 1683-1857, and indexed to 1815; about 400 Whittaker papers; about 2,000 McClure papers; about 300 papers of Governor Josiah Bartlett (1774-1794), valuable for New Hampshire and Revolutionary history; 100 miscellaneous manuscripts containing Revolutionary material; journal of Samson Occom, incomplete (1743-1789); journal of John Sergeant, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians (1805); 122 sermons of Eleazar Wheelock; 101 sermons of Professor Roswell Shurtleff (1794-1820); account-book of Chase Tavern, Cornish, N. H. (1788-1795); law-lectures of Charles March (A. B. 1786); and the Cogswell papers (1840).

Under the title *American Political History*, G. P. Putnam's Sons announce a four-volume work, edited by Professor James A. Woodburn, comprising the articles by Alexander Johnston in *Lalor's Cyclopaedia*.

Stepping-Stones of American History (Boston and Chicago, W. A. Wilde, 1904, pp. ix, 381) is the title of a book made up of fourteen essays on subjects which the publishers say "seemed to represent the foundation stones in our history". It must be admitted that some of the selections are curious; why, for example, should "The Dutch in New Netherland" be given space as one of fourteen of the most essential stones? Among the contributors are Reuben G. Thwaites, James A. Woodburn, C. H. Van Tyne, and Henry Cabot Lodge. Most of the papers seem well done and the book is likely to have its uses for the general reader and in the school-room.

Mr. George A. Dorsey, of the Field Columbian Museum, has been at work since 1899 collecting the traditions of the North American Indians of Caddoan stock. The results of his labors have recently appeared in the form of three volumes: *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (published by the American Folk-Lore Society, Houghton, 1904, pp. xxvi, 366); and *Traditions of the Arikara*, and *The Mythology of the Wichita*, both published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1904, pp. 202; iii, 351.

The appearance of a new edition of Lewis H. Morgan's *The League of the Iroquois* is a matter of importance to all students of American eth-

nology and history, for it was and must remain an epoch-making book in the science of ethnology. The beautiful edition just published by Dodd, Mead, and Co. (1904, pp. xxiv, 332) seems in every way admirable; certainly it is attractive. The appendixes contain scholarly and appreciative notes by the editor, Mr. Herbert M. Lloyd, who also gives a bibliography of his authorities and of the writings of Morgan; cuts and colored plates illustrate the text, which is accompanied by two good maps.

We have received, reprinted from the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* (Vol. I, No. 3), "La Maison d'Albe et les Archives Colombiennes", by Henry Vignaud — an account of the vicissitudes of the Columbian manuscripts and an explanation of how some of them came to be among the archives of the house of Alva. Such of these documents as have appeared in the three collections published since 1891 by the late Duchess of Alva are commented upon. In an appendix Mr. Vignaud sets forth his reasons for concluding that Ferdinand Columbus had no part in the two letters communicated to Las Casas, ordinarily attributed to Toscanelli; a genealogical table showing the descendants of Christopher Columbus is also appended.

In two of the little volumes of "The Trail Makers" series (A. S. Barnes), Professor E. G. Bourne has brought together the principal sources of information relating to De Soto's career and expedition: Buckingham Smith's translations of the "True Relation", by the Gentleman of Elvas, and of De Biedma's "Relation of the Conquest of Florida" (the official report of the expedition by the king's factor); a translation, by the editor, of the relation of Rodrigo Rangel, De Soto's private secretary, as incorporated in Oviedo's *Historia General de las Indias*; and translations, also by the editor, of extracts from Garcilaso's *La Florida*, embodying quotations from the memoirs of the two soldiers Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles. The collection ends with Buckingham Smith's life of De Soto and his translation of De Soto's letter to the municipal body of Santiago, Cuba. Not the least important part of these two volumes is the editor's introduction, in which he demonstrates that the chapters included from Oviedo, if not actually copied from Rangel's diary, at least very closely follow it. A comparison with the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas strengthens Professor Bourne in this conclusion. If he is correct, this document (given here for the first time in English) is the most important of all the accounts of the expedition; it is much more detailed than the brief official account by De Biedma, and its author, the private secretary of De Soto, was in a position to write an authoritative narrative.

Herbert Friedenwald's *The Declaration of Independence* (Macmillan, 1904, pp. xii, 299) endeavors to show "the close interrelation between the development of the authority and jurisdiction of the Continental Congress and the evolution of the sentiment for independence", and to analyze and interpret the Declaration itself.

The Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission has issued volume I of its *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*. The documents here calendared are the military papers relating to the American Revolution, deposited in the Royal Institution by Maurice Morgann, secretary to Sir Guy Carleton. The calendar was prepared by the late Benjamin F. Stevens, and this first volume bears witness to his careful and scholarly labor. The earliest document calendared is of 1747; the latest, of July, 1779. Matters of supplies and accounts are much in evidence, while many other subjects find a place: the treatment by Congress of the Convention troops, the Hessian forces, affairs in the south, the Loyalist Corps, etc. (London, 1904, pp. xix, 521, x.)

American History from German Archives, by J. G. Rosengarten, is part XIII of a "Narrative and Critical History prepared at the request of the Pennsylvania-German Society" (Lancaster, Pa., 1904, pp. v, 104). It is largely bibliographical, containing full accounts of the materials, printed and manuscript, of the history of the German soldiers in the American Revolution, and a chapter on "Franklin in Germany". The volume concludes with a reprint of Achenwall's *Observations on North America*.

The Life of John Marshall, by Henry Flanders, originally published as a portion of *The Lives and Times of the Chief Justices of the United States*, has been published as a separate volume by T. and J. W. Johnson and Company (Philadelphia, 1904, pp. x, 278). The publishers' note says that the book is revised, but the extent or character of the revision is not made to appear. Even if without material alteration, the book will have its evident value and interest.

A Spanish view of the War of 1812: *Guerra Anglo-Americana (1812-1815)*, by Joaquín María Lazaga (Madrid, 1904), is said by its critics to be an admirable study marked by impartiality and ample professional knowledge of the naval operations of that conflict.

Charles Scribner's Sons have published in book form *Letters from England, 1846-1849*, by Elizabeth Davis Bancroft (1904, pp. xi, 224). These letters, from the wife of the historian and diplomat to members of her family, throw interesting light upon society and manners in the England of the period, and contain many pen-portraits of notable personages.

An important work in military history is being published by Messrs. Methuen: *History of the American Civil War*, by Mr. W. Birkbeck Wood and Major J. E. Edmonds. Especial attention is devoted to the strategical phase of the great conflict, and maps and plans are abundant, as well as critical notes on controverted points.

Professor Walter L. Fleming of the University of West Virginia has under preparation for the A. H. Clark Company of Cleveland a collection of Reconstruction documents, to include official papers, political platforms and speeches, state laws, court decisions, and rare, hitherto unpub-

lished material, relating to churches, schools, the Ku-Klux Klan, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Union League, and other institutions of the period.

Th. Nast. His Period and His Pictures, by Albert Bigelow Paine (Macmillan, 1904, pp. xxi, 583, xx), is a volume at once valuable and unique. The four hundred or more reproductions of Nast's cartoons, prominent among which are those that were the undoing of Tweed, constitute a running commentary on the history of the last forty years.

We have received four little volumes of state history, adapted to the needs of young readers. *With the Makers of Texas*, by H. E. Bolton and E. C. Barker (Austin, Gammel-Statesmen Publishing Co., 1904), is a "source reader" in Texas history. It contains selections from the narratives of Spanish explorers and pioneers — Cabeza de Vaca, Bonilla, La Peña, and others; accounts of the filibusters; military papers relating to the revolt of Texas; narratives by citizens of the republic; and Civil War documents. The selections are illustrated and seem, in the main, to be well chosen. Not so favorable an account can be given of *The Story of Georgia*, by Katharine B. Massey and Laura Glenn Wood (Heath, 1904, pp. iv, 152), a rather badly-proportioned narrative, the sentimentality of which does not seem calculated to produce a healthy patriotism, even in the most juvenile minds. The remaining two volumes are in the Silver, Burdett, and Co. "Stories of the States": J. A. C. Chandler's *Makers of Virginia History* is an attempt to fasten the history of the Old Dominion to the careers of its leading characters. The biographical sketches are very readable, but, in the portion relating to John Smith, Mr. Chandler shows himself to be wholly beyond the reach of Alexander Brown's iconoclastic influence. *The Making of the Empire State*, by Jacques Wardlaw Redway, is an effort to make clear the growth of New York by "the narration of epochal events". Much attention is paid to social and economic development. The opening chapter, on geography, does not leave a very clear impression of the physiographic features of the state, and a relief-map might well have been added. On the whole, however, the book is very readable, is free from sentimentality, and should fulfil its purpose.

Professor Barrett Wendell's *Literary History of America* has been condensed and partly rewritten to serve as a text-book for schools and colleges. The revision, which seems to lack none of the charm of the larger work, bears the title: *A History of Literature in America*, by Barrett Wendell and Chester Noyes Greenough (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xvi, 443). In light of the fact that the larger book has already been noticed in these pages, it is sufficient now to praise the skill with which the longer treatise has been reduced into a readable and entertaining volume, which is nowhere merely a dry, forbidding school-book.

Another text-book on American literature, likewise the by-product of the author's larger work, is W. P. Trent's *A Brief History of American*

Literature, in Appleton's "Twentieth Century Text-Books" (New York, 1905 [1904], pp. xii, 277). While this condensed account of the development of American literature necessarily centers around the writers described, still the biographical element is wholly subordinated, and the history is sketched in broad outline rather than with a confusing mass of details. A short bibliography at the end of each chapter furnishes references to the material accessible in the average school library. The tone of the book is judicial and fair, not partaking of the self-adulation of many earlier works, nor yet of the self-depreciation recently become popular.

Volume I of William Dawson Johnston's *History of the Library of Congress* has been published by the Library of Congress, and will be reviewed at length in a subsequent number. It is an attractively made up book of over five hundred pages, and covers the period from 1800 to 1864.

A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904, has just appeared from the Columbia University Press (Macmillan, 1904). It is a book of some five hundred pages, published in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of King's College. It contains historical sketches of King's College and Columbia College, by J. H. Van Amringe; of the university and non-professional graduate schools, by Munroe Smith; of the professional schools, by F. S. Lee, F. M. Burdick, H. S. Munroe, and A. D. F. Hamlin; of the affiliated colleges, by W. P. Trent, F. T. Baker, and H. H. Rusby; and of the library, by J. H. Canfield.

The Strategy of Great Railroads, by Frank H. Spearman (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904, pp. 287), is a collection of historical and descriptive sketches of the principal railway systems in the United States, with especial reference to their interrelations.

Under the title "The 'Mayflower'", Mr. R. G. Marsden, in the *English Historical Review* for October, attempts to identify the Pilgrims' vessel. The effort is based on research in the recently accessible records of the High Court of Admiralty, and the author reaches the conclusion that the *Mayflower* of the Pilgrims was a boat of that name commanded by one Christopher Jones. Mention of this vessel is first found in 1609. If Mr. Marsden's contention is correct, and the master of the *Mayflower* was Christopher and not Thomas Jones, the theory frequently advanced that the Pilgrims were landed in New England instead of in Virginia contrary to their desires, through the duplicity of the ship's master (a theory based only upon Thomas Jones's known character), appears to have no foundation.

Volume VI of the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* contains the transactions at nine stated meetings held during 1899 and 1900. Many noteworthy articles and some documents of interest are included. A petition (page 7) to the General Assembly of Connecticut,

from the New London Company for Trade, discovered by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis in the Connecticut archives, shows that that company was in existence as early as 1729. Following this (pages 12-59) are numerous documents found by Mr. John Noble among the Suffolk court files relating to four suits of ejectment (1769-1772), pertaining to lands in the Pemaquid Patent. In a paper on "The Currency and Provincial Politics" (pages 157-172), Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis points out the part that the contest between the governors of Massachusetts and the people, represented by the legislature, over the emission of paper money, played in developing those conditions that brought about the Revolution. A number of documents (pages 172-210), communicated by Mr. Henry H. Edes, relate to the early history of Yale University (1715-1730). Letters (pages 297-305) from Governor Shirley and from William Bolland, of 1743, both to the Lords of Trade, communicated by W. C. Ford, throw light on the violation of the navigation laws and on the illicit trade conducted by the Dutch; while Mr. John Noble furnishes documents (pages 323-335) from the Suffolk court files, relating to the case of Maria (1681), the negress convicted of arson and sentenced to death by burning, and reaches the conclusion that there is but slight evidence that the sentence was carried out. Finally should be mentioned a paper (pages 340-370) by W. C. Ford on "Colonial America"; "Notes on the Proposed Abolition of Slavery in Virginia in 1785" (pages 370-380), by Mr. Albert Matthews; and a discussion (pages 403-414), by A. McF. Davis, of an undated document (here printed) on "Previous Legislation" as a corrective for colonial troubles—a document advocating the exercise of extraordinary powers by Parliament in dealing with the problem of paper currency in the colonies.

The Boston Public Library has received from Mrs. C. W. Folsom a collection of letters selected from the correspondence of her husband, the late Charles W. Folsom, sometime librarian of the Boston Athenæum. Among the letters in the collection are seven from Edward Everett, fifty-six from J. G. Palfrey, ninety-six from W. H. Prescott, seventy-seven from Josiah Quincy, and fifty-five from Jared Sparks.

With volumes II and III of *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, Military*, the "Second War with Great Britain" series, edited by Hugh Hastings, state historian of New York, comes to an end. The two volumes cover the years 1805 to 1815; they relate to the defenses of New York city, mainly provided by the state, to the Indian question, to the Canadian and New Jersey boundaries of the state, and to its operations in the War of 1812.

The annual report of the state historian of New York (Assembly Document 68, 1903) bears the title *New York and the War with Spain*. The history of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 69th, and 71st New York Volunteers is set forth, with illustrative documents, and a separate index for the narrative relating to each regiment. The latter part of the report is given

over to Colonel Silas W. Burt's "Memoirs of the Military History of the State of New York during the War for the Union". This is designated Bulletin No. 1 of the "War of the Rebellion" series. The author was in the state military department during the war and the "Memoirs" were written about 1886, largely from memory.

Mr. Archer M. Huntington has presented his Spanish collection to the Hispanic Society of America. A building for the museum and library is to be erected in Audubon Park at 156th Street, New York.

Under the editorship of Frank H. Severance, volume VII of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications* has just appeared. Pages 1-32 contain several letters, hitherto unprinted, from Jefferson to Francis Adrian van der Kemp, ranging in date from 1788 to 1825. They relate to Jefferson's religious and philosophic views, and contain much of self-revelation. The second contribution in the volume consists of the journals kept by Henry A. S. Dearborn, constituting a record of councils with the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians at Buffalo and Cattaraugus in 1838 and 1839. These councils resulted in the relinquishment of the Buffalo Creek Reservation and the removal of the Indians. Charges of fraud on the part of members of the council in obtaining the consent of the Indians have been frequently made; in the opinion of the editor, the journal clears Dearborn of any such charges. The third part of the volume is given up to papers relating to pioneer surveyors, and includes the "Life of Augustus Porter", by C. M. Robinson; an autobiographical sketch and letters by Augustus Porter; "Life and Adventures of Judah Colt", by himself; Joseph Landon's "Reminiscences", and a survey, made in 1789, of the south shore of Lake Erie. Finally are included a reprint of the *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Matthew Bunn*, from the 1828 edition, and "The Story of David Ramsay", as taken down by Captain Patrick Campbell in 1792.

We have received the Burrows Brothers reprint from the original 1698 edition of Gabriel Thomas's *Account of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey*, with an introduction by Cyrus Townsend Brady. The original is extremely rare, and the reprint, though limited, is timely. Note should be made of the scale of wages and prices that obtained in Philadelphia about 1690, given on pages 40-45.

Volume XXIII of *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* bears the subtitle *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, Vol. I, 1670-1730. The editing is by William Nelson, who provides an introductory note of nearly ninety pages on the early testamentary laws and customs of New Jersey. Volume XXIV is Vol. V of *Newspaper Extracts*, and covers the years 1762-1765; while the extracts are largely of social and economic interest, many are of political importance, especially those that reflect the state of feeling in regard to the Stamp Act.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October is of genealogical interest: "The English Ance-

tors of the Shippen Family and Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia," by Thomas Willing Balch. The concluding instalment of "Letters of Thomas Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, 1796-1825" covers the years 1813-1825. The letters relate to agricultural implements, watches, and polygraphs, as well as to the writer's health and personal affairs.

The Putnams have published a reprint of Olmsted's *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (two volumes, 1904), first published in 1856. It contains a short sketch of Olmsted's life by F. L. Olmsted, Jr., and an appreciative introduction by W. P. Trent. There was little need of editorial annotation, and little was attempted, but the well-written pages of the introduction distinctly add to the value of the volumes, because they properly appraise them. A native of the south, and a careful student of its past, Professor Trent declares that Olmsted's work "does not need comment or corroboration", and that the traveler was "explicit, cautious and transparently honest, in his statements". Only one serious criticism is made—the absence of description of the simple, pleasant, ingenuous, and rather dignified life of the older families of well-established social standing.

The opening article in the *Publications of the Southern History Association* for November is the first instalment of a sketch of "Vice-President Andrew Johnson", by David M. Dewitt. In most melodramatic language the author of *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* portrays Johnson's inauguration as Vice-President. The documents in this number consist of correspondence of General Joseph Martin (1778-1782), relating to the Cherokees, and a letter signed by Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, relating to the financial fortunes of that abolitionist paper.

The Site of Old "James Towne", by Samuel H. Yonge, published by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (Richmond, 1904, pp. 86), is based upon surveys made by the author while in charge of the work by the United States Engineer Department for the protection of Jamestown Island from the encroachments of the James river, and upon a careful examination of the Virginia land patent records, the Ambler manuscripts, and other original sources, as well as the more important secondary authorities. The results of the surveys and examination are shown in a map drawn by Otto Sonne, which gives "James City" as it was between 1607 and 1698, showing roads, estates, boundaries, forts, bridges, etc. Mr. Yonge does not believe that the abrasion of the island began before 1700, and he estimates the strip lost since that date to have been only five hundred feet in width. Among the specific subjects treated in the text may be mentioned the landing-place of the first settlers, the population, the location of the first fort and town, and the sites of block-houses, church buildings, the original graveyard, and the state-houses.

We have already referred to the projected publication by the Library of Congress of the records of the London Company for Virginia, in two

volumes. The Library now announces its intention to publish a third volume, which will contain the records of the company; other than its minutes, now in the Division of Manuscripts, together with the letters, commissions, records of cases, and other papers discovered in England by Miss Susan M. Kingsbury during the past year.

Among the continuations in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October may be mentioned the letters of Edward Montagu, the Virginia agent in England, of the year 1770, and the "Diary of the Journey of the First Colony of Single Brethren to North Carolina, October 8–November 17, 1753". A letter by Robert Bolling, narrating his Revolutionary services as captain of the Petersburg Troop of Horse, 1778–1781, is also printed, as is, under Notes and Queries, a petition found among the Ambler manuscripts from the people of Jamestown to the Virginia assembly, in 1682, relating to lands, houses, and sanitary regulations.

Among the documents in the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for October are three letters from the correspondence of James McHenry, and extracts from letters of William T. Barry. The former, written during the years 1796 and 1799, refer to the attempt on the part of Virginia to prevent shipments of horses to the West Indies for the British government, and to the alien and sedition laws. The latter, 1803–1804, are descriptive, containing accounts of Williamsburg and the college, Yorktown, and Richmond.

The *West Virginia Historical Magazine* for October contains a reproduction of the original map of Charleston (West Virginia), found among the papers of William Clendenen.

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for October, the editor, John Spencer Bassett, reviews, under the title "A Revival of Interest in North Carolina History", the most noteworthy of recent works on North Carolina. The second and apparently concluding part of Helen Henry Hodge's "Massachusetts and the New England Confederation" appears in the same number.

The *North Carolina Booklet* for May, 1904, contains a series of sketches of the eight lords proprietors of Carolina. The work is by Professor K. P. Battle and is of much interest.

The *James Sprunt Historical Monograph* (University of North Carolina) No. 4 contains letters and documents relating to the early history of the lower Cape Fear section (near Wilmington, N. C.); No. 5 contains the minutes of the second Baptist Association in North Carolina (Kekukee), 1769–1777. Both of these are edited by Professor K. P. Battle.

The Alabama Department of Archives and History has issued, as *Bulletin No. 3*, a check-list of the newspaper and periodical files in the possession of the department.

A document of unusual interest is included in the *American Historical Magazine and Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly* for October.

This is none other than the Constitution of the State of Franklin, as provisionally adopted in the Jonesboro Convention of December, 1784. It was recently discovered in the office of the Insurance Commissioner, in the capitol at Raleigh, and was printed in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* of September 25, 1904.

The July *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* is devoted almost exclusively to an annotated translation, by Elizabeth Howard West, of Lieutenant Antonio Bonilla's *Brève Compendio de los sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia de Texas desde su conquista ô reducion hasta la fecha* (Mexico, November 10, 1772). This report is in four parts: a description of the province of Texas in 1772, a summary of its history from 1685 to 1770, a summary of reports by Ripperdá and de Mezières, and an exposition of Bonilla's own views.

The Way to the West, by Emerson Hough (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1903, pp. 446), aims to tell in a dramatic and popular style the story of western expansion.

The *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet*, recently published in four volumes by Francis P. Harper (New York, 1905), consists of the journals, letter-books, and printed works of the Flemish missionary, and should be a valuable source of information relative to the Western Indians between 1838 and 1872. The writings are edited by Major Hiram M. Chittenden, U. S. A., and Alfred T. Richardson, who supply geographical, historical, and ethnological notes as well as a biographical sketch of Father de Smet.

Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit has reprinted in a pamphlet of twenty pages an article entitled "Historical Memoranda of the Territory of Michigan", which originally appeared in serial form in the *Detroit Gazette*, commencing May 21, 1819. As Mr. Burton says of it, its chief value "lies in the fact that it was written shortly after the conclusion of the War of 1812, and it relates the details of the surrender of Detroit as only could be narrated by one who was an eye-witness or a participant in that inglorious event".

The Wisconsin State Historical Society held its fifty-second annual meeting on October 27. William M. Wright was elected president in place of R. L. McCormick, who declined reelection. The superintendent, Dr. Thwaites, reported that volume XVII of the *Collections* is in press and contains material that throws much new light upon the French régime in the region of the upper Great Lakes between 1727 and 1749. Of especial interest is the announcement by Dr. Thwaites that a bulletin of information relating to the society's manuscript collections is to be issued during the coming year.

The important article in *Annals of Iowa* for October is "Legislation in Iowa prior to 1858", by Professor F. I. Herriott. This essay of thirty-five pages is an attempt "to analyze and compare the enactments of Iowa's legislature and from the experience of a typical state to determine if possible what the real nature and drift of our laws have been".

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October contains "The Negro and Slavery in Early Iowa", by Louis Pelzer, "Some Phases of Corporate Regulation in the State of Iowa", by Frank Edward Horack, and "Assembly Districting and Apportionment in Iowa", by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Although the last two of these articles are historical in their treatment, the first is of most general interest; it deals with the political phases of the question, and the attitude of the state toward such measures as the Missouri compromise and the fugitive slave law.

Volumes V and VI of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, are at hand. The former covers the terms of John Henry Gear (1878-1882) and of Buren Robinson Sherman (1882-1886); the latter, those of William Larrabee (1886-1890) and of Horace Boies (1890-1894). The editor points out that this last period marks the only Democratic administration since 1856.

We have received *The Boundaries of Colorado*, by Frederic L. Paxson, reprinted from the University of Colorado *Studies* for July, 1904.

A Short History of Oregon, by Sidona V. Johnson (McClurg, 1904); is, as suggested on the title-page, a compilation. The three hundred small octavo pages are grouped in six parts: Discovery, Exploration, Settlement, Government, Indian Wars, and Progress. The part relating to the settlement of Oregon is the longest; of the Whitman controversy the author says: "It has settled beyond dispute, in the minds of those who have given the matter just and careful consideration, the permanent and exalted position. Dr. Whitman must ever occupy in the annals of Oregon" (p. 236). Although the *History* is "compiled from the leading accepted authorities", there are no notes to indicate these authorities. The text contains some original documents as well as excerpts from Blaine's *Twenty Years in Congress* and the Bancroft volume on Oregon.

The Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly* for September contains the first part of the "Literary Remains of David Douglas, Botanist of the Oregon Country" consisting of extracts from his manuscript journal in the library of the Horticultural Society of London: "Sketch of a Journey to the Northwestern Parts of the Continent of North America during the Years 1824-25-26-27."

The History of California and Its Missions, by Bryan J. Clinch, in two volumes, is announced by Whitaker and Ray of San Francisco. The period covered is from the explorations of Cortez to the acquisition of California by the United States.

At the de Monts tercentenary celebration during the past summer by the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Reuben Gold Thwaites delivered the greetings of the American Historical Association; his address was printed in the *Canadian Magazine* for August and has also been issued separately.

The *Acadiensis* for July-October is devoted to Champlain. A translation, mostly new, of Champlain's narrative, with maps and views

photographically reproduced from the original edition of 1613, is contributed by W. F. Gahong, while Victor Hugo Paltsits presents "A Critical Examination of Champlain's Portraits", with reproductions of the Ducornet, Hamel, O'Neil, Laverdière, and Ronjat portraits of the explorer. "Samuel de Champlain", by James Phinney Baxter, is a biographical sketch.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Albert Perry Brigham, *Geography and History in the United States* (Journal of Geography, October); Talcott Williams, *George Frisbie Hoar* (Review of Reviews, November); G. Mercer Adam, *Professor Goldwin Smith* (Canadian Magazine, December); F. H. Hodder, *Early Maps of America* (Dial, December 1); John M. Gunn, *History of the Queres Pueblos of Laguna and Acoma* (Records of the Past, October); Henry Loomis Nelson, *Frontenac* (Harper's Magazine, October); Helen Henry Hodge, *The Massachusetts Oligarchy* (Sewanee Review, October); George P. Costigan, Jr., *The History of the Adoption of Section I of Article IV of the United States Constitution and a Consideration of the Effect on Judgments of that Section and of Federal Legislation* (Columbia Law Review, November); Gaston Jèze, *Du rôle des chambres dans l'approbation ou l'exécution des traités internationaux d'après la Constitution des États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord* (Revue du Droit Public, July-September); General James Grant Wilson, *Washington, Lincoln, and Grant* (Cornhill Magazine, October); *Some Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson* (Scribner's Magazine, November); William R. Shepherd, *The Cession of Louisiana to Spain* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Advance of the West*, a review of Volumes I-VIII, *Early Western Travels*, edited by R. G. Thwaites (Dial, November 16); *New Material Concerning the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Century, October); Eugene L. Didier, *James Buchanan as a Lawyer* (The Green Bag, October); Walter L. Fleming, *Negro Slavery in Illinois*, review of *History of Negro Servitude in Illinois*, by N. Dwight Harris (Dial, November 16); John H. Moore, *Non-Intervention and the Monroe Doctrine* (Harper's Magazine, November); Nicholas Murray Butler, *From King's College to Columbia University* (Educational Review, December); Dr. Magnac, *L'expédition du général Leclerc à Saint-Domingue* (running in Le Carnet); Jerónimo Becker, *La guerra del Pacífico* (running in La España Moderna).

The

American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT CHICAGO

FOR some years the successive meetings of the American Historical Association have vied one with the other in interest and usefulness. In describing these meetings it is no longer possible to use descriptive adjectives in the comparative or superlative degree. All of them have been practically above criticism or complaint. The recent meeting at Chicago—December 28 to 30, 1904—was no less satisfactory in all respects than its predecessors, and candor forbids us to use more laudatory phrases. The programme was excellent, the social arrangements were admirable, the courtesy of those in charge of the meeting and the attentions of friends of the Association in Chicago unfailing and unremitting.

Most of the sessions were held at the University of Chicago, in the Reynolds Club House and in the Leon Mandel Assembly Hall adjoining, which were well adapted to the purposes and gave facilities not only for the stated programme but for committee and board meetings, and for social intercourse, which after all is the most important feature of these gatherings. The American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association held meetings at the same time and place, and there were three joint sessions; at the first the chief paper was the address of the president of the Political Science Association; at the second, the addresses of the presidents of the Economic Association and the Historical Association were read; at the third, topics in industrial history were discussed by the economists and the historians. The attendance was large and representative, more numbers being registered and probably many more present than at any previous meeting. As was the case at New Orleans, nearly all sections of the country were well represented. Though not so many came from the Pacific coast or the south

Atlantic states as were in attendance a year ago, New England and the middle states were largely represented, as were nearly all of the states of the Mississippi basin.

At the end of the first session a luncheon was served to visiting delegates in Hutchinson Hall, the university commons—a charming reproduction of the hall of Christ Church College, Oxford. The same afternoon the ladies were invited to a tea by Mrs. William Gardner Hale. Wednesday evening a reception was given by the Chicago Historical Society at their building, and the next afternoon the delegates were received by President and Mrs. Harper. An enjoyable smoker was held at the Hotel del Prado on Thursday evening. The same evening the ladies were entertained at the residence of Professor James Westfall Thompson, by Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Mary J. Wilmarth. The Quadrangle Club, the Union League Club, the City Club, and the University Club gave non-resident members the free use of their club-rooms, and the same courtesy was shown the ladies of the Association by the Chicago Women's Club. The success of the meeting was in no small measure due to the tireless work and good judgment of Professor J. Franklin Jameson, chairman of the committee on programme, and of Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman of the committee on arrangements.

The meetings once more gave evidence of the wide interests of American historical scholars, of the spirit of coöperation, and of the best of scholastic good-fellowship. One of the meetings was given up to conferences or "round-tables" on special subjects, a feature of the programme which proved peculiarly attractive, as is likely to be the case where topics of live interest are discussed and where practical methods are considered. The practice of dividing the Association into sections, which years ago was followed for a time, had its evident disadvantages, since it destroyed the unity of the meetings and simply added to the number of formal papers to which one might listen if he chose; but such a plan as that adopted at Chicago, of giving one session to a number of special gatherings in which matters of interest may be freely discussed by a comparatively small number of men, is of very evident effect in increasing the interest and the value of the meetings. One would hesitate to say that the plan should always be followed in the future, but this at least is certain, that the morning session given up to the round-table conferences was the most profitable and interesting of all. The meeting as a whole was of unquestioned service to western scholars, and perhaps of special value because it brought together an unusual number of workers in local history and gave them new courage and interest.

At the first session, held in Leon Mandel Assembly Hall, an address of welcome was given by President William R. Harper, after which Professor Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University, president of the American Political Science Association, gave the first annual address, choosing for his topic the work of the new association. He dwelt chiefly on topics and fields of study that need attention from investigators in political science and on the desirability of coöperation between practical workers and theorists which the association might promote, and emphasized the desirability of a thorough and scientific examination of principles and practices of administration.

After these addresses had been delivered before the three societies, two papers were read in a joint meeting of the Historical and Political Science Associations. Professor William M. Sloane, of Columbia University, in a paper entitled "The Contrast of Political Theory and Practice in France under the Convention", examined critically the French government under the Convention from 1793 to 1795. He declared that an assembly chosen to make a constitution usurped the sovereign power without excuse, and that the plea of necessity was invalid. The coalition against France was not formidable, because it had no solid basis and no consistency. The internal affairs of France gave the Jacobins no monopoly in saving the country, for there was already a constituted executive, and the boundless resources of the country were just as available for the republicans as a whole as they were for one faction of the party. The Convention was not merely a usurper, it was irregular and illegitimate in both its membership and its organization. Surrendering its power to two committees, the Executive Council and that of Public Security, it devoted itself solely to party ends. Its earliest effort in arrogating sovereignty to an oligarchy by the Committee of General Defense was a failure. Thereupon it deliberately sacrificed for its own ends the entire Girondin party and created the Committee of Public Safety, which took advantage of the public disorders to create a Jacobin autocracy. The most efficient organ of this shameless tyranny—the Revolutionary tribunal—steadily declined into a factional committee of assassination. Any effort to judge the "Terror" even as a means justified by the end is doomed to failure; for France has been saved several times in moments quite as critical: but it was done by sane men, and the success did not deliver her bound to governments like the disreputable Directory and an eventual military despotism.

Mr. Jesse S. Reeves read a paper on the Napoleonic Confederacy in the United States, an organization by the French refugees in

America having for its purpose the placing of Joseph Bonaparte upon the throne of Mexico. In the summer of 1817 G. Hyde de Neuville, the French minister at Washington, obtained possession of certain letters sent by Joseph Lakanal to Joseph Bonaparte. These letters disclosed a conspiracy among French refugees in America, but, though the attention of the State Department was called to the matter, no steps were taken to apprehend the leaders. In the spring of 1818, a company of two hundred men, under General Lallemand, left Philadelphia, landed at Galveston, and proceeded up the Trinity river. A settlement called Champ d'Asile was founded, but its existence was short; menaced by the Spanish, and suffering for want of food, the wretched Napoleonic soldiers abandoned their settlement and returned to Galveston, where they were found by General Graham, who had been sent by Monroe to investigate the purposes of the expedition. Inasmuch as Lallemand's plans came to naught and there was no proof that Joseph Bonaparte had any part in the undertaking, the government of the United States did not think it best to take further notice of the purposes and plans of the conspirators. Mr. Reeves's narrative was based on the correspondence on file in the Department of State.

The afternoon of Wednesday was given to a meeting of the Council, and of various committees and boards which now have in charge many of the important functions of the Association. In the evening a joint meeting of the Historical and Economic Associations was held in the Chicago Historical Society building. Mr. Franklin H. Head, in behalf of the Chicago Historical Society, welcomed the associations in a felicitous address. President Frank W. Taussig, of the Economic Association, discussed the present position of the doctrine of free trade. After considering the general arguments for free trade and protection, he said that conclusions as to the general argument for protection for young industries have an uncertain ring; and that while protection cannot be proved to be useless, certain economic phenomena in this country show that it is not indispensable. The essence of the doctrine of free trade is that international trade brings a gain, and, in consequence, all restrictions upon it a loss. Departures from this principle may perhaps be justified, but they need to prove their own case, and if made in view of the pressure of opposing interests, such departures are a matter of regret. The address of the president of the Historical Association, Professor Goldwin Smith, which in his absence was read by Professor Benjamin S. Terry, appears in this number of the *Review*, and in consequence it is not necessary to speak of its scope or character.

The session of Thursday morning, when the round-table con-

ferences were held, was of peculiar interest; and the fact that many felt, when the conferences were finished, that much remained to be said is ample proof of the profitableness and utility of the discussions. The officers of the Association have long felt that an effort should be made to bring the state historical societies into closer relations with one another and with the general association, in order that, by means of greater coöperation, objects of common interest might be attained, and unwise and unnecessary duplication of work avoided. With the hope of establishing this closer relationship, a conference of representatives from state and local societies was made part of the Chicago programme, and its success was marked. The sessions were held in the library of the Reynolds Club House. Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, who acted as chairman, in opening the meeting stated in a few well-chosen words the purposes in view and what might be gained for mutual benefit by a better understanding among local societies. In a paper on the forms of organization and the relation to the state governments Mr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, spoke of the obligation resting upon the state for the preservation and care of its archives, and of the desirability of having an officer specially charged with this duty. This work should be consigned to some one who is interested in historical matters and appreciates the value of documentary material, inasmuch as the average administrative officer is not likely to have much respect for documents that have no immediate and evident utility. The state historical society is unable to care for the public records, and only by the establishment of a distinct department can suitable appropriations commonly be expected. The speaker described the organization existing in Alabama, where there is a separate department of the government, under the general management of a board of trustees, and a director is appointed as a state trustee; the State Historical Society of Alabama has decided to surrender to the state the task of collecting manuscripts, and to content itself with holding meetings, publishing material, and stimulating interest in history. Mr. Warren Upham, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, spoke in approval of the methods existing in those states where the expenses of the historical society are met by legislative appropriations. Without denying the value of such an organization as that of Alabama, and without underestimating the immense work done by such associations as the Massachusetts Historical Society, he pointed out the evident advantages of such a system as that of Wisconsin and of some of the other states in the northwest. A state department of history is in danger of being subjected to political influence. A historical society, aided

by the state in an evident public duty, can collect and care for historical documents and also arouse popular interest as a public officer cannot. Mr. C. M. Burton, of Detroit, president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and well known as a devoted collector of historical materials, spoke earnestly of the need of coöperation to the end that unnecessary duplication of work might be avoided and more thorough work accomplished. He advocated the preparation of a general index to the publications of historical societies, a task which would be easily performed if the historical societies of the country would be willing to work together. Professor B. F. Shambaugh, of the University of Iowa, spoke briefly of the proper division of the field between the state society and the local societies within the same state, and pointed out the value of local societies in preserving documents and in aiding the state society in the task of collection.

Professor F. L. Riley, of the University of Mississippi, commenting on the general subject under discussion, spoke favorably of the arrangement in Mississippi, where there is an active historical society and also a well-organized state department, the former at the university, the latter at the state capital. Professor A. C. McLaughlin, at the suggestion of the chairman, gave a short statement of the proposed work of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. Referring to the work already done in England by Professor C. M. Andrews, he said that it is the intention to make a thorough report on the British archives and, in the coming year, to begin the examination of the Spanish archives, with the hope of being of service not only to investigators, but to historical societies that wish to have transcripts made. It is also the intention of the bureau to gather information concerning all manuscript collections of historical societies, in order that there may be in one place knowledge of the materials that are scattered throughout the country.

The round-table conference on the teaching of church history had a fair attendance, and the proceedings were of great interest to all present. Professor F. A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School, presiding, opened the conference by a plea for a consideration of the problems of church history as problems of historical science without the control of dogmatic or ecclesiastical interests. Regret was expressed that the body of workers in this field does not compare favorably in numbers or energy with those who contribute to other divisions of the field of history, and that the production of results is equally disappointing. Having indicated certain problems of the definition and treatment of the subject, the speaker held that a higher scientific activity calls for ampler material equipment in theological

schools and for the introduction of the study in institutions other than theological. When colleges afford an outline of knowledge, the instruction in theological schools can use more intensive methods and yield higher results.

Professor Albert T. Swing, of Oberlin, speaking on methods of teaching, made a vigorous argument for a system that would occupy the student with the problems of exposition and reproduction. In view of the future vocation of the student, an extensive thesis was held to be less desirable than the preparation of addresses in such literary form as would make a living appeal to a mass of hearers. The aim should be twofold: the discovery and analysis of vital movements by the exercise of true historical insight; and the immediate presentation of these ideas with a judicial temper and a sensitive skill of artistic expression. After indicating the divisions and methods of the general survey of church history, Professor Swing urged the historical analysis of the origin and development of doctrines as the crowning work of the department.

Dealing with the problem of the fostering of independent research, Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, held that a theological school aims at practical efficiency in a profession, and that the general body of its students should not be expected to accomplish special research. The seminary must first teach the body of things and then in the senior year give some discipline in the use of sources, not for the production of technical historians, but to show the difference of opinion and fact and to teach the method of construction. On the other hand, students preparing to teach must be given a separate technical training, and the instructor must pursue research for his own good. Professor Mathews advocated the systematic editing and publication of documents of American church history by instructors, with the collaboration of advanced students, and a project of coöperative historical writing after the model of the *Cambridge Modern History*.

On the theme of church history in colleges and graduate schools, Professor Carl Russell Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, made a stimulating and suggestive speech with special regard to American history. Although churches have had a great influence on the growth of our civilization, the attention given to them in general courses is slight and confined to the bizarre and the picturesque. Vital problems are seldom handled. As the multiplication of college courses forbids the average student to take a special course in church history, it is necessary to correlate the subject with general history. The advantage of this is seen in the broadening and consequent simplification of the whole view of history. An illustration is the

growth and the history of united organizations in the churches and the political union of the country. If college teachers are to have the basis for such correlation, it must be furnished by the specialists in church history and by those who have made a comparative study of the several churches, as well as of religious and civil institutions. This is the most profitable field for the graduate student, who will find whole series of problems by simply placing side by side the ascertained facts in these several subjects and observing the relationships and the discrepancies which there appear.

The conference on the teaching of history in the elementary school was likewise interesting and profitable. Professor J. A. James, of Northwestern University, who acted as chairman, opened the meeting with a few words concerning the importance of the problems that were to come up for discussion. He showed that there is at the present time no agreement in practice or in theory; there are few indications of any tendency to uniformity in the schools. Occasionally men competent to speak with wisdom have been called to plan a course of study for the grades, but expert recommendations have in the past been of little use. The time, however, may now have come for a thorough and, if possible, authoritative study of the whole situation. Professor H. W. Thurston, of the Chicago Normal School, read a paper on "Some Suggestions for an Elementary Course of Study in History." The aim of history teaching is to help the child to understand in a true sense what his American fellows are now doing and to help him to intelligent voluntary action in agreement or disagreement with them; a course of study with this general aim would begin with the child's problems in his social environment and carry on from grade to grade the examination of such contemporary social problems as are within the child's comprehension. This study would embrace likewise attention in every grade to genetic problems in the past. The events studied should be in the industrial, political, social, and religious fields, and be chosen primarily from direct physical and psychical ancestry of Americans. Different "unit topics" should not, the speaker said, be presented in chronological order, but rather in such a way that there will be the strongest tendency in the child to relate the past to himself, that he may feel that the ways and thoughts of the present are the product of development and evolution.

In continuing the discussion, Dr. George O. Virtue, of the Winona State Normal School, Minnesota, said he did not think that in choosing material for preparatory work stress should be laid on the interest of the child; the safer guide is the child's future needs. A proper course would not be very different from that now followed

in many American schools. It gives a prominent place in the seventh and eighth years to American history, which might well be preceded by ancient and English history. The momentary interests of such a course might be made to conform roughly to the demands of those holding to the culture-epoch theory and be fitted to the needs of children of varying experience and abilities; it is rich in possibilities for developing the imagination, rousing the enthusiasm, and building standards of personal and civic conduct. The mental training from the study of history, which some persons assert to be only a by-product of history study in the lower schools, could be made really valuable and significant if proper attention were paid to conditions of preparation, to the time employed, and to securing skilled instruction. Miss Emily J. Rice, of the School of Education, University of Chicago, spoke briefly on the preparation of the elementary teacher. She emphasized the fact that new ideals in education are making new demands on the teacher; her task is not to compel her pupils to commit a few pages or to memorize a few meaningless details; she must help to bring the subject-matter of history home to the child and to relate it to his experience. Stress should be laid on industrial history and the development of the arts. The test of a teacher's success is to be found in the habits of study which her pupils acquire under her guidance and inspiration.

Following these papers was a general discussion in which a number of persons participated, among them Professor A. H. Sanford, of the Stevens Point Normal School, Wisconsin, who declared that general principles should be laid down and superintendents left to work out the details in a way suited to their own needs; Professor J. S. Young, of the Mankato Normal School, Minnesota, who said that history study should begin with the first grade and develop by regular stages; Professor J. R. McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania, who believed that in the process of Americanizing the foreigners we must fill their minds with facts of American history, which they may not understand, but which they must take as so much medicine; and Professor James Sullivan, who said that we now have an undue proportion of American history. Some of the speakers radically disagreed with Professor McMaster, declaring that a mere accumulation of facts is of little moment. There seemed to be general agreement as to the wisdom of a wide and substantial course in American history, as the best preparation for civic duties and for the comprehension of the meaning of American society, in which the boys and girls of the school are called upon to pass their lives. One would judge from the course of the discussion that there should be no serious difficulty in marking out a course of

study for the grades, if the task is entered upon seriously and intelligently. That the subject might secure the requisite attention, the conference asked the Council to appoint a committee similar to the Committee of Seven, which should recommend a history course for the elementary schools.

At the conference which considered the doctoral dissertation in history and the doctor's degree there was a large attendance. The room where the session was held was too small to contain all who sought admission, and the discussions were of unusual interest. There was a general feeling that the problems under consideration are vital and important. In opening the discussion, the presiding officer, Professor George B. Adams,¹ of Yale, said that in following German practice in this country we had, in his opinion, followed the wrong road; by granting the degree freely to every one completing a required course, and by demanding as a dissertation a piece of original work, we are likely in the end to magnify the importance of little things and run the risk of creating the impression that what is only the beginning is the real end; we shall fall also into a state in which process seems the only thing, without regard to the value of the result. For the first of these conditions the thesis is largely responsible; for the student—and sometimes the instructor—labors under the impression that the product of the student's minute toil is really an important contribution to knowledge, whereas in the majority of cases, certainly in medieval history, these laborious theses merely cumber the shelves and are but impediments in the way of the really creative scholar. Professor Adams called attention to the number of men who do nothing after compiling their dissertations, and fall back with an undeserved and unnecessary feeling of failure into the work of the secondary schools. As a remedy, he advised the establishment of two doctorates, the first of which should stand for about the amount and kind of training now required for the doctorate. For this degree the thesis need not be an original contribution to knowledge, and there should be no requirement that it be printed; the more advanced should be similar to the French degree, obtainable only by mature scholars after a searching examination and on the presentation of a dissertation indicative of real scholarship and creative ability. If it were possible, he said, to advance our present master's degree to about our present doctor's degree, and the doctor's to the point of the French doctorate, the arrangement would be altogether desirable. By agreeing on an advanced degree, American universities would gain the advantages of both

¹ Professor Adams's paper introducing this discussion, rewritten and enlarged, will appear in an early number of the *Educational Review*.

German and French practices; they would not lose their influence on the secondary schools; we should avoid conveying to the student a wrong impression of his own attainments and prospects, and should escape a barren and desolating flood of printed dissertations of no substantial value, which threatens to be a burden to every branch of knowledge.

Professor D. C. Munro, of the University of Wisconsin, spoke of the various kinds of students who seek the doctorate; the training given those who are to be writers of history should be different from that offered those who are seeking only a broad scholarship and a fuller knowledge than can be acquired in the undergraduate course. If the former class is to be properly prepared, training in the technique of history requires so much time that no thesis fairly worth printing can as a rule be written. In this respect history stands, perhaps, on a different plane from that of the physical sciences, where it is not impossible for the comparatively immature student to make a serious contribution to his science. Professor Munro could not agree with Professor Adams as to the usefulness of the proposed second doctorate. Professor James Harvey Robinson, of Columbia, said that the doctor's degree might be taken too seriously; certainly for some purposes the master's degree is more useful. There are great differences, he said, in the capacities of students, some of them reaching their limit by the end of the first year of graduate work. To obtain an elaborate literary production would be very difficult in these days when so few can write the English language in accordance with accepted usage. Perhaps a translation might prove an agreeable substitute for a thesis in some cases, for it requires the intelligent use of two languages and a knowledge of the subject in hand. Professor George E. Howard, of the University of Nebraska, on the other hand, pleaded for the retention of the doctorate as a scholar's degree, declaring that the last decade has seen a decided improvement in the standard, that the present thesis is creditable, and that in American and English history it is better than the typical German thesis. He could not see the wisdom of establishing a new degree, but he did believe that the master's degree should be given more meaning, for it has a distinct academic function. The main thing is to keep the standards high. Professor N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri, considered the present doctor's examination too severe for the students who have had no preparation for such an ordeal, and advocated making an examination for the master's degree a preliminary training for the doctor's examination. Professor J. M. Vincent spoke of the value of the work on the thesis in the intellectual development

of the student; to work over old topics may be good, but to do something new is better; the printing of theses is considered a reward of effort and industry. Professor C. M. Andrews advocated the maintenance of high standards for the degree. The result of not printing the theses would, he thought, be the cheapening of the degree; both the instructor and the student need the stimulus, the check, and the encouragement that come from the knowledge that the dissertation is to be printed and must bear the inspection of others. Subjects for theses should be wisely selected and suited to the needs of the science. Professor F. M. Fling believed we should have no inflexible rule about printing, and that college students should be so grounded in the principles of historical method and so taught by continuing practice to express their ideas that, when the need comes, they will be able to prepare a thesis in intelligent and readable English. Professor F. H. Hodder and Professor F. M. Anderson both dwelt on the desirability of strengthening the master's degree. Professor J. F. Jameson said we should adjust our degrees to American needs; the master's degree should indicate that its possessor has the scholarly preparation for teaching in secondary schools; the doctor's degree that he is fitted for the college. The person who is to handle college classes should have experienced the pains and pleasures of discovery and have ascertained by his own trials how history is written. Three-fourths of all theses, he said, are in American history, and of these the larger portion is good. Like Professor Andrews he believed the certainty that the dissertation would be inspected by others is of salutary influence, but thought it might possibly be wise not to print the dissertation, in a given case, if it were judged good by a professor in another university. Professor A. B. Hart said he had not seen the evil of the doctorate, for the educational development of recent years was due to the desire for the degree of doctor of philosophy and to the fact that it is a good standard measure for professional purposes. The dissertations had, moreover, added considerably to our knowledge; and he advocated that time be devoted to the study of topics that would yield positive and helpful results. Professor C. H. Haskins thought there had been a marked improvement in the real value of the doctorate, and that much more was asked than twenty years ago; he believed that standards should be raised for both the master's and the doctor's degrees, the latter to be given only to students showing unusual promise and likely to follow a university, as distinguished from a college, career. In a word, without establishing a new degree, the universities might well provide for the type of man that Professor Adams had in mind. At present we are in a transitional stage; and

while we provide fairly well for the future college professor, we do not do enough to develop the type of man who looks forward to a university career, and who should have the power and the training to conduct profitable investigation. At the end of the discussion, Professor Milyoukov, comparing the conditions in Russia with those prevailing here, said that the Russian degree of *magister* is as a rule obtained by men who are already too old, and that in his country the attainment of a degree is too difficult, and here too easy.

At the fourth session five papers were read on a variety of subjects. Professor C. W. Colby, of McGill University, characterized in an interesting manner the personnel and the work of the Historical Congress at St. Louis. Professor Ettore Pais, of the University of Naples, beginning with a tribute to the late Theodor Mommsen, and a reference to the marvelous breadth of his scholarship and the value of his contributions to Roman history, proceeded to point out the work that remains to be done. The soil of Italy still has many archæological treasures, and new discoveries will add new knowledge and raise fresh problems. The study of primitive life in other lands and the study of ancient law will throw light on the early development of Rome. Even for the study of the empire much remains to be done, for we know much more of the administrative system than of the real history of the people; we know more of their law than of their ideas, their moral movements, or their social development. Because of the similarity between the character and the history of modern America and those of ancient Rome, American scholars are especially called upon to study and interpret Roman life and history.

Professor Henry E. Bourne made a report upon the work of American historical societies, a summary of impressions received from the inquiry for the general committee of the Association. Describing with considerable care the different forms of organization and effort, he dwelt on the desirability of coöperation, and especially on the need of good understanding between the local societies and the general association. The next paper, by Professor E. G. Bourne, was a clever and interesting effort to test the trustworthiness of the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver by an application of the principles of modern historical criticism. Even the conclusions, not to speak of the proofs, cannot be given here in a word; and we must content ourselves with saying that Professor Bourne demonstrated that the book ascribed to Carver has no standing as a piece of first-hand testimony, that in all probability he did not write it, and that while portions were probably written by adroit literary hacks from Carver's own statements, much was but a rehearsal of the sayings of Charle-

voix and other early explorers, including the mendacious Lahontan. In the last paper of the evening, Mr. Isaac J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, spoke of the explorations in the southwest by Hunter, Dunbar, Pike, and Freeman in the first three years after the purchase of Louisiana. Although these expeditions were much less comprehensive than originally planned, they furnished valuable information concerning the geography of the territory, marked the first step in deflecting the border Indians from their nominal Spanish allegiance, and were a material factor in the final assertion of American claims to large portions of the southwest.

Professor Friedrich Keutgen, of Jena and Johns Hopkins, gave the first paper of the Friday morning session, on the necessity in America for the study of the early history of modern European nations. The real antecedents of America, he said, are to be found in the early life of the European nations, whose history is continuous from the time of their formation on the ruins of the older Roman world. But not for this reason alone, not from any merely patriotic motive, should American students study this early history, but because the backbone of every science is its method, and this method can best be learned where the materials are most easily mastered. In the early period of European history conditions were comparatively simple, and the evidence we have to handle can be tested by certain and intelligible rules. Opportunity is given for training and practice in paleography and diplomatics, while power of correct observation and inference can be developed in students with comparative ease. Professor Paul Milyoukov, formerly professor in the University of Sofia, read a paper on Russian historiography, in which he traced the periods through which the writing of history has passed from early days to the present. It is now, he said, under the influence of the wider sociological conceptions, to which American scholars have made notable contributions.

Following these papers by distinguished European historians, three papers were read, all describing certain archives and the materials to be found in them of particular interest to historical investigators. Professor A. C. McLaughlin, of the Carnegie Institution, gave the results of his investigation of the diplomatic archives of the Department of State. Confining his description to the period from 1789 to 1845, he pointed out the amount, character, and apparent interest of the great quantity of unpublished materials, which throw light not only on our diplomatic history but on conditions in foreign states. Special attention was called to the despatches of William Short, John Quincy Adams, and Jonathan Russell, and to the papers bearing on our diplomatic relations with the old republic of Texas.

Professor C. M. Andrews, of Bryn Mawr, described briefly the character of the material relating to American history to be found in the leading British archives, especially the Public Record Office, where exist great masses of documents, of some of which little has hitherto been known. For the internal history of the colonies in the seventeenth century documentary evidence is scanty, though of the highest importance; on the other hand, for the study of British colonial policy and the development of the organs of administration the evidence is of great extent and of corresponding value. The materials bearing on British trade and revenue, on the cost of general administration, and on the expense of managing the military are enormous, especially for the years 1745, 1755-1763, and for the Revolution. Professor Andrews also spoke appreciatively of the Stevens index, which contains references to more than 160,000 documents in England, France, Spain, and Holland relating to the period 1763-1783. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Library of Congress, briefly described the extent and condition of the public archives at Manila and the richness of the papers in their historical features. While the great bulk of them is concerned with questions of local administration, the large collection of royal decrees and orders distinguish the archives from those obtained in previous acquisitions of Spanish territory. The insular government has appointed a keeper of the archives, and is taking measures for preserving the papers from further loss and damage, even sending a special student to Europe to obtain additional matter relating to the history of the Philippines. The Guam records, few in number and much mutilated, have in part been transferred to the Library of Congress, Washington, where they can receive greater care and attention. The archives of Porto Rico probably contain some material of value for historical purposes; but the archives of no dependency are complete, having suffered much in the past from carelessness and from changes of sovereignty or from revolution. The history of the Spanish colonial policy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is closely related to that of the British colonies in America, and should be studied in connection with the attempt of Spain to maintain a trading monopoly in the face of rivalry from England, France, and Holland.

The last session—a joint meeting with the Economic Association—was held on Friday evening in the building of the Northwestern University in the center of the city. Professor E. F. Gay, of Harvard, read a paper on the significance of the inclosure movement in England, an important contribution to the subject of English industrial history, its conclusions being in some respects quite at variance with those commonly accepted. The distinction should be made, the

speaker said, between the inclosure of common waste and the depopulating of the common fields, the former being much older and more wide-spread, but less disquieting than the latter. The depopulating inclosures of the common or open fields, especially characteristic of the sixteenth century, were not so serious a matter as contemporaries believed and almost all modern writers think. These inclosures were mainly confined to the midland counties; even there, till late in the eighteenth century, they were in general small piecemeal affairs, and the whole movement was one of gradual and not of violent change. Professor Gay brought out with especial distinctness the conditions under which this great agrarian change was made—the strong economic and social motives that tended to hasten it, and the equally strong obstacles, likewise economic and social, that retarded it. In conclusion he said that the comparison of the inclosure movements of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries as usually made overlooks the continuity of the development in the different sections of England, and does not sufficiently take into account the differing social effects of the movements in the two periods.

After Professor Gay's paper, the rest of the evening was taken up with a discussion of the plan for preparing an Economic History of the United States. President Carroll D. Wright, head of the department of economics of the Carnegie Institution, who is responsible for the inception and the general management of the undertaking, briefly outlined the plans that have thus far been agreed upon. The whole field of American industrial history is divided into eleven main parts, and the general management of each one of these is in the hands of a competent person, whose duty it is to provide for the special investigation and the preparation of desirable monographs within his field. The divisions and the persons in charge of them are as follows: (1) Population and Immigration, Professor Walter F. Willcox; (2) Agriculture and Forestry, including public domain and irrigation, President Kenyon L. Butterfield; (3) Mining, Mr. Edward W. Parker; (4) Manufactures, President Wright; (5) Transportation, Professor B. H. Meyer; (6) Domestic and Foreign Commerce, Professor Emory R. Johnson; (7) Money and Banking, Professor Davis R. Dewey; (8) The Labor Movement, President Carroll D. Wright; (9) Industrial Organization, Professor J. W. Jenks; (10) Social Legislation, including provident institutions, insurance, and poor laws, Professor Henry W. Farnam; (11) Federal and State Finance, including taxation, Professor Henry B. Gardner. At the present time there are some seventy-five persons engaged in one capacity or another,

and it is expected that many more will soon be at work. It is plain from Colonel Wright's statement that his plan contemplates, at least for some time to come, the study of eleven or more parallel lines of industrial development, leaving any general scheme of coördination or combination to be dealt with at a later day. In the meantime, within these special fields where work is to be carried on by separate investigation, the work is to be in many, if not in most cases, decidedly monographic; and naturally the task must be that of collecting data, which at some future time can be properly arranged in chronological or logical relationships.

The general plan, as presented by President Wright, was commented on by several speakers, but the time was so limited that anything like a thorough discussion was impossible. The matter is one of such general interest, and the coöperation of historical scholars and economists so desirable, that it is regrettable that a thorough debate and interchange of views were impossible. Professor McMaster in a few luminous remarks called attention to the fact that real history in which events are brought out in their significant aspects cannot be written by following with precision any number of parallel lines. While such special treatment may be of much value, the investigator must remember that even in his choice of facts, as well as in their interpretation, much more must be considered than the changes taking place in one phase of human activity. In the period after the Revolution, for example, all social and industrial conditions had their bearing on Constitutional change and on the need of establishing a new political order. The ultimate effect of industrial conditions must affect the choice, arrangement, and presentation of facts. The next speaker, Professor C. H. Hull, of Cornell, fortifying his argument by the enumeration of various European and American examples, contended that among subsidized and coöperative undertakings of wide range, whether in ecclesiastical or in political history, those had proved on the whole most useful whose managers had confined their efforts chiefly to the editing of sources, and had left the production of coördinated narratives to the enterprise of individual writers and of commercial publishers. He maintained that this experience ought to have weight in planning the Economic History of the United States; and especially so because, unlike the official materials of ecclesiastical and political history, the materials of economic history do not become accessible after a few years as a matter of course. He therefore welcomed Colonel Wright's announcement that "the real and important work of the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution is . . . to place the largest possible collection of

materials in the hands of both" the economist and the historian. Professor Henry R. Seager, of Columbia, spoke in approval of the general plan, and said that the work was properly undertaken by economists because the historians have as yet taken so little interest in the writing of economic history. He believed, however, that there were certain omissions, notably in the failure to provide for the study of the growth of trade in the ordinary sense as distinguished from commerce and transportation. Professor Jacob H. Holländer, of Johns Hopkins, said that the description of economic status rather than the narrative of economic development is the urgent need of economic study in the United States. Descriptive investigation, as distinct from historical study and local inquiry, must bear the same relation to political economy that field-work does to geology and the clinic does to medicine. The immediate environment should first be utilized as an economic laboratory for the development of scientific spirit in economic study and sound method in economic research, and as the field from which bases of working hypotheses may be derived. Thereafter the investigator must extend the range of his inquiry by visits to representative localities and even residence in them with a view to collecting wider and more varied data and to testing tentative conclusions. Such a procedure involves two essentials: leisure and resources. The investigators for scientific inquiry must certainly not be unduly absorbed by the routine engagement of the student or the teacher. With respect to resources, the investigator must be in command of funds sufficient to enable him to visit, and upon certain occasions temporarily to reside in representative localities for the purpose of gathering additional evidence and of testing and verifying tentative conclusions. Here seems to lie the present prime usefulness of private or public endowment in economic research.

The business meeting, which was held Friday afternoon, showed that the affairs of the Association are in their customary prosperous condition, and that the various committees and commissions are working with zeal and success. In accordance with the desire of the round-table conference of state and local historical societies, a conference of such societies was appointed to be held in connection with the next annual meeting. Mr. Thomas M. Owen was appointed chairman, and Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh secretary. The request of the conference on the teaching of history in the elementary school was answered by a resolution favoring the appointment of a committee to investigate the subject and prepare a report on a course of history for elementary schools and the proper training of teachers for their work. The report of the treasurer, Dr. Clarence

W. Bowen, was not less gratifying than usual, showing the total assets of the Association to be \$22,477.69, an increase during the year, despite the heavy expenses incurred for the numerous activities of the Association, of \$1,243.99. The membership of the Association in 1904 was 2,163, an increase of 93 over the preceding year.

The report of the Pacific coast branch, which was transmitted by Professor Max Farrand, was filed with the records, and Professor H. Morse Stephens gave a statement concerning the numbers and the plans and purposes of the new western organization. One meeting, a very successful one, has been held in San Francisco, and it is intended to hold a meeting the coming year at Portland in connection with the Lewis and Clark celebrations. The present membership of the branch is 130. The committee on the Justin Winsor prize expressed its gratification at the general character and quality of the papers submitted, and announced the awarding of the prize to Mr. W. R. Manning, of Purdue University, for his monograph on the Nootka Sound Controversy, and that the monograph of Mr. C. O. Paullin on the Navy of the American Revolution had received honorable mention. The Association approved recommendations of the committee to the effect that more emphasis should be laid on the critical bibliography and that all mention of universities or former instructors should be omitted. Approval was likewise given the report of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, which recommended that for the present the prize should be two hundred dollars, that it be awarded every second year, and that the rules governing the competition be practically the same as those in force for the Winsor prize competition. The prize is to be offered for the best monograph "based upon independent investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental or insular, or any part thereof".

Professor E. G. Bourne, in behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, said that steps had been taken to edit and prepare for the printer the diplomatic correspondence of the republic of Texas. The editorial work is to be done by Professor George P. Garrison. In giving the report of the Public Archives Commission, Professor H. V. Ames said that the commission has representatives in thirty-two states and has already published one or more reports from eighteen states. Six additional reports will appear in the *Annual Report of the Association* for 1904, and other investigations are in progress. The work of the commission has helped the passage of laws in several of the states for the better preservation of the public records. Professor H. L. Osgood is editing the council journals of New York city, the proposed publication of which is directly trace-

able to his study of the records of the state in behalf of the commission. Dr. E. C. Richardson reported that the bibliographical committee had been engaged in making additions to the information collected by Professor W. H. Siebert concerning collections of material on European history in American libraries. At present the list is limited to special library collections and does not indicate individual books; but the committee intends to make up a list of two or three thousand of the great series, with indication of the libraries in which they may be found. The work of the General Committee consisted in preparing a list of persons eligible to membership in the Association, and of assisting the committee on the programme of the Chicago meeting in arranging for a conference of representatives of state and local historical societies. The success of the conference led to the appointment of a subcommittee, composed of Dr. R. G. Thwaites and Professors B. F. Shambaugh and F. L. Riley, with the special task of reporting at a further conference upon the best methods of organization and work on the part of state and local historical societies. The General Committee, in addition to its usual duties, will undertake the preparation of a list of those members who are engaged in research, classifying them according to the fields in which they are at work. The committee will also investigate, in connection with other historical societies, the extent to which historic sites have been marked or otherwise accurately determined.

The Association voted to meet the coming year in Baltimore and Washington, and in Providence in 1906. The committee on nominations, composed of Professors F. J. Turner, Charles H. Hull, and A. L. P. Dennis, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Professor John B. McMaster was chosen president; Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, first vice-president; and Professor J. Franklin Jameson, second vice-president. Mr. A. Howard Clark, Professor Charles H. Haskins, and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen were reëlected to their former positions. In the place of Dr. Herbert Putnam and Professor F. J. Turner, who had served three years on the Council, were chosen Professor George P. Garrison and Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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Committees:

Finance Committee: Hon. James H. Eckels, Chicago, Ill., chair-
man, and Hon. Peter White.

Committee on Programme for the Twenty-first Meeting: Pro-
fessor John M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University, chairman,
Professors Charles M. Andrews, Francis A. Christie, Charles
H. Haskins, and Andrew C. McLaughlin.

*Joint Local Committee of Arrangements for the American His-
torical Association, American Economic Association, and
American Political Science Association:* Theodore Marburg,
Esq., Baltimore, Md., chairman, Professors Jacob H. Hol-
lander, John M. Vincent, and Westel W. Willoughby (with
power to add members at the discretion of the chairman).

*Committee on the Entertainment of Ladies at the Twenty-first
Meeting:* Mrs. Annie M. L. Sioussat, Baltimore, Md., chair-
man, and Miss Ida M. Tarbell (with power to add auxiliary
members at the discretion of the chairman).

Editors of the American Historical Review: Professors H.
Morse Stephens, George B. Adams, J. Franklin Jameson,
William M. Sloane, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Andrew C.
McLaughlin.

¹ Ex-president.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Professor Edward G. Bourne, Yale University, chairman, Professor Frederick W. Moore, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Esq., Worthington C. Ford, Esq., Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, and Thomas M. Owen, Esq.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Charles M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr College, chairman, Roger Foster, Esq., Professors Edward P. Cheyney, Charles H. Hull, and Williston Walker.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor Charles Gross, Harvard University, chairman, Professors George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, James Harvey Robinson, and John M. Vincent.

Public Archives Commission: Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman, Professors William MacDonald, Herbert L. Osgood, Charles M. Andrews, and Edwin E. Sparks.

Committee on Bibliography: Ernest C. Richardson, Esq., Princeton University, chairman, A. P. C. Griffin, Esq., George Iles, Esq., William C. Lane, Esq., Reuben G. Thwaites, Esq., and Professor Max Farrand.

Committee on Publications: Professor Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman, A. Howard Clark, Esq., Professors Fred M. Fling, Samuel M. Jackson, Elizabeth K. Kendall, Anson D. Morse, and Earle W. Dow.

General Committee: Professor Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, chairman, Reuben G. Thwaites, Esq., President Lilian W. Johnson, Professors Charles H. Haskins, Lucy M. Salmon, John S. Bassett, William MacDonald, Frank H. Hodder, Franklin L. Riley, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, and Frederick G. Young (with power to add adjunct members).

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THE TREATMENT OF HISTORY¹

BEFORE entering on my subject let me congratulate the Association and Americans generally on the striking progress made by the study of history here in the course of the last half-century. To the names of Bancroft, Hildreth, Prescott, and Palgrave have been added those of Henry C. Lea, Henry Adams, James Ford Rhodes, John B. McMaster, John Fiske, James Schouler, Moses Coit Tyler, W. M. Sloane, Charles Francis Adams, and Woodrow Wilson. The progress shows itself alike in style, in research, and in fairness of judgment. In the style even of Bancroft there lingers something rather too rhetorical, too much savoring of the Fourth of July. Conscientious research has advanced with great strides. It has perhaps been carried almost to the point of exaggeration by researches into the history of obscure municipal institutions. But the excess is infinitely better than the defect.

In fairness and candor also there has been a vast improvement, specially to be noted in the treatment of questions with Great Britain. The Revolution, the War of 1812, and relations with England generally receive far more equitable treatment now than they did of yore. The other day a cry was raised in England that the American school-histories are poisoning the minds of Americans against us. Somebody proposed to deal with the subject specially and to stanch the source of rancor. I sent for a number of school-histories and examined them. In those of forty or fifty years ago the angry spirit was manifest; but it decreased as the present time was approached, and in the school-histories of the present day little I believe will be found of which an Englishman could fairly complain. From the taint of national arrogance English histories would hardly be found free. Too much space is given to war. Too much space perhaps is given to war in all histories. War is still unhappily of all themes the most exciting. It is the best-suited for lively description; it strikes the imagination of itself without calling for much skill on the part of the writer. Genius perhaps may some day make the annals of peaceful and beneficent achievement interesting even to boys. If I found any special fault with the American school-his-

¹ The President's address to the American Historical Association, December 28, 1904.

tories, it was not that they were rancorous, but that they were dry. For writing children's books special genius is required.

In proceeding to deal with the treatment of history, we are met at once by the question whether history is or can be made a science. Expectations of this kind are the natural offspring of the vast conquests which science has been making and which seem to proclaim its empire universal. We are confronted at once by the everlasting problem of free will. Human history may be the subject of philosophy; the subject of science it can hardly be if the human will is free. I trust it is not presumptuous to say that this question of free will and necessity seems to me to be a mental puzzle and nothing more. In every action our consciousness, if we appeal to it, tells us that there are two elements: the antecedents or motive, and the volition. In every action which is doubtful or unusual or which calls for a special effort of will we are distinctly conscious of the volition as well as of the antecedents. In habitual and commonplace actions we are not conscious of the volition unless our attention is specially called to it. But always the two elements are there; and upon the presence of the volition depend our retrospective judgments on our own actions and our judgments on the actions of our neighbors. The volition could not take place without the antecedents, nor will the antecedents produce action without the volition. It is difficult, probably impossible, to designate the exact relation between them; hence the puzzle, hence the question about which such controversies have raged. Huxley, biased by physical science, took at one time the extreme necessarian view. But if I mistake not, he had latterly ceased to feel so sure that man was an automaton which had automatically fancied itself a free agent but had automatically come back to the belief that after all it was an automaton. His superb good-sense prevailed.

There is apparently another serious difficulty in attempting to treat human history as a science. To base a valid induction we must have the phenomena completely before us. But human history is not yet complete, nor do we know how far it may be from completion or what phenomena its progress may be destined to disclose. Comte traces, as he thinks, the history of man through three stages: the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive, with their subdivisions, and assumes that the positive stage is final. He accordingly proceeds to give the world a form of government, a form of religion, a calendar of social worthies, permanent institutions of different kinds. But his finality is without reasonable warrant. The era which he styles positive may not be the last. Destiny may have totally new developments in store. At all events it is not likely

that a government, a religion, or a calendar of worthies framed by a man of this generation will serve for generations yet to come.

Besides, human history is full of accidents baffling to theory as well as to calculation. By the merest accident Napoleon becomes a French citizen. It seems that he had at one time thought of enlisting in the British navy. Had he been shot on the bridge of Lodi or assassinated by Georges Cadoudal, both of which events were perfectly possible, the whole current of history would have been changed. Gustavus Adolphus is in the full career of victory, which to a moral certainty would have ended in the redemption of Germany. A wreath of mist comes over the field of Lützen and separates him from his troops. He falls, and half Germany remains Catholic. Napoleon, it is true, would not have been what he was or have done what he did without predisposing forces. But the predisposing forces would not have produced the events without Napoleon, whose appearance on the scene, as it could not possibly have been foretold, was, if anything is, a chance. Such instances might be multiplied without number, and they are apparently fatal to the conception and verification of any scientific law.

For the philosophy of history which traces the interdependence of events, the connection of causes and effects, the operation of special influences general or personal, permanent or temporary, the distinction of epochs, the formation of national character, and above all the general progress of humanity, it is needless to say there is a vast, fruitful, and highly cultivated field.

Here perhaps may be noticed the view which seems to be held by my very eminent predecessor in the presidency of the Association, Mr. Henry C. Lea, as to the division of history into moral epochs. Mr. Lea appears to think that it is irrational and unjust to condemn Philip II and the inquisitors of the day for putting people to death on account of their religious belief, such having been the moral law of that epoch. This view would seem to lead to the division of history into a series of moral zones with which our judgments of action and character ought to vary. But such a conception would surely be fatal to morality itself, as it would destroy the identity of the moral law. In judging individual character and action just allowance must of course be made for the general beliefs and prevailing influences of the time. But this is the limit of condonation. The age of Philip II and the Spanish Inquisition was an age of murderous persecution. What made it so? The conduct of Philip II and the inquisitors, which itself was influenced not solely by hatred of misbelief but by criminal propensities of a grosser kind: the despot's lust of unlimited power, the hierarch's lust of ascend-

ancy and wealth. Philip II was not only a persecutor, he was a murderer and an adulterer. He hired assassins to take the life of his noble enemy William the Silent. It is by no means certain that the propensity to religious murder was universal or even general among the people of that day. Nor was morality on this subject without a witness. Erasmus, invoking the judgment of Europe on the execution of Sir Thomas More, pleaded that no one during More's chancellorship had suffered death for heresy. More in his *Utopia* advocates the broadest principle of religious toleration. Can it be supposed that William the Silent or Henry IV would have burned people alive for misbelief? Was not the reaction in England against Queen Mary and her religion largely caused by the fires of Smithfield?

Comte's series of historic epochs, distinguished by the progress of ideas from the theological and the metaphysical to the positive, cannot, it seems to me, be really identified; though, like many theories incapable of perfect verification, it has shed important light on the subject. The identification of the metaphysical era is especially difficult. But I must not attempt the discussion of this complicated question here. I confine myself to the recognition of Comte's merits as an earnest thinker and a devoted servant of humanity. Vico's theory of historic cycles now hardly calls for examination; though Vico may claim the honor of having been the first to treat history philosophically, unless we include in philosophies of history a religious survey such as that of Bossuet or an observation of political sequences such as that in the *Politics* of Aristotle.

The crown of science is prediction. Were history a science, it would enable us to predict events. It is needless to say that the forecast of even the most sagacious of public men is often totally at fault with regard to the immediate future. On the brink of the great Revolutionary wars Pitt looked forward with confidence to a long continuance of peace. Palmerston, if he was rightly reported, deemed the cause of German unification hopeless at the moment when Bismarck was coming on the scene and unification was at hand.

The philosophy of history, on the other hand, without affecting the character or claiming the prerogatives of a science, but simply resting on the identity of human nature, traces past effects to their causes and from the continuance or recurrence of the cause predicts a recurrence of the effect. It discloses the interaction and the nature of all the forces and influences of which past history has been the outcome, ranging them in their order and trying to assign to each its part in the product. It frequently takes the form of separate treatises. But no historical work which shows the sequence of

events, nothing in short that is really history and not merely a chronicle, can be without philosophy.

Writers on the philosophy of history are in danger of overstating the effect of some particular cause the importance of which they are or seem to themselves to be the first to recognize. Buckle, for instance, in a work which produced a great effect in its day, seems sometimes to overrate the influence of natural phenomena of a striking kind in the formation of national character. He traces, for example, the religious character of the Spaniards to the impression made on them by the terrors of volcanoes and earthquakes. But there appear to be no records to show that in the formative period of Spanish character volcanic phenomena greatly prevailed. The religious character of the Spaniard was formed largely by the long conflict with the Moors, as was that of the Russians by the long conflict with the heathen Tartars. Volcanic phenomena do not seem to have affected the character of the Japanese. Italian character in its Roman phase was, and in its Catholic phase is, the manifest outcome of historical causes quite independent of Vesuvius. Among the sources of Scotch character Buckle reckons the influence of thunder-storms and of the reverberations of the thunder among the mountains. But the mountains are in the Celtic Highlands, and the Scottish character is that of the Lowland Teuton; not to say that, if I may trust the experience of a shooting-season, thunder-storms are far from frequent among the Scotch mountains. The backwardness of native American civilization is ascribed to absence of animals of draft or burden. That may have been a partial cause. But the ruined cities of Central America show that much might have been done by human labor; so apparently do the great monuments of Egypt.

I have read an ingenious work on the philosophy of history which ascribes everything to the struggle for subsistence and the conflict between economical classes to which it gives birth. The theory is taken as the key even to religious revolutions, such as that of England in the time of Charles I. The landowners, it is remarked, were mainly on the one side, the yeomanry on the other. Only to a limited extent was this the fact. But it can hardly be questioned that religious convictions and the political tendencies allied with them were the fundamental motives. Subsistence is of course the basis of all, and the division into economical classes is of the highest importance. But the sharpness of the division and its influence on the course of civilization are capable of overstatement. Not all consumers are producers, though the vast majority of them are, but all producers must be consumers; so society can hardly be divided on

that line. The vast and infinitely complex frame with its boundless variety of influences and circumstances, while it affords abundant matter for fruitful remark, defies sweeping generalization. None of the sweeping generalizations, at least so far, has held its ground.

Again, we have a philosopher of mark who holds the apparently paradoxical doctrine that man has advanced by disregarding the dictates of his individual reason. That progress has been largely due to the action of man against his propensities and his apparent interest is true enough. All self-sacrifice, patriotic devotion, and religious martyrdom may be so described. But reason comprehends the whole of the mental antecedents to action, whether selfish or unselfish or of whatever kind they may be; and we can no more act against the whole of the mental antecedents to action than a man can jump out of his skin.

Of Carlyle, what is to be said? Is his view of history to be called philosophy or poetry? A serious philosophy of history it certainly cannot be called. "As I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these."¹ This evidently is not philosophy. Great men were not creators, but the consummate products of their generation, giving its tendencies the fullest expression, and reacting upon it by the force of their genius. But they were its offspring, not its creators. What would Odin, if there was such a man, have been without Norse tendencies and beliefs? What would Mahomet have been without Arabian tribalism, Judaism, and Christianity? What would Luther have been without the ferment of spiritual insurrection against Rome which had long before produced Wycliffe? What would Shakespeare have been without the Elizabethan era, Voltaire without his century, Napoleon without the Revolution and the outbreak of military adventure which ensued? Carlyle's preaching has been well described as an alterative. His sentiment was a revolt, and probably a seasonable revolt, against triumphant and self-complacent democracy in all its phases, historical as well as actual, intellectual as well as political and social. Democracy's thirty millions of voters to Carlyle seem

¹ *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Lecture 1.

mostly fools, owing everything that is good or sensible about them to the great men, who he says are "sent" into the world, not born of it, to be its guiding lights. There is no doubt that democratic optimism and the worship of the ballot-box after the triumph of Parliamentary reform in England had about them something repulsive, particularly to Carlyle. Both his antipathy and his worship were carried to the pitch almost of frenzy. Cromwell, generally humane in war, deploras the slaughter at Drogheda as a sad necessity. Carlyle exults in it and asks us whether we dare wed the heaven's lightning. But it is in his *Frederick the Great* that his fancy breaks all bounds. Frederick's ability, military or political, nobody questions. As a king he was progressive, made good reforms, such as the abolition of torture, and above all proclaimed liberty of conscience. On the other hand, he went to war, as himself avowed, to win himself a name, and, having no title to Silesia other than his worshiper's mystic "destiny", plunged Europe into a war of twenty years. Carlyle puts morality under his idol's feet. When sophistry breaks down, he flies off into rhapsody. There is a memorable passage in *Sartor Resartus* denouncing and deriding the barbarism of war. But in the *Frederick the Great* humanity disappears and gives place to a sentiment bordering on the brutal.

At the same time let me emphatically acknowledge Carlyle's greatness as a teacher of history. In picturesqueness he has hardly a peer. Still more strikingly unique and a greater mark of genius are the breadth and boldness with which he presents the whole of humanity with all its weaknesses and absurdities, with its comic and laughable as well as its tragic and pathetic side. This is an invaluable feature of his *History of the French Revolution*, a work which, though perhaps not strictly accurate in all its details, is in depth of insight, in breadth of treatment, as well as in picturesqueness and vividness still without a rival. I would venture to commend it as a valuable training in its way for the historic sense.

To lay down any rules for the writing of history seems impossible. The style must vary with the subject, with the genius of the writer, with the intelligence of the reader. To be generally read any work must obviously be interesting to ordinary minds. There is perhaps rather a tendency in this scientific and sociological age to underrate the value of narrative skill. Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, which is treated as the paragon, is indeed admirable and invaluable as a work of research. But for anybody but an earnest student it is hardly readable. Hume has been severely lashed by Freeman and others of that austere school for his inaccuracies; no doubt with justice. But it is to be borne in mind

that by the attractiveness of his style and his art as a narrator he made history popular and has imparted to countless readers a knowledge of it, true as to the main facts, though in some particulars incorrect. The same may be said of Robertson, whose *Charles the Fifth* is a broad and luminous treatment of a great subject, superseded no doubt in many respects by writers who have had access to further information, yet a good service rendered to the study of history in its day. Moreover, to instruct, touch, and elevate humanity a history must be human. It must be a lively presentation of character and action. Sociology is a thing by itself. So is every historical treatise written on the sociological principle. So are those special treatises on an infinite variety of subjects in which character and action have no place. If history ever does become science, a historical work will take the form of a scientific treatise. Reasons have been offered for doubting whether that day will ever come.

Macaulay, himself the most brilliant of historians, in his essay on "History" says that to be a really great historian is perhaps the rarest of intellectual distinctions. "The cause", he says, "may easily be assigned. This province of literature is a debateable land. It lies on the confines of two distinct territories. It is under the jurisdiction of two hostile powers; and, like other districts similarly situated, it is ill-defined, ill cultivated, and ill regulated. Instead of being equally shared between its two rulers, the Reason and the Imagination, it falls alternately under the sole and absolute dominion of each. It is sometimes fiction. It is sometimes theory. History, it has been said, is philosophy teaching by examples. Unhappily what the philosophy gains in soundness and depth, the examples generally lose in vividness. A perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque. Yet he must control it so absolutely as to content himself with the materials which he finds, and to refrain from supplying deficiencies by additions of his own. He must be a profound and ingenious reasoner. Yet he must possess sufficient self-command to abstain from casting his facts in the mould of his hypothesis. Those who can justly estimate these almost insuperable difficulties will not think it strange that every writer should have failed, either in the narrative or in the speculative department of history."¹

Here, I think, we have a specimen of that love of antithesis which is rather a weakness of Macaulay. Setting aside Macaulay himself, it surely would be hard to say of Gibbon that he had failed in combining the philosophic with the narrative element. Exception may

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, May, 1828, 331.

reasonably be taken to his philosophy as an inadequate and unfair treatment of Christianity, the really great motive-power of the period. But the art with which the philosophy is combined with the narrative seems to be complete. The same apparently may be said of Tacitus, whose style is unapproachable, partly perhaps because the language in which he wrote was imperial. The loss of the greater part of Tacitus's works is the greatest calamity of literature. Thucydides employs as the vehicles of his philosophy fictitious speeches, for which Macaulay severely censures him. But Thucydides can hardly be said to pretend that the speeches are real; and his employment of them may be regarded with interest as the first attempt at a philosophy of history.

We must expect writers of history to be of their age and country. In the sentiment and style of Mommsen's *History of Rome* we perceive Germany passing from the metaphysical to the militant and hear the tramp of the German armies marching on Paris. Voltaire, Hume, Renan, Gibbon, Michelet, and on the other hand Montalembert, are redolent of the influences of their time.

I must not omit to mention so important an event in the study of history as the appearance of the *Cambridge Modern History*, planned by the late Lord Acton and commenced under the auspices of that prince of students. The work seems to be truly described in the introduction as a "series of monographs, conceived on a connected system," which, "instead of presenting a collection of fragments, possesses a definite unity of its own. . . . Each separate writer treats of a subject with which he is familiar, and is freed from any other responsibility than that of setting forth clearly the salient features of . . . [his] period. . . . He may follow any line of investigation of his own, and may supply links of connexion at his will. He may receive suggestions from different minds, and may pursue them. . . . He is free at the same time from the aridity of a chronological table. . . . Each subject or period has a natural coherence of its own."¹ Complete harmony among the minds of different contributors cannot be expected. Nor can we look for the interest of a flowing and lively narrative. What the work rather claims to be is an aid to exact and comprehensive study, and this function it may be expected to perform. There is a copious bibliography for each part. I cannot pass by the work due to the inspiration of my illustrious friend without deploring, as a student of history, the immense treasure of historic knowledge which has been buried in that grave.

Let us treat the subject as we may, scientifically, philosophically, or in any other method, what can we make of the history of man?

¹ *The Cambridge Modern History*, I, 5.

Is the race the creation of a directing Providence, or a production of blind Nature on this planet, fortuitous in its course and in its end? We have, preceding the birth of man, eons, it may be almost said, of abortion; eons of animal races which destroyed each other or perished on the primeval globe; a glacial era; man at length brought into existence, but remaining, perhaps for countless generations, a savage, and afterward a barbarian; wild tribal conflicts and cataclysms of barbarian conquest. Then comes the dawn of civilization, which even now has spread over only a portion of the race, and even for that portion has been retarded and marred by wars, revolutions, persecutions, crimes and aberrations of every kind, besides plagues, earthquakes, and other calamities of nature. Through all this mankind, or at least the leading members of the race, have been struggling onward to social, moral, perhaps spiritual life. Are things tending to a result answerable to the long preparation, the immense effort, and the boundless suffering which the preparation and the effort have involved? Or will the end of all be the physical catastrophe which science tells us must close the existence of the material scene? That question not even a *Cambridge Modern History* attempts to answer.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

METHODS OF WORK IN HISTORICAL SEMINARIES

THE historical seminary is now thoroughly domesticated in America. An entire generation has passed since it was first introduced, and we have already left behind the period of callow youth.¹ It is no longer supposed, I think, that its methods, or what may pass as its methods, are in place in every stage of education from the grammar-school up, or that its name may be rightly applied to all sorts of exercises, from genial comment on some standard historian by the instructor, to a club which listens to occasional papers from its members and lectures from distinguished visitors, or to the private consultation hour of the professor. We have come to recognize more intelligently the real purpose and plan of the seminary and to understand the methods of work which are proper to it.

No one is likely, I think, to dispute the proposition that the true object of seminary work is to train the historical investigator. This does not mean that every member of the seminary is expected to become a writer of history from the sources, or cherishes indeed such an ambition; but trained critical judgment, which is as valuable to

¹ The earliest true seminary work done in this country, so far as I have been able to ascertain, although it was not called by that name, was that done under the direction of Professor Henry Adams, of Harvard University, in 1874-1876, which resulted in the publication of the volume of *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* in 1876 by himself and his pupils. A description of the way in which this work was conducted, which I owe to the kindness of Professor J. Laurence Laughlin, makes it clear that it was seminary work of a high order of merit, as may easily be seen from the *Essays*, and that it was a combination of the methods which I have numbered two and three. The historical seminary by that name was first introduced into this country in the University of Michigan by Professor Charles Kendall Adams in 1871. See H. B. Adams, *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, Bureau of Education, 1887, pp. 104-110, and W. Dawson Johnston in the *Inlander*, students' monthly of the University of Michigan, December, 1896, pp. 104-113. It is evident, however, from Professor C. K. Adams's account of the work done in his seminary during its earlier years that it hardly comes under the description of the seminary given above. See Adams, *The Study of History*, 109, and Johnston, in the *Inlander*, 1896, p. 106. It was made up of undergraduate students, it studied general and not special problems, and its object was the training of the citizen and the lawyer rather than the historical scholar. It was a very great improvement, however, on the undergraduate instruction usual at that day, and there is no doubt that the example of Professor Adams in taking this step had great influence on the introduction of the true seminary. Probably the strongest influence exerted to this end was that of Professor Herbert B. Adams during the early years of his connection with Johns Hopkins University.

the secondary-school instructor as to the university professor, is the incidental though necessary result of seminary work which is sought by all. The primary object is not to teach the facts of history but to teach the correct methods of dealing with the raw material from which the facts must be determined; of first judging its character and value; then of extracting from it all that it has to tell us, and not more than this; of determining as accurately as possible the degree of probability which attaches to the result; and finally of combining the conclusions reached into a systematic and comprehensive whole. An essential characteristic of the work is the practice of these methods together by a number of students of about the same stage of advancement, and the resulting mutual criticism and stimulus of mind by mind. Any process by which the same results are reached in the individual student by himself, however effective it may be in scholarly training, is not properly to be called seminary work. Nor, in fact, are any of the incidental results—such as a knowledge of bibliography and the tools of the trade, or the ability to distinguish among the new books appearing from time to time those of real and serious scholarship from those that have the form but not the substance—valuable as these may be considered, the direct objects sought. The real object of seminary work is the training of the investigator, and the methods to be considered here are those that have this for their result and no others.

The methods most frequently employed in historical seminaries may, I think, be brought into three classes, which I name from what seems to be a distinguishing characteristic of each:¹ (1) the intensive analysis method, in which the work consists primarily in the minute scrutiny and comparison of a small body of closely-related material, or even of a single document; (2) the comparison and combination method, in which a group of connected sources of considerable extent, or a single one like a chronicle, is made the foundation of a series of studies; and (3) the essay method, in which the work is done in essays on assigned topics prepared by members of the seminary.

The characterization of seminary methods attempted in these names can be considered satisfactory only in a rough and tentative way, but it may perhaps serve the purpose of a preliminary classi-

¹ In this, which is, so far as I know, a first attempt at classifying the methods commonly employed in seminary instruction, I cannot hope to have reached a final result, either in describing all the species of method, or in correctly indicating the points of strength or weakness in each, nor even perhaps in the number and distinguishing marks of the genera formed. I shall be greatly obliged if instructors and students of experience will send me such suggestions and criticisms as occur to them.

fication. The description attached to the names is also to be regarded as generic only. Under each of the classes will be found in practice a considerable number of species—more or less varying forms, but having in common the characteristics named. There will also be found some forms in which the characteristics of two, possibly of all three, of these classes have been adopted. Such variations may be disregarded as not affecting the purpose here in view; in general, from emphasizing the method of one or the other class, they fall in reality into that class.

By the term intensive analysis I have intended to characterize that method in which the work during each session of the seminary consists chiefly in the minute and careful internal analysis of a single document or of a group of closely-related documents or passages by all the members of the seminary working in common. After the preliminary study of the character and history of the material used, the object of the work is to extract from it the utmost that it may be made to yield, directly or by inference, each document singly or by a comparison of several; to ascertain the dividing line between safe and unsafe inference in each instance; and to formulate the result in as definite a conclusion as possible. It is especially characteristic of this method that each member of the seminary is expected to contribute voluntarily his judgment, reasons, or objections, or may be at any moment called upon for them. In seminaries of this class it is not necessary, and it often is not the case, that the topic of one week's work should be related to that of another, but a semester's work may easily be made to follow a systematic line of development if desired. It is also never the case that special assignments are made to individual members of the seminary.¹ The same material and problems are assigned to all; and, while every man must prepare himself in advance—and the more successfully the instructor conducts the course the more complete must be the preparation—it is essential that the whole work, from raw material to conclusion, should be carried on during the hours of the session by all.

Seminaries employing mainly or wholly these methods are far less numerous than those using the forms of the second and third

¹The advantage of individual assignment is that more thorough and complete study is possible, which serves, so far as that one preparation goes, as a better training for the student and as an example and model to the other members of the course. This advantage can be secured in this method of work only by making the subject of each exercise a comparatively brief one, by carefully selecting such documents as are capable of thorough study in a short time, and by supplementing the work which the members of the seminary have done in preparation by the work which is done during the session. It must be noticed, however, that this advantage is only one, and that not the most important, of the many to be sought in seminary work.

classes. Peculiar and not very common qualities are demanded of the instructor if the work is to be made successful. He must himself possess the power of minute and keen analysis, of sharp insight into the meaning of his material. He must be able to see readily the bearing of one portion of it on another or of different documents on each other, and also to see quickly and clearly what is implied but not said in the language used. And yet this must be all under the control of a sound faculty of critical judgment, constantly exercised in all directions, which will not allow these processes to be carried too far, and especially will not suffer too much to be seen which is not expressed—the peculiar danger of this method of investigation. He must be willing to make very thorough preparation of his material in advance and to hold back his conclusions while his seminary works through to conclusions of its own, and even to hold his own freely subject to modification or rejection in view of the new suggestions constantly coming forward. He must be able to weigh quickly the value of such new suggestions, to help onward the half-formed thought and to expose the weakness of the wrong or fruitless suggestion, to impress on every one the points of criticism and method constantly arising, and to keep the work moving rapidly and all the members of the seminary at work to the full.

It is probably true that in this list of qualities I have stated the ideal rather than anything that has ever been attained in actual practice, but it is certainly true that qualities like these are demanded to make this method successful.¹ With them or something near them,

¹ At the time I was at the University of Leipzig, it was a student tradition that the seminary method of Professor Wilhelm Arndt, which was of this class, was one which he had learned in the seminary of Professor Georg Waitz, and that it reproduced by direct descent through him Ranke's original seminary method. That this was Waitz's only seminary method can, I think, hardly be true. See Monod, *Portraits et Souvenirs* (Paris, 1897), 101. Waitz's own description of his seminary method, with its brief remark about Ranke's, and showing that this was a favorite but not the sole method with him, is worth quoting at length, as it is not easy of access:

"Einen bestimmten Schriftsteller gelesen haben wir bei Ihnen zu meiner Zeit nicht, dass ich erinnere: später soll es häufiger geschehen sein. Ich habe nur in einzelnen Semestern an einen oder den andern mittelalterlichen Autor angeknüpft, Nithard, Liudprand, Adam von Bremen. Zu andern Zeiten haben uns Rechtsdenkmäler, Stellen der Lex Salica, des Sachsenspiegels, oder wichtigere Urkunden der Verfassungsgeschichte, die Constitutio de expeditione Romana, der Landfriede von 1235, das Decret über die Papstwahl, die Magna Carta, beschäftigt. Lieber noch habe ich kleine oder grössere Untersuchungen über einzelne Fragen der Quellenkritik oder der Geschichte selbst in den Zusammenkünften vorgenommen und habe sie schrittweise mit den Theilnehmern durchgeführt: manche kleine Abhandlung, die später veröffentlicht ward, ist so entstanden. Besonderen Werth aber habe ich immer darauf gelegt, dass die älteren Mitglieder selbständige Arbeiten unternahmen. Die Wahl des Gegen-

this method of seminary work is without question, I think, far the most effective in teaching the details of historical criticism and in training the critical judgment. No other raises so many different points and so many different kinds of points in the seminary session; no other goes so completely over the whole field of method or requires of the members of the seminary such constant exercise of scientific judgment under the sharp criticism of others. It has, however, one serious defect. It gives little, almost no, opportunity for constructive work. The problems which it discusses are usually limited in scope; it is not always easy to employ it, in its simple form, in such a way as to cover all the necessary details of a long and systematic development of either institutions or events; and it does not often give results that admit of more than brief statement. True constructive work, the process of creating out of an extensive and complicated mass of materials a well-proportioned and critically sound account, in which certainly the coming historian should have the best of training, it gives but little opportunity to practise.

The question is sometimes asked, whether the process of minute analysis which this method especially emphasizes can be applied to the material of modern history, and whether training of this sort is necessary to the modern historian. That there is a difference in character between the material of modern and of medieval history is certainly true. For one thing, the statements of modern sources are more full, more words are used, the whole thought is more nearly expressed, and there is less taken for granted which has to be extracted by the process of inference. For another thing, the sources bearing on the given historical transaction are likely to be far more numerous and of a larger number of kinds. What one leaves unsaid will in all probability be said by another; the student

standes überlasse ich gerne jedem selbst: auch das ist schon ein Theil der Arbeit. . . . So weit es geht, haben die Mitglieder unter einander Kritik zu üben; wo das nicht ausreicht, suche ich selber nachzuhelfen, . . . [This practice leads often to remote subjects.] . . . Nicht alle werden denn an der Besprechung des Einzelnen selbständigen Antheil nehmen können, und ich habe das manchmal als Uebelstand empfunden; doch wird für Erörterung specieller Fragen, der Behandlungsweise überhaupt, der Kritik, der Auffassung, auch der Darstellung, hier immer am ersten und besten Gelegenheit sein: jeder muss eben suchen daraus den möglichsten Vortheil zu ziehen." *Die Historischen Uebungen zu Göttingen. Glückwunschschriften an Leopold von Ranke zum Tage der Feier seines Fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläums, 20. Februar, 1867.*

Whatever may be the worth of the student tradition, there can be no question that the influence of Professor Arndt's seminary on the students who formed it was profound. This fact is attested by the unusually large proportion of dedications to him of doctoral dissertations in all fields of history. See the description of his seminary methods which I gave in a letter to the *Nation*, XLIX, 252-253.

is far less likely to pass over some essential feature of the case because his analysis of his material has been defective. The peculiar training which this method of seminary work ought to give in especial degree is less necessary for the investigator who proposes to do his work in modern history than for the medievalist; that it is really of great importance for him also admits of no question. The habit of questioning one's material sharply for its full meaning with the keen perception of a trained analyzer, whatever sort of material it may be, is of the greatest value; and some modern material, like letters, *ex parte* statements, etc., demands such questioning as much as medieval documents. But analysis is not the sole nor indeed the chief object of this method; the general sharpening of the critical faculty, which is in peculiar degree its result, and the practice which it gives in all sorts of method, make some training in the processes of intensive analysis of value to the worker in every field of history.

In the second class I have intended to group those methods in which, to describe a typical form, some one text, alone or with a closely-related group of texts, is made the basis of a long-continued study, the object being not merely the close scrutiny of the text so used, but also the correction and enlargement of the results obtained from it by evidence drawn from many subsidiary sources. The especial characteristic of this method is less that of internal analysis than in the first class, but is rather that of comparison and combination, the specific object being to determine just what modification, what rejections, corrections, or additions, should be made to the text that is made the foundation of the course by information derived from the other sources. It finds its usual application to narratives covering a considerable period, like chronicles, the reports of an ambassador, a diary, a series of letters, or any similar body of continuous material. In some cases a single text is made to furnish the sole material of study; but such seminaries, if effective, are apt to fall rather into the first class; and, if ineffective, they are apt to degenerate into exercises but little if any better than ordinary college recitations and should then be omitted from consideration. The essential mark of this class should be critical comparison and combination. Seminaries in which specific problems, either unconnected or forming a connected series, proposed by instructor or students or suggested by the literature of the subject, are studied by bringing together and examining the possible sources, and those in which the history of an age or of a historical movement is made the subject of a similar examination belong in this class if the main work of comparison and combination is done in the seminary session, although no one source may be made the cen-

tral core of the study. The object of the work is still to arrive at definite conclusions from a critical comparison of the whole body of materials on which a conclusion must be based, and the method, therefore, does not essentially depart from that of the second main class as I have already described it.

In these seminaries individual assignments are almost unavoidable. If any considerable series of events is to be covered and a rather large mass of material to be brought together in comparison—and both these are presupposed—it is impossible that every student should do all the work, or that all the work be done during the hours of session. A part of the whole is assigned, some time in advance, to each man, who makes as careful preparation as he knows how. This is most often done in one of two ways. In one the student makes for his particular portion or period of the general subject a comparison and analysis of all the material, and presents in his turn the results to the seminary, his report forming the subject of the discussion at one meeting. This presentation is offhand, not in written form. If the reports are made in essay form, that fact so decidedly affects the method of discussion and criticism that a seminary in which it is done must be transferred to the third class, or at least must be considered as a combination of the second and third.¹ The presentation is therefore informal, it is constantly interrupted by questions and criticism, and that portion of the work which is really a scientific process is done in the presence of the seminary, and is to some extent shared in by all. The outside work of the student has spared the seminary the more mechanical parts of the labor and separated the critical portion for study by itself. In the second form each student takes as his especial responsibility one of the sources to be compared for the whole period, examines it critically, prepares himself on its character and history, and on the

¹ By the essay, as the term is used in this article, is not meant the written report on some topic incidental to the progress of the work and called for in its course, as, for example, in the case supposed above, where a member of the seminary might be asked to report, in writing if he chooses, on the writer of one of the sources, his date, biography, character, means of information, etc. It refers rather to the formal statement of the results of an extended special investigation as the method by which the seminary chiefly does its work. Though not contemplated directly as a part of the method itself, constructive work is far more easily attached to this form of seminary than to the first, and not infrequently a seminary is a combination of this method and the third in about equal proportions: i. e., upon an extended preliminary study of the material as described, a series of essays is prepared by the members of the seminary, which then offers material for criticism of constructive work. See the *Beispiele von Anfängerübungen* given by Professor Ernst Bernheim in his *Entwurf eines Studienplans für das Fach der Geschichte und die damit verbundenen Nebenfächer* (Greifswald, 1901).

relation which it bears in general to the other sources, and represents his particular source in the meetings of the seminary. In this method the work of actual comparison, and of reaching a result based on all the sources, is done in the sessions by all the members of the seminary together. Here the essay is impossible, and an important part of each week's work may be regularly expected from each member.

It is, however, in the necessity of individual assignment that the weakness of this method under both forms lies. It is not an uncommon case, particularly in seminaries of the first subdivision, that most of the members of the seminary make no outside preparation except on their portion of the material. In consequence intelligent question and criticism come only from the instructor and from one or two who have taken the pains to study the whole material, and for the majority the exercise is one of observation, not one in which they themselves go through the work. In seminaries of the second subdivision this is equally true of all that portion of the work which goes before the actual comparison, very often the only portion that can be made to involve some of the most important critical training—the determining of the value of the individual text and of the relation in which it ought scientifically to stand to the whole body of material used. The only defense against this weakness is to be found, as in all such cases, in the instructor. If he has the power of inciting an interest in the general subject as it unfolds from week to week, of bringing out clearly every detail of it, and of keeping all at work during the session hour, it may be in great degree overcome. It must be said, however, that the incompetent instructor who finds himself obliged to conduct a seminary course sometimes finds in this method a refuge from his difficulties, and is able to give the appearance of work to what has little of the reality. I have seen seminaries of this type in operation which seemed to me to have practically no value, but it is true that this method is not that most often chosen to conceal, perhaps from oneself, a lack of ability to do the real work for which the seminary is intended. For training in continuous narrative history it is, in my opinion, under a competent instructor the best of the three methods, easily made to cover more completely the necessary points of method than the third, and more naturally to form the basis of constructive work than the first.

In the third class I would put together those forms of the seminary in which the work consists chiefly in the preparation of essays on assigned topics, which are then read to the seminary and subjected to its criticism. Nearly all the seminaries of this class fall into one or the other of two subdivisions: first, those in which each

essay is based on an independent body of source-material, whether the subjects are chosen without reference to one another, like preliminary studies in the preparation of doctor's theses; or are all drawn from the same period, like the Renaissance or the eighteenth century, but each concerned with a separate fragment of the whole; or from some historical movement, like the history of slavery in the United States, but each confined to one of its distinct phases. In the second subdivision are those forms in which a common body of source-material furnishes the subjects of all the essays, whether this material is taken up by each student independently, or, as is more commonly the case, is subjected to a more or less complete preliminary study by the whole seminary before the assignment of individual topics. If this common study is extensive and minute, the seminary may then become a combination of classes two and three, though still essentially belonging to three. But all forms of this group have in common one characteristic, that the scientific processes by which the student reaches his results are not subjected to the criticism of instructor and fellow-students until they are presented to the seminary as a completed whole in a formal essay. The individual does his work of collection, criticism, and combination by himself, and the processes which he has followed in this work are revealed to the seminary only indirectly and by inference in the finished product.¹

From this fact comes the peculiar difficulty in making this method of seminary instruction equally effective with the other two in the actual training of the scholar, if it is the sole method employed. Everything depends on the character of the criticism to which the essay is subjected when it is presented to the seminary. It is true of course that in every seminary method the most important element of success is the criticism of the individual's suggestions and results which goes on during the seminary session, but here it is peculiarly so as being practically the only means of instruction. If the criticism tears the essay completely to pieces, brings out its methods of collection, comparison, and combination, exposes the faults or merits

¹ Droysen's reasons for preferring the essay method were thus stated by Professor Godefroid Kurth soon after his return to Belgium from a visit to the German universities: essays seem to give more consistency to the student's studies, and to leave a certain permanent result; they furnish more readily the subject of a discussion; they enable one to appreciate more easily the student's power and his scientific ability; and finally they permit his fellow-students to profit more largely by his efforts. See Kurth's article in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique in Belgique*, N. S., XIX, 93 (1876). Kurth adopted in the main the essay method, and through him it had great influence on seminary instruction in Belgium. See the volume *À Godefroid Kurth* (Liège, n. d., 1898?), dedicated to him by his pupils.

of method in these processes, and of order, perspective, and formulation in the final result, then it is accomplishing fully the work intended. Criticism of this sort, however, is by no means easy and is sometimes not possible. In the first place, it requires from the critic a knowledge of the material on which the essay is based equal, or nearly equal, to that of the writer, and this is provided for, in the case of the student at least, in some forms only of this class. In the second place, it requires the peculiar rhetorical faculty of detecting in the completed essay the processes of construction, and of bringing them out in the criticism in such a way as to make clear the faults of method; and this is a very rare gift, as the history of the English department of any university will probably show.¹ But more important still is the fact that, in America at least, instructors will in most cases hesitate at that sharpness of analysis and criticism which is really necessary if it is to be most useful, and that the student will hardly endure it. We are too thin-skinned a race to enforce or submit to this method in its most effective form. The sort of criticism which goes on sometimes in German seminaries of this class would, I think, be impossible in this country unless in exceptional cases; and, while it would be quite possible to divest the process of some of its European harshness without loss, it would be exceedingly difficult for the American instructor or student to acquire that feeling of impersonalness in the matter which is most essential. Really effective criticism is far more easy in the constant give-and-take natural to the forms of seminary work that are concerned primarily with the process rather than the result. It is then a part of the game to which each in quick turn submits, the instructor like the student if he is really leading the work as he should.

These considerations tend, in my opinion, to the conclusion that where the object is to give the student instruction and practice in the methods of historical criticism, in the correct preparation, analysis, and combination of his material, and thorough discipline of the critical judgment, the essay method is likely to be the least useful and in some cases of no use at all. If the student is to obtain his sole training in seminaries of a single type only, this is the least effective of the three. To this must be added the fact that it is in this form of seminary that the inefficient instructor gets most easily an apparent success. The selection of a series of topics from a mass

¹ In some seminaries of the essay class the attempt is made to overcome the difficulty of getting adequate criticism by requiring each essay to be submitted some time before it is to be read, and committing it in the meantime to some other member of the seminary, who is to study it carefully and prepare a more or less formal criticism of it. This method does not meet all the difficulties, but it is deserving of attention as a helpful expedient.

of material, or from a historical period, is not difficult; the writing of an essay, even without thorough critical training, is soon accomplished, perhaps more easily where thorough critical training is lacking; and a more or less superficial criticism of the result may easily leave on the minds of both instructor and student the impression of a considerable success, while the real work for which the seminary is intended is left undone. The general prevalence of the essay method of work, tending as it has during the last twenty years to supersede all other methods and to become a kind of fashion, ought to occasion, I think, serious thought to all who are interested in maintaining a high standard of university instruction in history. The difficulty of combining with it discipline in the primary processes of investigation and of making it the vehicle of an adequate criticism, together with the ease with which it may lead to an apparent success, should suggest the question whether the efficiency of the seminary is not in danger, whether it is not indeed even now ceasing to some extent to accomplish the results upon which in large part depends the future of historical investigation. It is often said that no other method is possible in a large seminary, but this is, I think, a mistaken opinion. It depends entirely on the instructor, and though in the methods which I have numbered one and two success is not so easy with thirty as with ten, it is by no means impossible, as I can bear witness from personal observation. Increasing numbers are in themselves a danger, however, and I doubt if by any method the seminary can obtain its best results with a membership of more than twenty.

On the other hand, if the student has behind him his training in historical method and has acquired the necessary maturity of critical judgment, so that the process that he follows in the collection of his material no longer needs supervision and criticism, it is also my opinion that this method is the best of all for teaching what needs to be learned and can be taught of historical constructive work, the process of putting together the results already reached by an earlier critical study into a well-proportioned and comprehensive whole. Not much of this faculty can indeed be imparted by instruction. It is in this particular, if in any, that the saying is true that the scholar is born and not made. And yet, if it is possible to keep always in mind the fact that the peculiar usefulness of the essay method is in the field of constructive work, it is a very important part of the scholar's training.

It is my own feeling that if, in the organization of its advanced history work, a university finds itself able to provide a well-led seminary of the first type, and also another of that form of the third in

which a body of material studied in common by way of introduction, and providing a common basis of knowledge for mutual criticism, furnishes topics for essays by all the members of the seminary, it will be in position to offer to its students the seminary advantages which are practically the best possible. In calling attention to the points of strength and weakness of each form of seminary here discussed, it has not been my purpose to criticize any form unfavorably, or to indicate a personal judgment in favor of one rather than another method. There is in my opinion no ideally best method. What is best in each case is a special question to be determined by the particular circumstances and by the preferences and capabilities of the instructor. It has rather been my purpose to point out what needs to be guarded against in each method, or supplemented by combination with another, in order to make its efficiency more nearly perfect. In the conduct of every seminary, of whatever form, there are, I think, three things that should always be striven for: (1) that each student should go through, as nearly as possible, all the work of the seminary himself and through all the processes and steps of historical method; (2) that in each session of the seminary every student, as nearly as possible, should take part in the work, and that no one should be allowed to fall back into the position of an observer; (3) that in all the work of the seminary there should be no let-up of adequate, searching, and severe but kindly criticism. These things seem to me essential to the highest success in any method, and with them any method will accomplish valuable results.

When all has been said, however, we must not overlook the fact that the seminary method is not the only one for the training of historical scholars. The name "seminary" has in itself no talismanic property. My own belief is that if the German universities had developed their higher instruction by a natural process of growth out of something like our early system of college recitations, as we should undoubtedly have done if our higher educational forms had grown up without influence from abroad, the seminary never would have existed as a distinct institution. Precisely the same result would have been accomplished in courses of study not distinguished by name or character from the ordinary work of the university,¹ and the work would have been done with equal efficiency and with less self-consciousness. As it is, we have the seminary, and the result is not to be regretted. But we should recognize the fact that

¹ This is practically what happens in courses in diplomacy and paleography. Many courses in the *École des Chartes*, and those of the London School of Economics and Political Science conducted by Mr. Hubert Hall, to mention only those of which I have some personal knowledge, are really seminary courses whether they bear the name or not, and this must be generally true, I think.

there are at least two other methods by which scholars are trained, perhaps always to be found where seminaries exist in universities worthy of the name, but in many cases the only methods. These may be called the methods of personal example and of private consultation and advice.¹ Probably in the real training of the best historical workers these things have had as much influence as any other, and the cases are by no means few where they have constituted the sole training. If a man is born with the instincts of a scholar, the seed of a living example falls on good ground and brings forth much fruit. Such a man may indeed be carried further by the influence of personal example and by the private advice and direction of an older scholar than by class work alone, indispensable as this is for certain types of mind. If the seminary were on trial for its existence, its defense would be, not that it is the only method of training the scholar, but that it gives the best average result with the student body as a whole. The instructor who is in a position where he can control his human material, and refuse to do his best training work with anything but the best men, will probably be able to produce results more striking and more uniformly of a high order of merit than those who are differently situated.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

¹ The tutorial method of the English universities, so far as it employs original materials, seems not unlike a combination between the essay seminary, though with very small classes if in classes at all, and the method of private guidance. Its success in producing highly trained scholars no one can deny, though to the outsider it seems to be wastefully expensive in its use of the instructor's time.

THE EARLY LIFE OF OLIVER ELLSWORTH

AMERICANS nowadays display but little fondness for the earlier periods of our national history. Perhaps one reason is that along with our astounding growth in territory and power and wealth there has grown up in us a pride of mere bigness that makes us impatient of the little things it all began with. Another reason may be that we have wandered so far away—and more ways than one—from those ideals which the founders, whenever we turn back to them, seem to be forever holding up to us, not without an effect of warning and reproach. But I think that many of us may also be rendered skittish of Revolutionary history and biography from our distaste for the kind of fervor with which they are commended to us. The zeal displayed in celebrating the founders is too often merely partizan or merely academic or merely antiquarian—or merely feminine. Of late a journalistic impulse has set some rather clever pens to work, revamping our oldest stories, upsetting our most dignified traditions, and disturbing our reverence for our greatest national characters. But this brisk iconoclasm reflects too clearly the commercial motive which is now so dominant in all our journalism to take strong hold of any but a rather shallow class of minds.

In one way or another, however, by partizans or antiquaries, by learned professors or by clever space-writers, by pious descendants or by women's clubs, all but a very few of the leading actors in our earlier scenes have been from time to time sufficiently, if not always quite fittingly, bewritten and belauded. John Marshall's fame is still, it is true, for want of a competent biographer, one of the vaguest of our national possessions; and even of Washington there is not yet a written life of a preëminence comparable with that of his career and character. But I think no other in the whole list of Revolutionists and founders is at present in quite such danger of losing his right place and rank as Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut. Historians apart, and a few lawyers with a historical turn of mind, the chances are that not one in a hundred of his countrymen knows to-day a single fact about him, save that he was once, for a little while, chief justice of our highest court. Two brief accounts of him were published about the middle of the last century, but both belong to series of lives of the chief justices, now but little read.

Yet the truth is that if any one man can be called the founder, not of that court only, but of the whole system of federal courts, which many think the most successful of the three departments of our government, Ellsworth is the man. In the famous Convention which determined the entire framework of the government, he was one of the members whose names should always be associated both with the general character of the Constitution and with important specific clauses. To scholars it is known also, though the evidence is somewhat vaguer, that he had already done good service in the Continental Congress. In the first half-dozen years of Congress under the Constitution, when it was almost constantly engaged in constructive legislation second in importance only to the Convention's, his influence was so great that if any man could be called the leader of the Senate in that period it was he. His, also, was the leading rôle in one of two negotiations with foreign powers on which, even more than on domestic controversies, the safety of the young republic seemed for a long time to depend. For more than a quarter of a century, beginning with the nation's birth, he was, with scarce an interval, engaged with great affairs and in high places. That he was, for a few years, the head of the judiciary, before its work had reached a very high importance—this is by no means his chief title to remembrance. It is, rather, the most factitious of his claims. But if, on the other hand, it is not a mistake to count the founding and the working of governments among the noblest of all mundane enterprises, other and more solid services to his country demand for this colonial lawyer greater honor than has ever been his portion since his life-work was finished—now, nearly a century ago.

A word concerning the probable causes of the neglect of Ellsworth may not be amiss. If the accidental plays a part in life and in history, it plays at least an equal part in historiography and biography. Students of the history of literature know well enough how hard it is to secure for the contemporaries of the greatest masters their just award of fame. If Shakespeare had not lived when he did, a dozen poets and dramatists would doubtless be esteemed more highly than they are. In affairs the misfortune of the second-bests is quite as great. The contemporaries of Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson, or of Lincoln and Lee and Grant, lose by obscurity more than they gain in reflected luster. In nearly all his memorable activities Ellsworth was the associate of very famous men. In the Continental Congress he was often detailed for special services with Hamilton and Madison. In the Constitutional Convention none of the younger members could hope to make such a

figure as Washington and Franklin, while the actual lead in the debating fell most naturally to Madison and Randolph and Morris and Wilson. When he became a senator, Ellsworth's real leadership was never clear to his contemporaries, for the debates were secret, and men like Robert Morris and Richard Henry Lee were once again his fellows. As chief justice he followed Rutledge; but Rutledge's service was so short that Ellsworth might as well have had John Jay for his immediate predecessor; and his immediate successor, who held the place a third of a century, was probably the greatest judge in the whole long history of English and American jurisprudence. Turning his hand to diplomacy, Ellsworth made a very important treaty with France. But Jay's treaty with England, negotiated but a few years earlier, had become the target of the opposition in its fiercest attacks; it attained, therefore, by party controversy, a celebrity which neither Ellsworth's nor any other later treaty has ever rivaled. Even in his capacity of Connecticut leader and representative, Ellsworth was again and again the colleague of Roger Sherman, an elder if not a better statesman.

That he belonged to the little colony of Connecticut may also, not unreasonably, be set down as a sort of mishap to his fame. He himself was very far indeed from thinking it a misfortune. "I have visited several countries," he said, when he was growing old, "and I like my own the best. I have been in all the states of the Union, and Connecticut is the best state. Windsor is the pleasantest town in the State of Connecticut, and I have the pleasantest place in the town of Windsor. I am content, perfectly content, to die on the banks of the Connecticut."¹ But it is no controversion of his loyalty to hold that from the banks of the Charles or the Hudson or the Potomac he might have found a shorter path to eminence among his contemporaries and to the reverence of later generations. If he had lived in any one of the bigger colonies, leadership in Congress and Convention would doubtless have been easier to win. A New England worthy, he would have stood a better chance of competent literary celebration if he had belonged to Massachusetts. Americans from all quarters have long been content to learn their country's history from a group of writers who, since their own homes have been in eastern Massachusetts, naturally enough, and with a spirit that ought to be emulated rather than reviled, have guarded from oblivion the great men of their own famous commonwealth. Had Ellsworth been of these, he would doubtless have found a competent biographer among the men of letters of Boston

¹ "An opinion handed down by Oliver Ellsworth", which hangs in a frame beneath his bust in the drawing-room of his home at Windsor.

and Cambridge. But Connecticut, colonized in large part from the slightly older province, has too often been content to accept the place which the people of the Bay Colony assigned her, and to figure in history as a sort of *Hinterland* to Massachusetts. In later years her nearness to the still more populous and wealthy state of New York, and to the greatest of our cities, has affected in much the same way the popular notion of her importance. Referring to this disadvantage of her geographical situation, more than one Connecticut orator has compared the state to Issachar, "a strong ass crouching down between two burdens".¹ To many of us Connecticut still remains, therefore, in history as in geography, a little state between New York and Massachusetts. Ellsworth also remains what at one time, occupying a compromise position, he probably seemed to his contemporaries: an obscure figure of a statesman, between, let us say, John Adams and Alexander Hamilton.

Every day, hurrying in swift railroad trains from New York to Boston or from Boston to New York, hundreds of people thunder across the entire east-and-west extent of the intervening commonwealth. From north to south an ardent pedestrian has walked across it in a single day. Most travelers, passing over it, leave it still unvisited. Yet if one pauses for a closer view, there is much worth seeing in Connecticut. Though the visitor may know already the New York highlands and the Hudson river about West Point, even though he may also know the charm of Massachusetts's landscapes and the rugged splendors of her northern shore, he will wonder why one hears so little of the beautiful valley of the Connecticut.

For any one who cares to look into the history of Connecticut, there are equal surprises. There is in it the very essence of those New England ideals, the fullest exhibition of those New England characteristics, for which we oftener look, instead, to Massachusetts. It was the opinion of Alexander Johnston that Connecticut had so good a government as a colony, and had progressed so far in the experiment of democracy, that when the time came for our greater national experiment she presented the best of all the object-lessons which the founders had before them.² He held, accordingly, that to

¹ Colonel Wadsworth, in proceedings of Connecticut assembly, reported in *American Museum*, October, 1787, 398. Ellsworth, January 4, 1788, in convention to ratify the Constitution. Elliot, *Debates*, II, 186.

² Alexander Johnston, *Connecticut*, preface, viii, ix, and pp. 322-326. But in this REVIEW (IX, 480, note) Professor Max Farrand has pointed out that the evidence is wanting to prove that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 ever did take the Connecticut system as a model in any portion of its work. Johnston's contention that Connecticut afforded also an example of the successful working of the federal principle is, I suppose, no longer accepted by students of colonial history.

the general scheme of our government no other state contributed so much of what was new, of what was American. Such a claim, from such a source, is enough to arrest one's attention, even though the various chronicle of Massachusetts distract from one side, while on the other side there bulks the central importance of the greatest of our states and cities.

The ancient town of Windsor, a few miles north of Hartford, is at the center of Connecticut's most charming stretch of country. It is the center also of much of what is best and strongest in the traditions of the little commonwealth. "Ancient Windsor" now, the place was at least Old Windsor to the generation that fought the War of Independence. Along its main street, which follows for some miles a slight ridge or sand-bank parallel to the broad and straight Connecticut river, scores of colossal elms, and an extraordinary number of good colonial houses behind them, bear witness to its age. It was, in fact, one of the three towns with which Connecticut history began; and throughout the colonial period, the Revolution, and the early years of independence, it contributed to the service of the colony and the state a long list of honorable names. They are, with very few exceptions, names that clearly reveal the source of the first immigration in the great middle class of English society. The only perceptible admixtures are Scotch, or Scotch-Irish, and Huguenot French. On the gravestones of the old Windsor burial-ground one finds the epitaphs of generation after generation of Allens and Allyns, Bissells, Browns, Cookes, Drakes, Edwardses, Egglestons, Ellsworths, Enos, Filleys, Fitches, Gaylords (originally Gaillard and French), Gilletts (originally Gillette and also French), Grants, Griswolds, Haydens, Loomises, Mathers, Newberrys, Phelps, Pinneys, Rockwells, Sills, Stileses, Stoughtons, Thralls, and Wolcotts. The same names have appeared and reappeared at frequent intervals for two centuries and a half in the public records of the town, the colony, the state. Several have risen, on the wider field of the national service, to very high distinction. Generals and judges and admirals, inventors and men of letters, leaders in great business enterprises, congressmen and senators, and at least one President, have traced their descent from the men who came to Windsor when the country all about it was a wilderness. The two Windsor names which emerged into the clearest light between the settlement and the Revolution were those of Edwards and Wolcott. In that part of the town which lay to the eastward of "the great river", Jonathan Edwards was born; and for a hundred and fifty years there was scarcely a single Windsor generation that did not look to a Wolcott as the foremost citizen.

The first of the Ellsworths came about the middle of the seventeenth century. Whence he came is not precisely known; the best-derived conjecture is, from Yorkshire, where the name is still quite common.¹ Neither is it known precisely when he came, but the town records show that in November, 1654, he was married to Elizabeth Holcomb, and that, the same year, he bought a home in that part of Windsor which lay to the south of "the little river", as the Farmington was called, and to the west of "the great river". Ten years later, however, he moved across the little river to North Windsor and made his home on a plot of land which for two hundred and thirty-nine years remained in the hands of his descendants. From the town and church records we learn further that he was made a freeman in 1657, a juror in 1664, that in 1676 he gave three shillings for the relief of the poor of other colonies, and that when he died his estate was valued at £655—which, for the times and the country, was no mean sum. A curious list of taxpayers,² made in 1675, shows that for substance he ranked among the first of his contemporaries. There were five classes in all, and the highest class, each of whom possessed "a family, a horse [and] four oxen", numbered but twenty-nine. Ellsworth was of these. His gravestone adds to these proofs of his good standing a military title somewhat more distinguished in the seventeenth century than it is in the twentieth. The inscription reads: "Sargient Iosiah Elsworth Aged 60 years He dyed August the 20th Day; Ano. 1689."³

Nine children were born to him, and the graves of his descendants are clustered thick about his own. Many of these are marked with gravestones, bearing each a title or a pithy record of some good work done, or at least some honorable place held, in the little community. The sixth child and third son of the immigrant is designated on his gravestone simply as "Mr. Jonathan Elsworth";⁴ but it is otherwise known of him that he was born in 1669, that he died in 1749, that he was a successful storekeeper and tavern-keeper, a

¹ Henry R. Stiles, *The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor* (Hartford, 2 vols., 1891-1892), II, 208-210; manuscript notes by Mr. W. Irving Vinal; two manuscript lives of Oliver Ellsworth, one by Joseph Wood, Ellsworth's son-in-law, the other by Reverend Abner Jackson, president of Hobart College, who married a granddaughter of Ellsworth.

² Stiles, *Ancient Windsor*, I, 88.

³ The first name is sometimes given as Josias. For most of these facts, see *ibid.*, II, 210.

⁴ But in the family Bible of Chief-Justice Ellsworth his name is given as David. This is puzzling, for all the other records name him Jonathan. The best conjecture I can make by way of explanation is that by a slip of the pen the chief justice wrote his father's name for his grandfather's—a strange mistake to make, it must be admitted, and a stranger still not to have corrected.

man of good sense, including a sense of humor, and that in person he was tall and strong. His wife was a Grant.¹ Their seventh child and fourth son, born in 1709, was christened David, and it is "Capt. David Ellsworth" (this time with two l's) on his gravestone. The title was not an empty one, for he served in the War of the Spanish Succession, known in America as the Old French War, and in 1745 commanded a company from Windsor at the famous siege of Louisbourg. Returning in safety from that expedition, which was by no means a holiday affair, he lived to the eve of the recognition of the colonies' independence, and nearly all his life he was selectman of his native town. Inheriting a hundred pounds, he had the industry and the shrewdness to accumulate a considerable estate, and to win the reputation of being an excellent farmer. A grandson has recorded that "He had much cunning, or quick wit, and very sound judgment."² His wife, who was Jemima Leavitt, of the neighboring village of Suffield, is somewhat formidably described as "a lady of excellent mind, good character, and pious principles". Surviving him, she was married again, at the age of sixty-two, to a wealthy citizen of East Windsor.³

The highest and stateliest of all the monuments in the Ellsworth family group, rising up from the rear of the pleasant little burial-ground behind the old First Church, and overlooking the little river, marks the grave of Oliver, the second son and second child of Captain David and his wife Jemima. He was born on the twenty-ninth of April, 1745, and belongs, therefore, to the generation that came to its prime about the beginning of the War of Independence.

It is necessary to be brief with his childhood and boyhood, for little or nothing is known of his life in this early period. A farmer's boy in a provincial country town, he was doubtless accustomed to frugal fare, simple amusements, and hard, wholesome tasks. Beyond question he was from his childhood made familiar with the doctrine and observance of the Congregational church, the established church of the colony. Since Connecticut from a very early period had maintained an excellent school system, supported by taxation, and since Windsor was an old town of considerable wealth, we are also reasonably sure that his early schooling was as good as could be had anywhere in the colonies. But what sort of pupil he was, or indeed what sort of boy he was, we do not know. One fact, how-

¹ Stiles, *Ancient Windsor*, II, 210-211; manuscript notes in the collection of Mr. W. Irving Vinal.

² Manuscript of Oliver Ellsworth, Jr., a son of the chief justice, quoted in Stiles, *Ancient Windsor*, II, 212.

³ *Ibid.*

ever, may be taken to indicate that he was thought a boy of promise. His father early set about to prepare him for the ministry; and in colonial New England the ministry ranked so high among the professions that only a boy of promise would be brought up to aspire to it. With that career in view, he was sent to the Reverend Dr. Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlehem, a friend of Jonathan Edwards, famous as a preacher throughout New England, and known by his writings even in England and Scotland. Dr. Bellamy prepared him for college, and in 1762, at the age of seventeen, he entered Yale.

But it was twenty-nine years before he got a Yale degree, and then it came to him, not as in course, but *honoris causa*. He remained at New Haven only to the end of his sophomore year, and there is reason to believe that either he or the authorities of the college, and not improbably both, would have been better pleased to close the connection even sooner. He entered, it seems, at a time of undergraduate discontents such as all colleges now and then have to weather. The long administration of President Thomas Clap was drawing to a close; and his headship of the still struggling seminary, though admirable for vigor and devotion, had been growing too arbitrary to please the student body. There was much complaint also of the tutors; and it is hardly necessary to add that the students held the immemorial undergraduate conviction concerning the food, which was served to them in the college commons, and that they did not forbear, when occasion offered, to make their disapproval known. It must be confessed that even a moderate epicure could have found a trifle to criticize, now and then, in the college fare. According to a set of regulations in force about this time, breakfast for four was one loaf of bread. Dinner was more substantial; but supper, also for four, was an apple-pie and one quart of beer.¹ If young Ellsworth had made a request forever associated with his Christian name, he would doubtless have won distinction earlier than he did.

The intellectual fare was, it would seem, neither more abundant nor more tempting. At Yale, as indeed at all the colonial colleges, the curriculum was a hard and fast and uniform programme. "In the first Year", so the laws² read, "They Shall principally Study the Tongues and Logic, and Shall in Some measure pursue the Study of the Tongues the Two next Years. In the Second Year They Shall Recite Rhetoric, Geometry and Geography. In the Third Year Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Other Parts of the Mathe-

¹ Franklin B. Dexter, *Yale Biographies and Annals*, 2d series, 141; Daniel Butler on the Yale Commons, *Yale College* (edited by William L. Kingsley, 2 vols., New York, 1879), I, 297-306.

² Laws of Yale College, 1745, printed in Dexter, *Yale Biographies and Annals*, 2d series, 5.

matics. In the Fourth Year Metaphysics and Ethics . . . but every Saturday Shall Especially be allotted to the Study of Divinity." It was useless to ask for more, or for any variation in the programme. The teaching force was too small to give well even what was offered. Each of the two or three tutors was responsible for all the instruction, in all branches, that was given to the class or section under his especial care.

The year before Ellsworth entered, there had been so much disorder that a petition, prepared, no doubt, by enemies of President Clap, had been presented to the general assembly of the colony, asking an investigation. "There has been a tumult," a trustee wrote, "the Desk pulled down, the Bell-case broken, and the bell ringing in the night, Mr. Boardman the tutor beaten with clubbs"¹—which was clearly contrary to rule, for penal law number 19 expressly provided: "If any Scholar Shall make an assault upon the Person of the President or either of the Tutors or Shall wound, Bruise or Strike any of Them, He Shall forthwith be Expelled."² Similar disorders arose from time to time until, in 1765–1766, the climax came in a practically unanimous signed petition of the students for the removal of President Clap. During the last term of that year not more than two-thirds of the student body was in attendance. It is not surprising, when one remembers that this was the time of the struggle over the Stamp Act, to find the state of affairs in the college attributed to the spirit of resistance to arbitrary rule which was rising throughout the colonies. General Gage, at Boston, referred to Yale in 1765 as a "seminary of democracy."³ Young Roswell Grant, of the class of 1765, wrote home to his father at Windsor that he would be very glad of a cheese, but added: "Shall not want that Cherry [sherry] you Reserved for me before vacancy, as all the Scholars have unanimously agreed not to Drink any foreign spirituous Liquors any more."⁴ It is clear that undergraduate Yale was at least as patriotic as it was rebellious.

Ellsworth's share in these activities, patriotic and rebellious, cannot now be ascertained. He appears, however, in at least two cases of discipline on the records of the faculty.⁵ His prime offense in the first case, in July, 1763, was the puzzling misdemeanor of joining with ten others, in the evening, "to scrape and clean the college yard"; but a second count arraigned him and his comrades for

¹ *Ibid.*, 682.

² *Ibid.*, 9.

³ *Ibid.*, 3d series, 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁵ Transcripts from the faculty records, which were kindly made for me by Professor F. B. Dexter.

"having a treat or entertainment last winter"; and still a third count set forth that he and three others "presently after evening Prayers on Thursday last put on their Hats and run and Hallooed in the College Yard in contempt of the Law of College". For these offenses he was fined one shilling. The second case arose the next year, and the charge was that Ellsworth was present "at Bulkley 2^s", at "a general treat or comotation of wine both common and spiced in and by the sophomore class", and the punishment was a fine of four shillings. There were degrees of guilt, for two ringleaders were fined five shillings, Ellsworth and two others four shillings, while the majority of the offenders were let off at two shillings. These performances do not strike one as very damning. They do, however, seem to prove that Ellsworth was once a boy, and that the boys of colonial New England were not entirely unlike their descendants—at least, when they went to college. Perhaps they indicate also that Ellsworth was already out of sympathy with his father's ambition that he should be a minister.

Why he left Yale is not quite clear. President Clap entered in his official journal, under the date July 27, 1764, that "Oliver Ellsworth and Waightstill Avery, at the desire of their respective parents, were dismissed from being members of this College".¹ But among the descendants of Ellsworth at least two other stories are told to account for his departure from New Haven. One is, that at midnight in midwinter he inverted the college bell and filled it with water, which promptly froze.² But this explanation hardly consists with the date of his dismissal. Unfortunately for the other story, it has been told of more than one celebrity, and of other colleges than Yale. It is that Ellsworth was caught by a college officer giving in his room what in his day was called a "treat" but in the college nomenclature of the present day would be called a "spread"; and that the officer, about to enter and disperse the company, was stopped by hearing Ellsworth's voice uplifted in prayer—for there was a college law that no student should be interrupted at his devotions.³ Of this story there is a second version which, even if it were never told of any one but Ellsworth, sounds too modern for belief. It is that the officer was making a round of the dormitory in search of signs which the students had stolen from New Haven tradesmen, and that the words of the prayer he heard were the words of Matthew XII, 39.⁴

¹ Entry copied in a letter from Professor F. B. Dexter.

² Henry Cabot Lodge, oration on Ellsworth, in *A Fighting Frigate and other Essays and Addresses* (New York, 1902), 70, note.

³ Letter from Mrs. Alice L. Wyckoff, of Buffalo, N. Y.

⁴ Letter from Mrs. Geneve (Ellsworth) Stuart, a great-granddaughter of Ellsworth.

For Ellsworth's career at Princeton, tradition is almost the only source of information; the written records of the immediate government of the College of New Jersey in colonial times are not preserved.¹ Younger than either Yale or Harvard, Princeton was also smaller; there can hardly have been a hundred students when Ellsworth entered. Age and size apart, it differed from the other two mainly by the strong infusion of Calvinism in its theology and of Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood in its membership. John Wither- spoon had not yet consented to come over from Scotland and head the institution, but President Samuel Finley (1761-1766) was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister with a great reputation in the middle colonies and Virginia.

In respect of the curriculum and the number of teachers, Princeton offered to young Ellsworth no more than Yale had offered; but it was apparently rather more fortunate in its tutors, and in the spirit that informed both the teachers and the taught. The arts of speaking and writing, in particular, appear to have been taught uncommonly well and studied with extraordinary enthusiasm. It is certain that of all the colonial colleges, Harvard and William and Mary not excepted, no other was at this time training so many debaters for the Continental Congress and the still undreamed-of Constitutional Convention.² Waightstill Avery, Ellsworth's companion in migration, had before him a good career in public life in North Carolina. In the class which they joined, numbering but thirty-one, and a large class for Princeton, were Luther Martin of Maryland, and at least three others with parts to play in the coming political changes. William Paterson, graduated the year before, was living in the village and in constant association with his younger mates. Benjamin Rush, John Henry, Tapping Reeve, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, Philip Freneau, Henry Lee, Pierrepont Edwards, Gunning Bedford, James Madison, and Aaron Burr were all in classes close before or after Ellsworth's class of 1766. Of those students who were not, as the event proved, in training for statesmanship, fully half were preparing for the ministry. It is no wonder that courses in oratory and composition were popular, or that the Stamp Act controversy aroused at Princeton even more discussion than at Yale.

¹ For Princeton at this time see John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1877); John De Witt and Jesse Lynch Williams, "Princeton", in *Universities and their Sons*, I, 439-568; Gaillard Hunt, *The Life of James Madison* (New York, 1902), chap. ii; Woodrow Wilson and John De Witt in *Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Princeton University* (New York, 1898), 102-131, 315 ff.

² Woodrow Wilson, *ibid.*, 110-114.

Tradition and reminiscence indicate that Ellsworth entered with zest into the somewhat fervid life of his new academic home. A respectable scholar, he was, we are told, remarkably successful in college politics, displaying an uncommon shrewdness, a gift of management, and a talent for debate¹. The best-known story of his Princeton days is of how he circumvented a rule forbidding students to wear their hats in the college yard. Arraigned for breaking the rule, he pointed out that a hat, to be a hat, must consist of a crown and a brim, and proved that the head-piece he had worn in the yard was without a brim—as he had in fact torn off that essential portion of it. A better authenticated and more important tradition indicates clearly enough what the young fellow's tastes and powers were. There seems to be little doubt that he was one of the founders of the Well-Meaning Club, a debating-society, which was suppressed in 1768 but later revived and reorganized as the Cliosophic Society, and is now better known to Princeton men as Clio. Another club, formed about the same time, first called the Plain-Dealing Club, and likewise suppressed in 1768, was reorganized by Madison,² John Henry, and Samuel Stanhope Smith, and named the American Whig Society. Among the college debating-clubs throughout the country, these two Princeton societies hold the first rank for age, for celebrity, and for the names on their rolls of membership. It seems most likely that Paterson, who was fond of such activities, and precisely the sort of man to lead in them, was the moving spirit when Clio was founded; but with his name tradition has firmly associated those of Ellsworth, Luther Martin, and Tapping Reeve.³ There is scarcely to be found, even in the records of the Oxford Union, a coincidence more curiously prophetic. We are told, also, that both these clubs were mightily concerned about the Stamp Act and the relations of the colonies to the mother-country. It is true that New Jersey and the other central colonies had less leadership in the Revolutionary movement than New England or Virginia; but Princeton already drew her students from surprising distances. The acquaintances Ellsworth made there, and the outlook he gained, were doubtless a better introduction to the whole field of colonial politics than he could have got at any other college. Perhaps they helped him to form the

¹ Wood and Jackson manuscripts.

² Hunt, *Madison*, 15; De Witt and Williams, in *Universities and their Sons*, I, 482-484; Maclean, *College of New Jersey*, I, 364.

³ John Addison Porter, "College Fraternities", in *Century Magazine*, September, 1888, 751. For Paterson, see W. Jay Mills, *Glimpses of Colonial Society and the Life at Princeton College, 1766-1773* (Philadelphia, 1903), made up chiefly of Paterson's letters. The corresponding secretary of the Cliosophic Society states that there is no record of Ellsworth's connection with it now in the society's possession.

habit of caution and to develop the instinct for compromise which were, later, conspicuous characteristics. At any rate, he had got what few but the wealthiest young colonials could have—an education a long way from home.

When, however, he went back to Connecticut, his father had not relinquished the plan of making him a minister. He accordingly spent the next year in the study of theology under Dr. John Smalley, of New Britain, a young clergyman of parts, who rose to influence and distinction.¹ But Ellsworth had by this time a clear bent toward the law. When Dr. Smalley directed him to prepare his first sermon, the first ten sheets of his manuscript were given over to careful definition of his terms.² His teacher and his father were at length persuaded that his mind and tastes were better suited to the bar than to the pulpit.

It was four years, however, before he was admitted to the bar; and for those four years, from 1767 to 1771, the record of his life is very scant. He studied law under the first Governor Griswold and under Jesse Root, of Coventry, a young attorney with whom he was later associated in the Continental Congress, and whose name appears many times in the public records of Connecticut. But Ellsworth can hardly have given the whole of the four years to his studies. In one account of his life it is stated that he taught school for a little while³—an experience curiously common in the lives of eminent Americans. When he began practice as a lawyer, he was in debt, and a natural inference is that after he abandoned theology his father made no further expenditures for his education.

In any case, however, his education in the law could not have been elaborate. There were no law-schools in the colonies. The people of Connecticut were thought to be peculiarly and perversely litigious, but the *Commentaries* of Blackstone were still unknown among them. The first American edition of the work was printed in 1771 or 1772, and a copy with Ellsworth's name and the date 1774 on the fly-leaf is still in existence⁴; one conjectures that he never possessed the book, probably never even saw it, until he had been several years in practice. His text-books were Matthew Bacon's *Abridgment of the Law* and Giles Jacob's *Law-Dictionary*.⁵ In fact,

¹ James Hammond Trumbull, *The Memorial History of Hartford County* (2 vols., Boston, 1886), II, 309-310.

² *Centennial Papers of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1877), 107-108.

³ James B. Longacre and James Herring, *National Portrait Gallery*, IV (Philadelphia, 1839), article on Ellsworth, 2 (102).

⁴ W[illiam] B[liss], "Chief-Justice Ellsworth and his Times", in *New York Evening Post*, April 9, 1875.

⁵ Henry Flanders, *The Lives and Times of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1855-1858), II, 59.

there were no text-books, properly so called. It may be added that until very near the time when he began to practice there was considerable opposition to the common law in Connecticut.¹ The colony had begun its legislative history with what looks like a complete disavowal and rejection of the system. It was never adopted by a statute, but came in gradually by a change of usage on the bench and at the bar, as professionally trained practitioners became more numerous. Even when the decisions of the English judges were familiarly cited in the Connecticut courts, the means of studying them were scant and crude. Good law-libraries were extremely rare, and the labors of the colonial lawyer were not made easy by treatises and digests. It is altogether improbable that Ellsworth possessed, at the outset of his professional career, any such store of facts or principles as would now be required of him in an examination for admission to the bar of any New England state. Yet the way he did learn the law was not unlike the method of studying and teaching it which has come of late into very wide acceptance. He mastered it only by searching out and storing in his mind the principles at the heart of particular cases. In that process is involved the essence of the modern "case-system"; and it is doubtful if a better training for the reason has ever been devised.

But the opportunity to learn law even in this way was for a time withheld. Cases to study and to try were not immediately forthcoming. Ellsworth had first to undergo a discipline in patience and frugality which seems to have been severe enough to make his professional career in all respects representative. Somebody has said that poverty and an early marriage make the best beginning of a lawyer's life; and both were in his portion. To pay the debts incurred while he was preparing for the bar he had but one resource—a tract of woodland on the Connecticut which had come to him by inheritance or gift.² He tried in vain to sell the land, and then, shouldering an ax, attacked the timber, for which there was a market at Hartford. In this way he cleared himself of his debt. But for three years after his admission to the bar his professional earnings, by his own account, were but three pounds, Connecticut currency. And yet, in 1772, a year after his admission, he was married.

His bride was Abigail, the daughter of Mr. William Wolcott, of East Windsor, a gentleman of substance and distinction, and a member of that same Wolcott family which had held so high a place

¹ Ephraim Kirby, *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Court of the State of Connecticut, 1785-1788* (Litchfield, 1789), preface, iii; Wood MS.; Dwight Loomis and J. Gilbert Calhoun, *Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut* (Boston, 1895), 176-177; *Analectic Magazine*, III (1814), 385.

² Wood MS.; Flanders, II, 59-60.

in the community from the very beginning. The tradition is that when Ellsworth made his first visit at the Wolcott house, he called for an elder sister, but that the black eyes of Abigail, who sat demurely carding tow in the chimney-corner, made him change his mind, and the next time he went there he called for her.¹ A portrait of her, painted when she was in middle life, suggests rather the good and cheerful housewife than the sort of colonial beauty whom Colonial Dames are now so fond of celebrating. One or two anecdotes, however, present her to posterity as an uncommonly loving and lovable woman. She was given to charity, and her life abounded in kindness to all about her. That a briefless young lawyer could win, apparently without objection from her family, the daughter of so respectable a house is evidence of the wholesome democracy in which they lived. It is evidence, too, of the simplicity and strength of their affection for each other. That, happily, was strong enough to last them through their lives. The biographer of Ellsworth is often tempted to complain of the scarcity of purely personal details; but he is happily spared the temptation to stir the interest of his readers with any parade of family skeletons. In all that pertained to his family and his home, Ellsworth was both wise and fortunate.

The two began life on a farm which belonged to Ellsworth's father, and which the son now took over to cultivate, either, it seems, on shares, or on a lease for rent.² It lay in the northwest part of old Windsor, which was then called Wintonbury, and is now called Bloomfield. The land was unfenced, and Ellsworth with his own hands cut and split the rails and built a fence about it. Too poor to hire a servant, he did himself all the heavier household chores, and twice a day when court was in session he walked the ten miles between his home and his office in Hartford. Once, when a wealthier neighbor passed him in a carriage and told him that a man in his position ought to be riding and not walking, Ellsworth cheerfully replied that everybody must walk some time or other in his life, and that he for his part preferred to do his walking while he was young and strong. Of course we are also told, for a climax to the story, that a time came later when Ellsworth kept a carriage and his neighbor had to walk.³

The farm must have been the young man's main support during the year or two longer that he had to wait for his first important case. He became an intelligent and zealous farmer; that is more than conjecture. But neither this nor his study of the law can be

¹ Jabez H. Hayden, in *Memorial History of Hartford County*, II, 565.

² Wood MS.; Flanders, II, 61.

³ Wood MS.; Stiles, *Ancient Windsor*, II, 218; Flanders, II, 62.

reckoned his principal achievement between his college days and that success which was soon to be his portion. Scanty as the record of those years is, we know that they covered a very fine and admirable discovery and development of his powers, for when Ellsworth first came fully into the light his character was rounded and hardened into the best type of colonial New England manhood. In later life, he himself, being asked for the secret of his effectiveness, told modestly and convincingly the story of his growth.¹ Early in his career, he said, he made the discouraging discovery that he had no imagination, nor any other brilliant quality of mind. Determined, however, to make the most of such powers as he had, he resolved to study but one subject at a time, and to stick to it until he mastered it. In the practice of his profession, he added, his rule was to go at once to the main points of a case and to give them his entire attention.

In this candid self-examination, this honest acceptance of his limitations, this manly and courageous decision, one finds enough to command one's hearty respect. But it is not to be supposed that by this self-study and this plan of life alone the reasonably mischievous and reckless youngster of Yale and Princeton was at once transformed into a cautious and hard-headed but uncommonly upright lawyer and statesman. None of Ellsworth's New England contemporaries was more thoroughly representative than he was of New England civilization at its best; and colonial New England was already—Switzerland, perhaps, excepted—the soundest democracy in the world. Nowhere else was liberty restrained by such strong reverences, or safeguarded by so practical an instinct, or fortified with a morality so wide-spread and so thoroughgoing. New England society, even in its unspoiled colonial state, had its faults, and some of its faults were hateful. The bit of talk about himself which I have just given is, for instance, almost the only frank and ingenuous revelation of his nature to be found in all that Ellsworth ever wrote and spoke. When he became a man of substance, it was said that he took the utmost pains to conceal from his own household the extent of his wealth. Secretiveness and unresponsiveness were bound to be common among a people who cultivated, almost to excess, the fine qualities of self-reliance and forethought. We shall never be acquainted with Ellsworth or any other colonial New-Englander as we are with famous Americans from other quarters, and with famous Englishmen as well. Wanting, as a rule, in amiability and quick sympathy, the colonial Yankee had also more positive faults. Pecksniffs as well as Dombey's there were no doubt

¹ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

among them. Where all were so free to live their individual lives according to their own ideals, some were surely selfish as well as self-contained. Where so large a number were religious, some were doubtless sanctimonious and hypocritical.

But if we judge them in the mass, it is hard to match them for competency in the management of their own affairs, whether as individuals or in bodies politic, or for fidelity to their difficult ideals. By Ellsworth's time, the Puritan theology was already relaxed into a fairly livable creed. Before he died, the Unitarian movement was already begun in Massachusetts. A general broadening of ideas and sympathies accompanied the religious change. Sloughing off the worst defects of its quality, New England society displayed during the first half of the nineteenth century a spectacle of intelligence, of energy, and of general healthfulness and soundness which has probably never been surpassed.

Ellsworth, whatever slight vagaries he had exhibited in his boyhood, took into his nature and kept throughout his life the best characteristics of his kind. He came to his fine opportunities a completely grown-up man, a quick but ready man, thoughtful and deeply religious, but also ardent, industrious, practical, and shrewd. For the rest, he had got from his ancestors and his healthful country life a superb endowment of physical strength and hardiness. According to the family tradition, his height was six feet two, and he was broad-shouldered and robust. His countenance was not positively handsome. If we may judge from his portraits, until age and suffering had softened it, there was neither sweetness nor distinction in his face; but he had the strong jaws, the long chin, the firm lips, the steady eyes which always indicate the man of purpose and persistency. But to an unimaginative man, with little or nothing of the artist or the actor in his nature, a body and presence such as Ellsworth's was of far less advantage before the public than it might have been had his temperament been different. He used and valued his bodily endowment for hard work rather than for display. The interest of his life is not to be found in dramatic exhibitions of any sort. It lies, rather, in the tasks which his hand found to do—tasks whose value and importance we cannot even yet feel sure that we have measured. He brought to his life-work talents which cannot be called extraordinary in themselves; but he plied them with abundant energy, he ruled them with strong will, he devoted them always to high purposes; and he made them serve.

The beginning of his rise to eminence was professional success; and this, when it did come, seems to have come both swiftly and abundantly. According to his early biographers, a single case, in-

volving an important legal principle, proved to be the sort of opportunity that leads to countless others. The young lawyer managed it so skilfully that he not only secured a verdict for his client but won for himself the respect and confidence of his neighbors.¹ Perhaps it was also on this occasion that he heard from the lips of a stranger what he afterward declared were the first words of encouragement that ever heartened him in his ambition. "Who is that young man?", the stranger was saying. "He speaks well."²

At any rate, from about the third year of his membership of the bar his practice grew very fast, and he rose quite as fast in the esteem of his neighbors. At the autumn session of the general assembly in 1773, he took his seat as one of the two deputies from Windsor, and his name appears in every list of the deputies thereafter until May of the year 1775.³ That year, the year of his thirtieth birthday, was doubtless to him, as to many another young colonial, the *annus mirabilis* of his whole career. Tradition has fixed upon it as the date of his removal to Hartford from the Wintonbury farm⁴. It saw him also engaged in the first of those Revolutionary tasks which were to claim him continuously until the end of the struggle for independence. From that year to the end of the century, in fact, he was scarcely for an instant free from important public responsibilities. But he did not relinquish his profession. Throughout the Revolution, and until the new national government was organized under the Constitution, he was always either actively in practice or else on the bench. It was as a lawyer that he won his fortune and a good part of his fame. It will be best, therefore, before we follow him into the service of his country, to seek some notion of the sort of man he was in the common, daily struggle, and more particularly to learn what we can of his character and figure at the bar.

For this inquiry, few records are available, and these are of little use. In the courts where Ellsworth practiced, the stenographer was

¹ George Van Santvoord, *Sketches of the Lives and Judicial Services of the Chief-Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York, 1854), 196; Wood and Jackson MSS.

² *National Portrait Gallery*, IV, 103 (Ellsworth, 3); Flanders, II, 63.

³ *Roll of State Officers and General Assembly of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1881), *passim*; *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1636-1776* (compiled by James Hammond Trumbull and Charles J. Hoadly, 15 vols., 1850-1890), XIV, 159, 214, 252, 325, 388, 413. All the biographers of Ellsworth have been extremely loose in their statements concerning the offices he held in the earlier part of his career. Where dates are given, they are nearly always incorrect. Perhaps the official records were not accessible when these accounts were written. It is hardly worth while to specify their inaccuracies. Not one of them gives the impression that he was in the assembly as early as 1773.

⁴ In May, 1774, Ellsworth's name first appears in the list of justices of the peace for Hartford county. *Colonial Records*, XIV, 257, XV, 8.

of course unknown; nor did daily newspapers spread before their readers detailed narratives of his causes. Compared with our present usage, the reporting of that day, both official and unofficial, was bafflingly meager. Moreover, Ellsworth himself, though by no means slow of speech, was curiously averse to the pen.¹ There can scarcely be another man of comparable importance in our history who has left behind him so few papers of any sort in his own handwriting. Not one of his court speeches is preserved to us. It is quite probable that none was ever written out. Even his briefs are said to have been exceptionally condensed, setting forth only the principal headings of his arguments.

Fortunately, however, a number of his contemporaries have left us their impressions of Ellsworth as an advocate; and of those contemporaries several were themselves of an eminence to give their judgments weight. One, at least, is better known to-day than Ellsworth is; his name, indeed, is quite probably familiar to more English-speaking people than any other American name but Washington's. In 1779, young Noah Webster was a student in Ellsworth's office and an inmate of his home. Many years later, Webster's eldest daughter was married to one of Ellsworth's sons.² This personal association may perhaps have heightened the lexicographer's opinion of the statesman's importance, for Webster was given to dilating on all things in any way related to his own career. But he was also trained to state facts carefully; and to Joseph Wood, Ellsworth's son-in-law and biographer, he once declared that Ellsworth, even at the time when Webster was in his office, had usually on his docket from a thousand to fifteen hundred cases.³ In fact, Webster added, there was scarcely a case tried in which Ellsworth was not of counsel on one side or the other, and his mind was under a constant strain throughout the sessions. Sometimes, from sheer physical weariness, he would gird his loins with a handkerchief as he rose for an argument in some new case. Perhaps the number of his cases is partly explained by the statement that he excelled in *nisi prius*

¹ "This same Ellsworth is a striking instance how powerful a man may be in some departments of the mind and defective in others. All-powerful and eloquent in debate, he is, notwithstanding, a miserable draftsman." *Journal of William Maclay* (edited by Edgar S. Maclay, New York, 1890), 369. But Wood, Ellsworth's son-in-law, attributes to caution his aversion to writing. He had, according to Wood, a settled conviction that it is dangerous and mischievous for public men to use the pen freely, and he accordingly made it a rule "to make all his manuscripts as brief as possible". Wood MS.

² Horace E. Scudder, *Noah Webster*, in *American Men of Letters Series* (Boston, 1882), 9; Chauncey A. Goodrich, in his revision of Webster's *Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass., 1851), xv, xxii.

³ Wood MS.; Flanders, II, 63-64.

proceedings. Noah Webster habitually spoke of him as one of the "three mighties" of the Connecticut bar—the other two being William Samuel Johnson and Titus Hosmer.¹

However this testimony may need to be qualified, it is clear that Ellsworth's professional career was extraordinary. It is doubtful if in the entire history of the Connecticut bar any other lawyer has ever in so short a time accumulated so great a practice. It probably reached its height in the years immediately after the war, for the great change gave rise to much litigation, and by that time his reputation was established and his powers at the full. Measured either by the amount of his business or by his earnings, it was unrivaled in his own day and unexampled in the history of the colony. Naturally shrewd, and with nothing of the spendthrift in his nature, he quickly earned a competence, and by good management he increased it to a fortune which for the times and the country was quite uncommonly large². From a few documents still in existence, it is clear that he became something of a capitalist and investor. He bought land and houses, and loaned out money at interest. He was a stock-holder in the Hartford Bank and one of the original subscribers to the stock of the old Hartford Broadcloth Mill (1788)³. But if there were no documents to show the extent of his wealth, his house in Windsor still exists to prove that he was a man of means.

Were this substantial progress and worldly prosperity alone to be considered, we should be sure at least that Ellsworth was a man among men, surpassing the great majority of his contemporaries in sense and energy, a good representative of the strong and sturdy stock he came of. He was not of those who, though fitted for exceptional services or charged with uncommon talents, are yet unequal to the world's incessant and more commonplace demands. But the fact of his getting on so well and fast has its full value to the biographer only when it is added that not one word has come down to us to intimate that there was ever brought against him the slightest charge of trickery or overreaching, or the least insinuation that as a lawyer he was ever accused of any practice at all out of keeping with either his own personal dignity or the standards of the bar. On the contrary, in the praise of his contemporaries his integrity is emphasized quite as often as his ability.

As to the kind and the quality of his excellence as a lawyer, these

¹ Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford County*, I, 121.

² Inventory of his estate, made, doubtless, very soon after his death. The whole was estimated at about \$127,000.

³ Ellsworth papers in the public library of the city of New York; Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford County*, I, 331, 564.

attempts at portraiture agree fairly well among themselves. They seem also to confirm his own conclusion that he lacked imagination; but in other respects they by no means sustain his extremely modest estimate of his gifts. Dr. John Trumbull, the author of *McFingal*, was doubtless the best wit in the colony, if not in all the colonies, and hardly, therefore, the sort of man to grow enthusiastic over a display of mere unilluminated energy in oratory. He was also himself a lawyer and a judge. And he has left a good comparison between the two foremost advocates of the bar to which he belonged. "When Dr. Johnson rose to address a jury," he said, "the polish and beauty of his style, his smooth and easy flow of words, and sweet, melodious voice, accompanied with grace and elegance of person and manner, delighted and charmed his hearers. But, when Ellsworth rose, the jury soon began to drop their heads, and, winking, looked up through their eyebrows, while his eloquence seemed to drive every idea into their very skulls in spite of them."¹ Johnson², though now but little known, was no mean figure to be thus put forward first in order to a climacteric contrast. The son of the first president of King's College—an office he himself in time succeeded to—and the holder of degrees from Yale, Harvard, and Oxford, he had enjoyed and profited by still another opportunity to acquire culture; for he had represented Connecticut several years at court. It is said that while he lived in London he was admitted to that remarkable circle which gathered round another and more famous Dr. Samuel Johnson, and that he won the great man's distinguished regard. Active in the Stamp Act Congress, and throughout that phase of the colonies' resistance, he was perhaps the foremost man in Connecticut until his unwillingness to go the lengths of an attempt at complete independence left him a few years in retirement. His work in the constructive period after the war was second only to Roger Sherman's and Ellsworth's.

To the less restrained of his and Ellsworth's eulogists he appeared always as the Cicero to the other's Demosthenes.³ It is more important to be sure of the real sources of the strength of a public character than to define his limitations. Stilted, therefore, as this praise of the two colonial lawyers may be, we need not reject the reasonable inference that Johnson was a pleasing and accomplished public speaker and that Ellsworth excelled in a style of oratory that

¹ Flanders, II, 67.

² W. G. Andrews, "William Samuel Johnson and the Making of the Constitution", in *Annual Report of the Fairfield County, Connecticut, Historical Society*, 1889; E. Edwards Beardsley, *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (New York, 1876).

³ Wood MS.

was unadorned, headlong, and compelling. Dr. Timothy Dwight, sometime president of Yale, who tells us that Ellsworth was his "particular friend", described his oratory in these words¹:

His eloquence, and indeed almost every other part of his character, was peculiar. Always possessed of his own scheme of thought concerning every subject which he discussed, ardent, bold, intense, and masterly, his conceptions were just and great; his reasonings invincible; his images glowing; his sentiments noble, his phraseology remarkable for its clearness, and precision; his style concise, and strong; and his utterance vehement and overwhelming. Universally, his eloquence strongly resembled that of Demosthenes; grave, forcible, and inclined to severity.

Elsewhere the same authority describes him in his address to the jury as frequently pouring out "floods of eloquence which were irresistible and overwhelming".² To this, quoted by Joseph Wood, an unknown marginal commentator on Wood's manuscript makes answer, "Dwight must have drawn on his imagination, for Ellsworth was by no means an eloquent speaker." But Wood rejoins, "Dwight was not mistaken, as can be abundantly shown."

Fortunately, there is at least one portrait of the man and the advocate which is convincingly discriminating and restrained. A few years after Ellsworth's death there was published in the *Analectic Magazine*³ an appreciation which is probably still the best portrayal of his intellectual character and methods:

He had not laid a very deep foundation either of general or of professional learning; but the native vigour of his mind supplied every deficiency; the rapidity of his conceptions made up for the want of previous knowledge; the diligent study of the cases which arose in actual business, stored his mind with principles; whatever was thus acquired was firmly rooted in his memory; and thus, as he became eminent, he grew learned. The whole powers of his mind were applied, with unremitted attention to the business of his profession, and those public duties in which he was occasionally engaged. Capable of great application, and constitutionally full of ardour, he pursued every object to which he applied himself with a strong and constant interest which never suffered his mind to flag or grow torpid with listless indolence. But his ardour was always under the guidance of sober reason. His cold and colourless imagination never led him astray from the realities of life to wanton in the gay visions of fancy; and his attention was

¹ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (4 vols., New Haven, 1821-1822), I, 301, 303.

² Quoted in Flanders, II, 66.

³ "Biographical Memoir of Oliver Ellsworth", in volume III (May, 1814), 382-403. The author is supposed to have been Gulian C. Verplanck, of New York, a grandson of William Samuel Johnson. See William Cullen Bryant's memorial discourse on Verplanck, May 17, 1870, New York Historical Society Publications, 1870.

seldom distracted by that general literary curiosity which so often beguiles the man of genius away from his destined pursuit, to waste his powers in studies of no immediate personal utility. At the same time his unblemished character, his uniform prudence and regularity of conduct, acquired him the general confidence and respect of his fellow citizens—a people in a remarkable degree attentive to all the decorum and decencies of civilized life.¹

It is the old story, perhaps, of the will's supremacy; of the central principle, the fighting, vital instinct in a human being, proving, in the long run, of superior importance to any gifts or want of gifts. It is useless to recur to the old contrast and controversy between the men who succeed and accomplish chiefly by reason of what is commonly called character and the men who, with finer instincts and keener susceptibilities and rarer talents, too often end in failure, leaving the world no better for their lives. To most readers Ellsworth's life would doubtless be a more attractive study if, instead of exhibiting such a steady growth in tasks and competence, he and his career were found irregularly brilliant, appealing, with a series of ups and downs, of faults and atonements, to the whole wide range of our human sympathies. It is only in a sober mood, with daylight senses, that one can follow with interest and with understanding the course of such a life. The guiding genius of it all was an English constancy, quickened with a New England keenness, an American capacity and readiness for change. It is impossible to read the descriptions which his contemporaries have made of him without the feeling that nearly all they say of him would apply, with but slight abatements, to hundreds of other New England men, unknown or famous. His distinction consists chiefly in the enlargement of powers and merits which are not uncommon in themselves.

Yet I think we should be mistaken if we were led to believe that Ellsworth was commonplace in either his personality or his parts. Were we to search out the one human characteristic or endowment that has achieved the most, for good or evil, in the whole history of mankind, we should doubtless fix on that one central gift of ardor, energy, or purpose, which was surely his. Nothing else will so invariably, so finally, command our homage. It stands, better than all the other gifts and graces put together, the test of actual results. Unlike the others, it is most impressive not in first encounters but through long acquaintance and the fullest trial. Men of many or of brilliant gifts may quickly stir our admiration, or, if we are adversaries, afflict us with immediate discomfitures. The man with this gift, particularly if in his case it is not advertised or indexed by more obvious superiorities, has always in his conflicts and rivalries

¹ *Analectic Magazine*, III, 385–386.

the advantage of a strength concealed. One does not guess the lengths of effort he will go to, the perfect use that he will make of all his forces. In all his engagements he will present to his more brilliant adversaries a front like that the sober infantry of Sparta showed so often to the varied and imposing line of the Athenians—an opposition far more daunting than banners and war-songs. Like the Spartans at Mantinea, such men do not need to hearten themselves with telling over to themselves the reasons why they ought to win their battles; they need only remember, what all brave spirits know, that battles are not won till they are fought, that tasks are not accomplished by merely proving one's ability to do them.¹

But Ellsworth had also a quickness of perception, a swiftness in the use of all his mental powers, which may well be accounted as of itself a talent—and a talent of the highest value. Without it, for instance, he could scarcely have handled at all the great mass of his professional work, interrupted as it was with public demands upon his time. His rule, to go at once to the main points of his cases, or of whatever matter he had in hand, seems, and doubtless was, as he formed it, a counsel of modesty; but is it not a rule which we should all most gladly follow if we could? He excelled particularly in expositions. His argument was frequently convincing when he had done no more than merely state the case. More than one observer of his life told Wood of this peculiar excellence of his oratory.² If he was systematic and cautious, he was no mere plodder in his work.

Nor was he in fact wanting in the power of commanding respect and attention for his own sake, apart from his work. For that effect, also, in the immediate contact with one's fellows, the central gift is probably the best of all, particularly as the possessor of it advances in achievement and self-confidence. Aided as it was in Ellsworth's case by an uncommon physical endowment, it was enough to make him, according to one perhaps too glowing eulogist, a person of extraordinary presence. It is Dr. Dwight who on this point is again the loudest in his praise. "Mr. Ellsworth," he wrote,³ "was formed to be a great man. His person was tall, dignified, and commanding; and his manners, though wholly destitute of haughtiness, and arrogance, were such, as irresistibly to excite in others, wherever he was present, the sense of inferiority. His very attitude inspired awe." He adds that "in every assembly, public and private, in which he appeared, after he had fairly entered public life, there was probably no man, when Washington was not present, who would be more

¹ See Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, V, 69.

² Wood MS.; Flanders, II, 66.

³ Dwight, *Travels in New-England*, I, 302, 303.

readily acknowledged to hold the first character." Dwight, no doubt, was partial to Ellsworth both as his own personal friend and as a Connecticut worthy; but the tribute is sustained by other men's accounts of him. Hollister, for instance, who in writing his *History of Connecticut* seems to have drawn freely on the recollections of his elders, makes a very similar portrait:¹

Ellsworth was logical and argumentative in his mode of illustration, and possessed a peculiar style of condensed statement, through which there ran, like a magnetic current, the most delicate train of analytical reasoning. His eloquence was wonderfully persuasive, too, and his manner solemn and impressive. His style was decidedly of the patrician school, and yet so simple that a child could follow without difficulty the steps by which he arrived at his conclusions. That he also had the best judicial powers that were known in that elder age of our republic, will not be disputed. Add to these qualities, an eye that seemed to look an adversary through, a forehead and features so bold and marked as to promise all that his rich deep voice, expressive gestures and *moral fearlessness*, made good, add above all that reserved force of scornful satire, so seldom employed, but so like the destructive movements of a corps of flying artillery, and the reader has an outline of the strength and majesty of Ellsworth.

All alike bear testimony that the impressiveness of his person and demeanor was never marred by the least haughtiness or superciliousness. His manners, though perfectly dignified, were also perfectly simple and democratic.

To attempt in this fashion a character of the man while he is still at the threshold of his life-work is doubtless a somewhat unusual proceeding. It is better, as a rule, to reveal a personality with incidents; to let the man's own words and deeds make plain his quality. But that preferred biographic method is peculiarly hard to apply to Ellsworth, partly for reasons that have already been suggested. In his recorded activities, as well as in his scanty writings and his all-too-few recorded utterances, there is too little of self-revelation, too little of what we can be sure was characteristic. It is necessary, if we would gain any distinct and personal vision of him, to use at once the aids we have at hand from men who saw him in the flesh. Moreover, his tasks were often so momentous, and those which were constructive in their nature have proved so lastingly, so increasingly important, that we are moved to use what knowledge we can get of him as a means to explain his achievements, and to judge how great his part was in those he shared with others, rather than to treat his work merely as the means to study him. There are few lives in which what may be called the public values so outweigh the personal.

¹ Gideon Hiram Hollister, *History of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1855, 2 vols.), II, 441-442.

It was doubtless his growing reputation as a lawyer and his membership in the assembly that caused him to be drawn at once into the stirring activities of the great year 1775, and determined what his part in them should be. Of his part in the patriot movement up to this time little is recorded. It is stated that he was for a while a member of the militia or of some other volunteer force, and that he was once or twice called into the field, though never engaged in any action.¹ But when or where he served is no better known than when or where he was earlier engaged in school-teaching. Wood says that his service was in the militia during the Revolutionary War, when the state was threatened with invasion.² It does appear, however, that he was from the first thoroughly in sympathy with the popular feeling and early committed to the movement of resistance. When the crisis came, he would have been cold indeed if from any sort of conservatism he had stood apart from his kindred and his neighbors.

The whole story, if one reviews it afresh from the point of view of manhood, which is so very different from that childish acceptance of heroism and virtue and devotion as mere matters-of-course with which one heard it first, remains, surely, one of the most inspiring and astounding ever told. The Revolution, considered as a popular movement, was singularly noble and singularly wise. Much in our more recent past that has been highly vaunted seems, by comparison, in spite of its bigness, vapid, showy, and half-hearted. Save only in the nobler passages of the long fight over slavery, we find nowhere else in our history such wonderful sincerity and simplicity, such recklessness of all but high considerations, such courage of convictions, so childlike and magnificent a confidence in principle. The best virtue that has yet appeared in our national life and character was all encompassed in the flame of that first enthusiasm. No civic or citizenly quality we now possess surpasses, or could surpass, the spirit of nationality that leapt alive in all the towns and little cities and plantations from New Hampshire to Georgia when the obstinate king and the vain ministry, instead of thanking their stars that they were safely past the trouble over the Stamp Act, blundered on to the tax on tea and the Boston Port Bill.

None of the colonies caught fire more quickly than Connecticut. The little province proved a veritable tinder-box. Ten years before, her government had responded to the first announcement of the Stamp Act programme with the promptest and firmest of remonstrances. Jared Ingersoll, who was at once commissioned a special

¹ Flanders, II, 68.

² Wood MS.

agent at London, probably accomplished more than any other of the agents there by way of inducing the ministry to soften the intended blow. Yet when he himself returned as the stamp master of the colony, an uprising of the people, bigger and more determined than he or any other had foreseen, forced him, in the most spectacular manner, to resign the office. The Sons of Liberty, headed by Rufus Putnam, were strong in all the towns of the colony; it has even been claimed that the order originated there. In her earlier controversies with the home government, Connecticut's course, though resolute, had been peculiarly cautious and respectful.¹ But from this time not even Massachusetts was more openly defiant. Roger Sherman, a lawyer-merchant of New Haven, "between fifty and sixty, a solid, sensible man", took stronger ground than even Otis or John Adams on the question of the right of the home government to control the trade of the colonies.² Sherman had been more or less concerned in public affairs for twenty years; but now, retired from business, he gave his whole time to the service of his colony and the cause of the colonies in general. In all the general measures of protest and resistance against those acts of the home government which were deemed oppressive, the government, the towns, and the people of Connecticut were eager and enthusiastic. Watching with intense concern the course of events in Massachusetts, they expressed by words and acts that were anything but uncertain their sympathy and anger. When Townshend's act to tax the colonies was passed, Connecticut merchants entered generally into the non-importation agreement, and they seem to have kept it better than their neighbors of New York. In 1770, after many indignant town-meetings, that perfect means of popular agitation, delegates from all the towns met at New Haven to insist upon a programme of non-importation and the building up of home manufactures. The sentiment against the use of articles imported from Great Britain rose to violent heights and expressed itself in many ways, some of which were fairly comical. In 1770 Jonathan Trumbull entered upon the office of governor, which by successive annual elections he continued to hold for fourteen years. Men like Jefferson and Henry and Rutledge held the same office in other colonies at different times in the Revolutionary era, but for his conduct of the office itself Trumbull doubtless outranks them all. He was not merely in sympathy with the popular movement, he was a bold and devoted leader

¹ Johnston, *Connecticut*, chap. xvi, *passim*.

² Diary of John Adams in *Works*, II, 343. See also Lewis Henry Boutell, *The Life of Roger Sherman* (Chicago, 1896), 63-64, 84. Perhaps the best account of Connecticut in the Revolution is still the old-fashioned but readable narrative of Hollister, in his *History of Connecticut*, II, chaps. v-xviii.

of it. Not even Putnam went beyond him in courage, and he exhibited moreover a statesmanlike wisdom and a shrewdness that was equal to his enthusiasm. He came in time to enjoy in an extraordinary degree the confidence and affection of Washington. It was Washington who gave him his sobriquet of "Brother Jonathan".

Save that the actual collision came first at Boston, there was nothing to distinguish the resistance of Connecticut from that of Massachusetts. If anything, the people and the towns of Connecticut were in even greater haste than those of Massachusetts to proclaim that the fight was their fight. When the ministry abandoned all the duties except those on tea and made its attempt to force tea into the colonial ports, the people of Connecticut had no opportunity for a tea-party of their own. But when General Gage arrived at Boston to carry out the Port Bill and the other force bills of 1774, the Connecticut towns came to Boston's rescue with generous contributions and the most open sympathy; and the Connecticut assembly, being then in session, took the lead in calling for another Continental Congress. The excitement rose to fever-heat as one after another the fateful moves were made by Gage on the one hand and Adams and Hancock and Warren on the other. At last came the runners with tidings of bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, and Putnam, dropping his historic plow in its unfinished furrow, was for a moment in consultation with Trumbull at Lebanon and then away on his ride of a hundred miles and more in eighteen hours to Concord, the militia following him, first in little squads, then in companies, and then in regiments. Arnold, the New Haven storekeeper, seizing without authority the powder he needed for his company, was gone, too, on his way to Cambridge and Ticonderoga and Quebec, and to immortality and infamy. The plan of the attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point was instantly conceived at Hartford, and the means to furnish the expedition were subscribed by Connecticut men. When it reached the Green mountains, it was joined there by Ethan Allen and others who were themselves Connecticut men by birth. It was finally paid for by the Connecticut assembly.

That body was in session by the twenty-sixth of April, nine days after the fighting in Massachusetts; and the deputy from Windsor was at once engaged with his fellows upon measures from which there could be no retreat.¹ They passed an embargo on food-stuffs; sent a committee to wait on Gage with a powerful remonstrance from Governor Trumbull, and another committee to look after supplies for those citizens who were gone already to the relief of Massachusetts; commissioned runners to keep them informed of all the

¹ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, XIV, 413-440.

new and startling happenings; organized one-fourth of the militia into six full regiments, officered them, and looked about for arms and powder to equip them; imposed new taxes to cover these preparations; and called on all the ministers with their congregations to "cry mightily to God".¹ To supervise the expenditures for these warlike activities they also constituted a commission called the Committee of the Pay Table; and one of the four members was Ellsworth.² It was perhaps because of this, his first Revolutionary task, that Ellsworth's name does not thereafter appear in the rolls of the assembly until 1779. At the May session of that year he was again a deputy, this time for Hartford³; but at the October session, having been chosen to the Council of Safety,⁴ he did not sit.

The work of the Pay Table seems to have steadily increased from the beginning. It was then empowered to audit and discharge all accounts incurred in the defense of the colony, and ordered to proceed according to such directions and rules as the assembly should pass from time to time; and from time to time the assembly did pass votes of a nature to enlarge its duties and responsibilities. It became a sort of fiscal war board, in constant correspondence with all commissaries and other persons who had to do with paying or supplying Connecticut's troops and militia. Perhaps the earliest letters of Ellsworth now extant are notes to Governor Trumbull about particular claims—dry business communications which doubtless fairly reflect the tedious and prosaic nature of the work.⁵ There is no sign, however, that he ever complained of it; and there is evidence that he did it faithfully and well, for he was chosen for certain important missions that were necessary parts of it. In February, 1776, the Council of Safety having voted that one of the committee be sent to the general-in-chief of the Continental army to request repayment of moneys advanced by Connecticut to her contingent in his command, it was Ellsworth who went,⁶ and thus, perhaps, he got his first introduction to Washington, who was still at Cambridge, laying siege to Boston. Ten days later, according to the minutes of the council,⁷ "Mr. Ellsworth, having been to Gen'

¹ *Ibid.*, 435.

² *Ibid.*, 431, for resolution.

³ *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut, 1776-1780* (edited by Charles J. Hoadly, 2 vols., Hartford, 1894-1895), II, 249.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁵ September 18, 1776; December 1, December 6, 1777. Trumbull papers, in Massachusetts Historical Society library, many of which are published in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 5th series, IX, X, 7th series, II, III.

⁶ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, XV, 235.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 238.

Washington by order etc., to obtain the money lately paid by our committee to the soldiers etc., and not able to get it, is returned and present, and convers'd with about it etc.,"—and it is voted that he or some other apply to Congress. It does not appear that he went to Philadelphia, but in May he was sent to General Schuyler to seek recovery of the sums already paid by Connecticut to troops employed in Canada.¹ In the following December, while the first campaign in the Jerseys was in progress, he was sent with several others into the western counties to raise reinforcements for General Lee²—one of the many extraordinary exertions of Trumbull and the people of Connecticut in the common cause. Ten years later, when debate arose in a very great company over the way in which the colonies had borne their several shares of the common burden, Ellsworth could point out, with the quiet firmness of full information, that Connecticut had done more and paid more, according to her numbers and her wealth, than any of the states whose representatives dared to criticize her. It is also to be remembered that this first work of his, petty and local though it seems, was yet of a sort that was quite as vital to the cause as any of the stirring and heroic things Arnold and Putnam were doing in the field. If it had only been as well done everywhere as it was by Connecticut and her Pay Table, the victory might have been won sooner and the struggle would certainly have left behind it fewer unpaid bills and less derangement of the currency. Such devotion as Ellsworth showed in this employment was rarer than the soldiers' skill and bravery. It was also, no doubt, a better preparation for his later tasks in statesmanship than any sort of soldiering could possibly have been.

In 1779 he took his seat in the Council of Safety³, and there his duties were of the same sort that occupied the Board of War, the chief executive arm of the Continental Congress. This may perhaps have been a promotion; but two years earlier he had taken another office which probably demanded more of him in time and energy than it paid for in either money or distinction. In 1777 he was chosen state's attorney for Hartford county.⁴ The office, insti-

¹ *Ibid.*, 314-315.

² *State Records of Connecticut*, I, 109. See also, for his services on the Pay Table, *ibid.*, 183. In the Trumbull collection there is a letter from Ellsworth and Benjamin Payne to Governor Trumbull, dated at Hartford, July 10, 1779, urging him to procure artillery for the militia, to resist an impending invasion of the state. See *ibid.*, II, 358; *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 7th series, II, 407-408.

³ *State Records of Connecticut*, II, 287.

⁴ Loomis and Calhoun, *Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut*, 157-162. None of Ellsworth's biographers gives the date correctly. Several sketches would lead one to think that it was 1775.

tuted in 1704 under the title of king's (or queen's) attorney, had not, during the colonial period, been eagerly sought after, though it does seem to have been held by men of very good standing. With the change of name there came no lessening of its requirements and no increase of pay. The fees were small, the cases uninviting. Yet Ellsworth continued to hold it until 1785, and all we know of him is of a nature to make us feel sure that he did not slight its duties on account of his own private practice or his various other public offices.

To these offices, that same year, 1777, another and a higher was added. At the October session the assembly resolved¹:

That Roger Sherman, Eliphalet Dyar, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Oliver Ellsworth, and Andrew Adams, Esq^{rs}, be and they are hereby appointed Delegates to represent this State at the General Congress of the United States in America, for the year ensuing and untill new be chosen and arrive in Congress if sitting; any one or more of them who shall be present in said Congress are hereby fully authorized and empowered to represent this State in said Congress.

The next year, when Ellsworth was again in the list, the commission was altered so as to require that not less than two nor more than four of the seven delegates should be always in attendance². After 1779 the practice was for the towns to nominate to the assembly candidates for these places, and the order of the names, of which the first twelve were published according to these nominations, may possibly show the relative popularity of the men. In 1778, Ellsworth's name came last of twenty. In 1779, it was the fifteenth of twenty. In 1780, Ellsworth's was the first, and among the eleven names that followed it were those of Roger Sherman, Samuel and Benjamin Huntington, and others scarcely less distinguished.³ He was reelected every year until, in the autumn of 1783, he resigned.

WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

¹ *State Records*, I, 417.

² *Ibid.*, II, 134-135.

³ *Ibid.*, 160, 264, 415, 462.

ORIGIN OF THE TITLE SUPERINTENDENT OF FINANCE

ON Wednesday, February 7, 1781, the Continental Congress agreed to the organization of a department of finance; and they gave to the chief officer of that department the title "superintendent of finance". It is well known that a few days later (February 20) Robert Morris of Philadelphia was named by unanimous consent to take charge of the department under the new title. Accepting the place with some hesitation on May 14, he took the oath of office late in the following June, thus making his position formally complete. The position he held until November 1, 1784—for a period of more than three years. No such officer succeeded him, for the finances of the Confederation were soon after managed by a board.¹

The title Superintendent of Finance as borne by Morris remained unique in American history. No one has thus far given special attention to its origin. Surmises on the subject have, it is true, been made.² Probably the most remarkable statement regarding the title stands in a single paragraph at the very opening of Professor W. G. Sumner's well-known work on Morris, a paragraph that by its vigor and decision challenges attention. "The only man in the history of the world", remarks Professor Sumner, "who ever bore the title . . . was Robert Morris . . . the office which he filled has never had a parallel."³ Apparently then the title and the office were a happy inspiration of the Congress of 1780 or 1781. The point of view will serve to direct a brief inquiry into the probable source of the title of 1781.

No fact in American history is more easily authenticated than that of the wide-spread enthusiasm for France which took possession of this country as soon as the alliance of February, 1778, was known to have been established. The slightest familiarity with the newspapers from 1778 to 1783 makes this clear. This en-

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VII, 29, 30, 38, 79, 87, 96, IX, 169, 179, X, 7, 216, XIII, 106-107; Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier*, 76; Francis Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, IV, 297-299, 330-333, 379-380, 412-414, 470-471, 505-506.

² Albert S. Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States*, I, 110; J. C. Guggenheimer, "The Development of the Executive Departments, 1775-1789", in *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States* (edited by J. F. Jameson), 147, 154, note 3, 155. Both writers suggest that the title may be French in origin.

³ William G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the Revolution*, I, 1.

thusiasm for France asserted itself in America at a time when the chief and almost overpowering problem was that of establishing a new form of government, a government that should be strong in structure and capable above all things of being successfully administered. This was indeed the one great practical problem of the Revolutionary as well as of the following epoch. Whatever form the government should ultimately assume, it was clear to a few constructive and liberal minds—to such men as Hamilton, Franklin, Jay, Robert Morris, and, let us add to the list, Pelatiah Webster of Philadelphia—that a sound government must rest on a well-administered national system of finance.

The various committees and boards that had attempted to direct financial matters since June 3, 1775, had proved inadequate. The committees sometimes lacked ability. Moreover the committee and board system was bound to lack real vigor, a fact that Robert Morris appreciated as early as 1776 when he wrote to the Committee of Secret Correspondence that "if the Congress mean to succeed in this contest, they must pay good executive men to do their business as it ought to be, and not lavish millions away by their own mismanagement".¹ That Congress was soon ready to consider foreign methods of administering the finances, if it could by so doing bring order into the government and strengthen the credit, is clear enough. The very year of the French alliance they made a direct appeal to Dr. Richard Price, the well-known English writer on finance and a warm friend to the Revolutionary cause, to come to America and help reorganize the continental finances.² Early in the following year Congress resolved to urge its European agents to inquire into any methods known abroad of administering departments of war, treasury, naval, and other offices.³ But nothing came of these efforts. When by the spring of 1780 Congress was considering the project of placing Morris at the head of a department of finance, they were doubtless moved by a conviction that was wide-spread—in brief that the only hope for the continental finances, and so for the progress of the war and the ultimate establishment of a strong government, lay in the appointment of trustworthy, capable "heads" of administration, men outside of Congress and responsible to it.

Perhaps the most famous expression of this conviction is Alexander Hamilton's. In the autumn of 1780 he declared to James Duane that "Congress should instantly appoint" a secretary of foreign affairs, a president of war, a president of marine, a financier,

¹ Peter Force, *American Archives*, fifth series, III, 1241 (December 16, 1776).

² Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, II, 474, 756.

³ *Secret Journals of Congress*, II, 130 (January 25, 1779).

and a president of trade. That Hamilton had his eye upon French administration is clear from his remark that "these officers should have nearly the same powers and functions as those in France analogous to them".¹ But neither Hamilton's writings nor the arid pages of the *Journals of Congress* give more than very vague suggestions of foreign influence, French influence in particular, working on American minds.

The principle of one-man rule in the executive offices had won its way to results when in January and February, 1781, Congress resolved to appoint three secretaries—for foreign affairs, war, and marine—and a "superintendent of finance". The organization of the department of finance was outlined, it will be remembered, on February 7; and that day marked the adoption of the title.²

Close scrutiny of American newspapers and pamphlets between 1778 and 1781 leads to the conclusion that the title Superintendent of Finance was first employed with a sense of its applicability to an American officer by Pelatiah Webster of Philadelphia. In February, 1780—exactly a year before Congress placed on its records the title Superintendent of Finance—Webster declared in print "that a suitable person for the great office of *Financier-General*, or *Superintendent of Finance*, should be looked up, and *appointed* as soon as may be."³ In order to bring Webster's usage of the title into fuller significance a word should be given to Webster's career.

A Yale graduate in 1746, Pelatiah Webster began work as a clergyman. After about ten years, however, he turned his energies to mercantile business, settled in Philadelphia, and there accumulated a fortune. What leisure he could get he devoted to reading and study, especially in the field of finance and trade. His patriotic zeal carried him far along in his favorite studies. As early as 1776 he began to write for the purpose of helping to solve some of the intricate financial and trade problems already confronting Congress and the country. His collected writings, a volume of well-known essays published four years before his death, are a sure record of his ability, his knowledge of national finance, and his insight into various problems of governmental administration. One may reasonably say that Webster was the maturest American writer on the subject of trade and finance in the epoch of the Revolution. Madison recognized his ability in 1781 and paid a tribute to it later. And

¹ *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, edited by Henry Cabot Lodge (Federal edition, 1904), I, 225, 226.

² *Journals of Congress*, VII, 11-12, 16, 23-25, 29.

³ *Political Essays* (Philadelphia, 1791), 90-91. The original statement appeared February 10, 1780.

it is well known that Webster was consulted from time to time by members of the Continental Congress.¹

Like many loyal Americans, Webster was deeply interested in the French alliance. The next year (August, 1779), considering the subject of trade and finance, he wrote: "A good *financier* is as rare as a *phœnix*, there is but here and there one appears in an age, yet in our present circumstances, a good financier is as necessary as a general, for the one cannot be supported without the other".² He touched upon the same theme in January, 1780. "In the appointment of an officer of the revenue, or expenditures of the public monies . . . it is necessary", he remarked, "most essentially necessary, that he should be a man of known *industry, economy, and thriftiness in his own private affairs.*" And he went on to "propose, that a *financier or comptroller of finances*, be appointed, whose sole object and business should be to superintend the finances. . . . If a man adequate to this business could be found, I conceive his appointment would be of the highest utility . . . as we may easily conceive only by imagining the benefits which might have resulted from such an appointment, had such an one been made five years ago."³ Financial management must be "the work of *one mind*"—such was Webster's repeated advice.⁴ The following month he employed for the first time in print the title Superintendent of Finance. And throughout the year 1780 Webster's pen was busy on matters pertaining to trade and finance.

Within the fortnight preceding the organization of a department of finance there appeared in consecutive numbers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 24 and 31, 1781, two essays by Webster.⁵ In the second essay the author once more tried among other things to enforce the need of placing "men of genius, abilities, integrity and industry" over executive departments. The first essay bore the significant title, "A DISSERTATION *on the Nature, Authority and Uses of the Office of a FINANCIER-GENERAL, or SUPERINTENDANT OF THE FINANCES.*" In it Webster remarked that the office of a Financier-General or "Superintendent" had for some time been contemplated. While the subject was comparatively a new one in America, he had, he added, thought much about it. Then he pro-

¹ The chief facts in Webster's life are given in Professor Franklin B. Dexter's *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, II, 97-102, including a list of all of Webster's known essays and pamphlets. Madison's tribute will be found in *The Madison Papers* (ed. Gilpin), II, 706-707. See also Webster's *Political Essays*, 116, note, 189.

² *Ibid.*, 49.

³ *Ibid.*, 69, 72-73, 88-89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 72, 170-171, 268.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 152-161, 162-171.

ceeded to define the duties of such an office very much as they were defined a fortnight later by Congress. He concluded a part of his essay by saying: "this office does not interfere with any other offices of the revenue or expenditures; such as the office of Treasurer or Treasury Board, Auditor of Accounts, &c. &c. This office begins where they end." In brief, Webster's conception of the office was that of a great minister of finance, a veritable Superintendent of the Finances, for in the same essay he wrote: "A good Financier is much the rarest character to be found of any in the great departments of state. France has had but three in four hundred years, viz. the Duke of Sully, under Henry IV. Colbert, under Louis XIV. and Mr. Neckar. England has not had one since Queen Elizabeth's time." Recalling the titles of Colbert and Necker as *contrôleur-général* and *directeur-général* respectively, one is led by a process of elimination straight to the conclusion that Webster's "Superintendent" was probably suggested by Sully's title of *superintendant des finances*.

Both essays, one might readily conjecture, were written to help forward a plodding and limping Congress, for very soon after their appearance the leading suggestions in these essays were put into force. Webster was, so far as I am aware, the single writer who during 1780-1781 used the title with a view to its applicability to an American officer. Whether or not he suggested the title to Congress—and there is no express evidence regarding the matter—there can be no reasonable doubt that the title was associated by Webster and his contemporaries with the Duke of Sully.

Why under the circumstances of 1780 should not Americans—at least American students of finance and well-read statesmen—catch at the name of Sully and to some extent inform themselves of the man whose name had become a byword indicative of capacity in reëstablishing his country's finances at a critical stage? A hundred and twenty years before Robert Morris was named American Superintendent of Finance, Louis XIV, in September, 1661, dismissed Nicolas Fouquet from the French office of *superintendant*, or *surintendant des finances*.¹ And at that time the French title was suppressed. The title had come to designate the chief financial minister of the administration. It had been the official title of numerous figures in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but among these no man had been abler or more conspicuous in his generation by his ability and afterward through his *Mémoires* than Maximilien de Béthune, Baron de Rosny and Duc de Sully. For some twelve

¹ The form *superintendant* was the usual one until the seventeenth century. Then it was gradually superseded by the contracted *surintendant*.

years, from 1599 till after the death of Henry IV, Sully served in the capacity of superintendent. He succeeded so well in establishing the monarchy on a surer economic and political basis that in the course of time he came to be readily cited as the example of a statesman who at a critical epoch not only saved his country from wreckage, but introduced measures which later French statesmen and others could not ignore. In fact Sully was the single really great figure in the French superintendency.¹

France in the eighteenth century took a new interest in the Duke of Sully. Falling rents, overtaxation, and financial embarrassment, the commercial struggle with Great Britain—all these matters led thoughtful statesmen about the middle of the century to seek to formulate the laws of national prosperity. As a matter of course the days of Henry IV and the financial expedients of Henry's great superintendent came to mind. The *économistes* quoted Sully. Literary men wrote essays upon him. In the latter half of the century his name was heard with some frequency in French political songs and popular epigrams. Even Louis XV and members of the court circle read Sully's writings.²

In 1745 Sully's *Mémoires* appeared, recast and simplified by the Abbé Pierre Mathurin de l'Écluse des Loges. There were at least a dozen French editions of this work by 1781. Translated into English ten years later (1755), in its English dress it ran through some ten editions by the same time.³ There was in John Adams's library

¹ There is no detailed study of the origin and development of the French superintendency in existence. Altogether the most notable article on the subject is Arthur de Boislisle's "Semblançay et la Surintendance des Finances", in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1881, 225-274. Valuable glimpses of the office will be found in the *Économies Royales* of Sully (vols. XVI and XVII in Michaud's *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1857; *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert* (ed. Pierre Clément, Paris, 7 vols., 1861-1870), especially vol. II; P. Clément, *Histoire de la Vie et de l'Administration de Colbert* (Paris, 1846), introductory chapter, 1-70; *Écrits Inédits de Saint-Simon* (ed. A. P. Faugère, Paris, 8 vols., 1880-1893).

² *Mémoires et Journal Inédit du Marquis d'Argenson* (Bibliothèque Elzevirienne, Paris, 5 vols., 1857-1858), II, 76-77, V, 10-11; *Mémoires du Duc de Luynes sur la Cour de Louis XV. (1735-1758)* (ed. by L. Dussieux and E. Soulié, Paris, 17 vols., 1860-1865), VII, 99. A typical use of Sully was made by François Quesnay in the famous *Tableau Économique* (1758), pp. 3-6 of the facsimile reproduction issued for the British Economic Association in 1894. A widely-read essay from the pen of Antoine Léonard Thomas, later a member of the French Academy, was entitled *Éloge de Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully, Surintendant des Finances, principal Ministre sous Henri IV.*; it was published at Lyons in 1763, was soon translated into Swedish and German, and was reprinted in Richard de Bury's *Histoire de la Vie de Henri IV* (3d ed., 1779). For references to Sully of a popular nature, see *Chansonnier Historique du XVIIIe Siècle* (ed. Émile Raunié, Paris, 10 vols., 1879-1884), vols. VIII, IX, X, *passim*. For a further bibliography of Sully, see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s. v. Sully.

³ Based on Quérard, Brunet, Graesse, and catalogues of the large libraries.

a French edition of 1767, portions of which he had certainly read before the American Revolution.¹ Washington had in his library an English edition of 1778 in six volumes.² No doubt many Americans were familiar with Sully through these *Memoirs*. There was in the volumes no more interesting passage than the long description of the qualities essential to a capable finance minister, including a detailed account of Sully's management of the organization of his day while he acted as superintendent of the French finances.³

There appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of November 8, 1780—three months before Congress outlined its department of finance—a brief paragraph addressed to the editor (Mr. Bradford), and signed "A. B." The paragraph read:

The following Account of the state of France, when the Duke of SULLY, in the reign of Henry the fourth undertook the management of the finances of that kingdom, and of the conduct of that great Minister, may afford some useful instruction to your readers.

"The standing revenues brought into the King's coffers, no more than *Thirty Millions*, though *One Hundred and Fifty Millions* were raised on the people; so great were the abuses of that government in raising money; and they were not less in the dispensation of it. SULLY beheld this state of things, when he came to have the sole superintendency of affairs, with horror. He was ready to despair; but he did not despair. Zeal for his Master, zeal for his Country, and this very State seemingly so desperate, animated his endeavours; and THE NOBLEST THOUGHT, THAT EVER ENTERED INTO THE HEAD OF A MINISTER, ENTERED INTO HIS. He resolved to make, and he made, the REFORMATION OF ABUSES, the REDUCTION OF EXPENCES, and a FRUGAL MANAGEMENT, the sinking fund for the payment of the national debts, and the sufficient fund for all the great things he intended to do, without overcharging the people. He succeeded in all. A. B.

From what source came this quotation? Who was "A. B."? Was he Alexander Hamilton or James Duane, Pelatiah Webster or James Madison? Anonymous as the evidence is, it indicates clearly enough that a little while before Congress organized its department of finance, the Duke of Sully was in men's minds.

How easy it was to look upon Sully as the great exemplar of Morris is made sufficiently clear from the correspondence of Presi-

¹ Through Mr. Arthur Adams of Boston my attention was directed to the French *Mémoires* of Sully (8 vols., 1767) once owned by John Adams and now in the Boston Public Library. The earlier volumes are annotated in John Adams's hand. Cf. *The Works of John Adams* (ed. C. F. Adams, 10 vols., 1850-1856), IX, 404.

² W. C. Lane's inventory of Washington's library in the appendix to *A Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenæum* (1897), 514.

³ *Mémoires de Sully* (1747), I, 546-572. The passage in the English translation will be found in book X, II, 295-326 (ed. of 1763, 6 vols.).

dent Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania. Writing to his friend Searle in the spring of 1781, Reed commented on the recent action of Congress in appointing Morris "Minister" of finance. Then he added: "The task of restoring the finances of this country must be a very arduous one. A Sully should have a Henry to support him, but it may be doubted whether Sullys or Henrys are the growth of the present age."¹ In the autumn of the same year Reed held Morris up to General Nathanael Greene as a "pecuniary dictator". Reed considered that the "qualities" required for administering such a place as Morris held "were ability of mind, some money in hand, and a private credit for more. I believe I ought", he continued, "to have put the latter qualities first, for if Sully had been here without them, he would not have been thought of".² Coming from the president of the executive council of Pennsylvania, a man who had been in Congress and who knew, it is safe to assume, something about the secret proceedings of that body, these allusions are notable—all the more so if it is remembered that the Pennsylvania assembly and the Continental Congress met at this period under the same roof.³ Perhaps they were suggested by actual knowledge regarding Congressional discussions. It is, however, probable that they indicate simply that at the time Sully was the stock example of a great financier.

Philadelphia as the seat of government was especially likely to be touched by zeal for France. There Gérard for a short time, and after him Luzerne and his secretary, Marbois, for a longer period represented their country's interests. Luzerne in particular was a conspicuous and well-liked figure in Philadelphia society. He often entertained his fellow-countrymen, and on sundry occasions he gave tavern dinners to the members of the Continental Congress.⁴ As a matter of course after 1778 the French language was widely studied in America;⁵ and French books, as the booksellers' lists indicate, were read. Chastellux was pleased to find that French history afforded numerous topics for conversation in Philadelphia homes.⁶

Such circumstantial evidence, then, as can be found points unmistakably to the French origin of the American title Superintendent of Finance. It was associated at the time of its appearance in

¹ William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 2 vols., 1847), II, 296.

² *Ibid.*, 374.

³ François Jean Chastellux, *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782* (2d ed., London, 2 vols., 1787), I, 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 187, note, 322-323, etc.

⁵ *The Works of John Adams*, VII, 173.

⁶ Chastellux, *Travels*, I, 309.

America with Sully, chief minister of Henry IV and for about twelve years the most capable occupant of the office known as *surintendant des finances*. The appearance of the title in 1780 helped mark that wide-spread zeal for France which after the alliance of 1778 involved almost all patriotic Americans. Moreover the title itself was one among many pieces of evidence which here and there in the eighteenth century revealed the new interest felt in the work and writings of the Duke of Sully. Somehow Sully's title gained Congressional attention, and in a form slightly altered from the French was adopted. It was not popular, and was never used in law after Morris's resignation of the office in 1784. It went the way of many another doctrinaire suggestion, for such, in truth, it was.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

DOCUMENTS

Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795-1797.

THE following documents from the British Public Record Office, the Department of State at Washington, and the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, illustrate the proposed attack upon the Spanish possessions of North America by frontiersmen and Indians expecting aid from Great Britain, to which the name Blount's Conspiracy is commonly given. For his connection with this affair, William Blount, senator from Tennessee, former governor of the Territory South of the Ohio, was expelled from the Senate. A brief sketch of the movement is given in the REVIEW for January, 1905, X, 272-274, with citation of the material. Further references are in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1903, II, especially the introduction, and pp. 840, 919, 990, 1015, 1048, 1068, 1075, 1079, 1091, 1098.

The so-called Blount Conspiracy must be considered in relation to the designs of France upon Louisiana; the attitude of the Tory settlers at Natchez and the retention of the Spanish posts upon the Mississippi¹; England's war with Spain and her attitude toward the Mississippi valley from 1795 to 1798; Pitt's negotiations with Miranda, and the latter's overtures to Adams, Hamilton, etc.; and the critical relations of the United States with France during Adams's administration. The land speculations in New York and on the Mississippi are also related to the intrigue.

It is important to collate these documents with those in the trial of Blount: *Annals of Fifth Congress, 1797-1799*, I, 34-45, 448-466, 499 ff., 672-679; II, 2245-2416; see index to these volumes for speeches and legislative proceedings. Other important documents are in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 20-27, 66-77 (Blount's letter to Carey is on pp. 76-77), 78-103; King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II, 196-258, *passim*; Victor Collot, *Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (2 vols., Paris, 1826), also in translation, *A Journey in North America* (Paris, 1826).

¹ Peter J. Hamilton, "Running Mississippi's South Line", *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, II, 157-168; G. L. Rives, "Spain and the United States in 1795", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IV, 62-79; F. L. Riley, "Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo", *Report of American Historical Association*, 1897, 175-192, and *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, I, 50-66; F. L. Riley, "Transition from Spanish to American Rule in Mississippi", *ibid.*, III, 261-311.

The documents from the archives of the Department of State were found and copied by the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. I am indebted to Mr. C. F. Huth, graduate scholar in history in the University of Wisconsin, for assistance in preparing the annotations.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

I. DUKE OF PORTLAND TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIMCOE.¹

WHITEHALL 24th October 1795

Sir,

The conversations you had with Lord Grenville previous to your leaving England relative to the dispositions of the Settlers in Kentucky, and the Western Count[r]y of the Northern States, joined to your own knowledge of them render it quite unnecessary for me to point out either their connexions or interests, or the extent to which they may be made subservient to His Majesty's Service, should a rupture take place with Spain—an event which I sincerely trust may not happen, but which nevertheless admits too great a degree of possibility, not to require our being prepared to meet it with every advantage that can be placed on our side.

I am not, at this moment sufficiently apprized of the present sentiments of these Settlers or whether the jealousies which formerly subsisted between them and the Spanish Government relative to the Mississippi still continue to influence them in such a manner, as would be likely to animate them to an immediate cooperation with this Country, in case the event should take place, which I have mentioned. I am therefore desirous of being confidentially informed by you, in particular on this point, and of receiving your opinion of the effect to be produced against the Spanish Settlements in North America, by the means of such co-operation as I have supposed. In addition to which, I should also wish for your sentiments with respect to any other movements with which this measure may require to be connected.

You will clearly see for the present that no open or direct communication on the subject of this letter can be made, on our parts to the Settlers in question, that all that can be done (and *that* will require your utmost care and circumspection) is, to cultivate such an intercourse with the leading Men of those Settlements, as will be likely to give to this Country a facility and advantage in acting with them, if ever a proper occasion should occur, carefully observing not to give any umbrage, or cause of suspicion to Spain, and avoiding whatever can, in the smallest degree commit this Country with the Government of the United States or make His Majesty a Party to any attacks on the Spanish Settlements, should no circumstances arise which may call for them on our part.

¹ Public Record Office, War Office (Colonial), Secret Entry Book. Duke of Portland. "Original drafts signed by him." Indorsed: "Lieut Governor Simcoe Most private and secret Sent in Cypher."

I forbear to call your attention to the assistance which, in the event I have supposed, may be afforded by the Southern and Western Indians, as, in communicating your sentiments to me, in consequence of what I have already stated, you will, of course include in any supposed measures, which occasion may call for, the Services which might be derived from the above description of Persons.

Some knowledge of such parts of Lake Michigan as form or facilitate a communication with the Mississippi, its boundaries, and the connection of its Inlets, in respect to what rate of Vessels or Crafts, they may admit, may be, eventually, very material, and if an opportunity should present itself for this purpose, which in carrying into execution the several provisions contained in Our Treaty with the United States, may very well be expected, you will of course take advantage of it and transmit me a proper Chart with observations.¹

I am etc

PORTLAND

II. ROBERT LISTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.²

PHILADELPHIA 25 January 1797

To the War Department

My Lord

A person of the name of Chisholm who has accompanied to Philadelphia some warriors and Tribes of Indians who live on the South West Boundary of the United States has informed me that there are settled amongst these Tribes from a Thousand to Fifteen Hundred White Inhabitants principally British Subjects, attached to their Country and Sovereign, and ready to enter into a plan for the Recovery of the

¹ A letter in Canadian Archives, Series-Q, 282-2, p. 694, dated November 23, 1796, from W. Tatham (Latham?) contains this paragraph: "I dare boldly pronounce the fallacy of any reliance of Cooperation in the Countries of Kentucky and Territory South of Ohio in Conjunction with those of Upper Canada at the present juncture. Nay, I rather doubt a tendency to support the French in settling La. through many avenues and I advance this opinion founded upon twenty years acquaintance with the premises and with almost every man of enterprise they contain, but still more on a more intimate communication with the affairs of the American States and with Generals Lee, Scott, Clarke Shelby Sevier, Martin, Robertson Gunn and others to whom General Simcoe is well known, and with some one or more of whom (whose hour is not yet come) he, I believe is in intimate correspondence and high esteem."

George Rogers Clark alleged, in a letter of March 2, 1797, that English agents from Canada were in Kentucky to enroll volunteers destined to march against Louisiana, and that some days before he had received propositions to march at the head of two thousand men against New Mexico and had refused the offer. He did not believe the English could open the campaign before July. Their plan was, as he affirmed, to take St. Louis and then divide, one division to descend the Mississippi and the other to march against Santa Fé (Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, Paris, n. d. 1904, 362-363). See the REVIEW, X, 274, note.

² Public Record Office, America 18.

Floridas to Great Britain¹ and that he is authorized to make, through me, an offer of their Services to His Majesty for that purpose. He represents the Settlers alluded to as being able with a slight degree of countenance and co-operation from Government, not only to drive the Spaniards from East and West Florida, but also to take possession of these Provinces when conquered. The Chief Conditions proposed are That His Majesty should legalize the above Enterprize by granting Commissions to a few of the Principal persons that might engage in it (which Commission however should not entitle them to pay or permanent Rank) That the British Government should send a Frigate and two or three armed Vessels with a few Field pieces to assist in making an attack on Mobile and Pensacola (if it were found necessary) and should furnish a Thousand Weight of Powder and two Thousand Weight [] and one Thousand Blankets for the Indians who may be willing to [engage] in the Expedition.

I shall enter more particularly into this Subject by the return of the November packet which I am in hourly expectation of seeing arrive in this Country.²

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, My Lord

Your Lordships, Most Obedient Humble Servant

ROB. LISTON

R^t Honble Lord Grenville

III. VICTOR COLLOT TO CARLOS MARTINEZ DE YRUJO.³

PHILADELPHIE, le 1^{er} mars 1797.

Note remise au ministre de Sa Majesté Catholique par le général Collot relative à l'attaque de la Louisiane projetée par les Anglais.

Je considère la haute Louisiane dans son état actuel, ouverte de toute part, sans troupes, sans fortifications, le peuple inquiet, menacé par l'Angleterre, envié par les États-Unis, et dans un péril imminent; et si elle est encore une possession de Sa Majesté Catholique, c'est parce qu'elle n'a pas été attaquée.

La haute Louisiane prise, la basse tombe nécessairement, et il ne faudra qu'un peu plus ou moins de tems; car je ne connais pas un poste

¹ Andrew Ellicott, in his *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1803), 175, says, regarding one of the committees about Natchez, that "a plan was early formed, to add to the Union, the two Floridas, with the island of Orleans, provided the Spaniards either committed hostilities against the citizens of the United States at Natchez or joined France in the contest against us. From the secrecy, talents, and enterprise of those concerned, added to a temporary system of finance, and a deposit of arms, there could not possibly be any doubt of the complete, and almost instantaneous success of the plan had it been attempted."

² Lieutenant-governor Prescott, of Quebec, wrote to Liston, February 16, 1797, of the difficulty that would attend sending supplies for the proposed expedition against the Floridas unless the people of the United States favored the enterprise, or England still held the posts south of the Lakes. *Report on Canadian Archives, 1891*, "Lower Canada", 149. See his complaints, August 31, 1797, of Pickering's having made the matter public, *ibid.*, 155.

³ Deciphered. *Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis Correspondance*, vol. 47, folios 126-129, in No. 11 of Adet. General Collot had returned from his investigations in the Mississippi in January. For his career see the references referred to in the introduction.

(je le démontrerai dans mon mémoire général) qui puisse tenir huit jours devant 2.000 hommes de bonnes troupes. La haute Lotisiane entre les mains de l'Angleterre ou des Américains ouvre la porte du Nouveau-Mexique en passant entre les rivières des *Osages* et des *Arkansas* où l'on ne trouve que de hautes futayes, des prairies naturelles et pas une seule rivière à traverser. Je sais qu'on traitera en Europe cette crainte de chimérique, d'idée gigantesque ; mais moi qui connais les lieux, le caractère entreprenant des peuples qui les habitent, et les prétendues difficultés que l'on suppose que l'ennemi trouvera, je répète que, si la haute Lotisiane tombe entre les mains des Anglais ou des Américains, St-Fé sera pillé et ravagé la campagne suivante, parce que ces deux nations seront toujours d'accord, lorsqu'il s'agira de faire de l'argent et de dépouiller Sa Majesté Catholique.

Je n'approuve donc pas par cette raison les enrôlements qu'on propose au ministre ; ils coûteront des sommes immenses et on n'en tirera aucun parti. Ils seront même très dangereux, à moins qu'il n'y ait parmi eux beaucoup de Français ; d'ailleurs, les sauvages auront une répugnance invincible à agir avec eux, et les habitants encore plus.

Je pense donc que ce qu'il y a de plus important à faire dans une circonstance aussi fâcheuse, est d'employer tous les moyens possibles, sinon pour faire échouer cette expédition, au moins pour la retarder.

Pour cela le ministre doit : 1^o s'opposer de toutes ses forces à ce que les Anglais passent sur le territoire américain pour attaquer la haute Lotisiane. Pour cet effet, je crois qu'il ne doit pas se contenter de traiter cette affaire avec le secrétaire d'État, dont la fourberie est assés connue aux deux puissances alliées, mais encore avec le président des États-Unis. Voici pourquoi : c'est que s'il arrivait que, malgré les protestations dont cet homme est prodigue, le passage fût forcé, n'étant d'aucun poids par lui-même, le gouvernement en serait quitté pour le désavouer, le chasser même au besoin pour donner une apparente satisfaction au Roy d'Espagne, et la Lotisiane n'en serait pas moins perdue.

Les Américains maîtres aujourd'hui des postes ferment aux Anglais les trois principaux passages par lesquels ils pourraient déboucher des Lacs. Le premier en partant du Détroit, remontant la petite rivière des *Mimms* [Miamis] pour gagner les sources de la *Wabach* et la descendre jusqu'au poste Vincennes pour de là arriver par terre aux Illinois à Kaskasias par une très belle communication à travers un pays où on ne rencontre que des prairies naturelles.

Le second, en partant de *Michilimakinac*, passant par la baie des Puans,¹ remontant la rivière des Sacsouhau²-River pour gagner par un portage de trois milles les sources de la rivière de *Ouisconsin* qui verse ses eaux dans le Mississipi.

Le 3^{ème} en partant de *Michilimakinac*, descendant le lac *Michigan* jusqu'aux sources de la rivière des Illinois (ce qui se fait dans les grandes

¹ Green bay, Wisconsin.

² Sacs ou paux ? The Fox river.

eaux sans portage) pour suivre le cours de cette rivière jusques vis-à-vis S^t Lotiis.

Mais comme, indépendamment de ces trois passages fermés par la possession des forts américains, les Anglais pourraient néanmoins passer au dessus pour exécuter leurs desseins en rassemblant leurs forces sur le lac Supérieur et remontant la rivière *Coppe[r]mines* pour joindre par un petit portage la tête de la rivière *Vermillon* qui se jette dans celle de *Chippewa*, qui conduit au Mississipi, ou bien par là où est la baie du lac Supérieur, qui offre aussi un passage en remontant une des petites rivières du fond de cette baie, et joignant par un petit portage la tête de la rivière *Froide*, qui mène de même au Mississipi.

Le ministre d'Espagne doit, d'après cela, requérir le gouvernement américain d'établir des postes sur ces communications, ne fût-il [fussent-ils] que de 4 ou 5 hommes, ils suffiront pour constater la violation du territoire des États-Unis et leur ôter tout prétexte.

Les Anglais seront alors forcés de remonter jusqu'au lac des Bois pour gagner le territoire espagnol et la tête du Mississipi, leur ligne d'opérations sera allongée et ils perdront encore beaucoup de tems en raison des rapides, chutes et portages infinis dont toute cette partie est coupée.

Il est indispensable d'envoyer sans perdre de tems à S^t Lotiis un officier de génie à talent, toute cette province en étant dépourvue, pour mettre au moins hors d'insulte cette place ouverte de toutes parts, qui est la clef de la haute Lotiisiane par sa position, et la facilité d'y former un bon camp retranché.

Faire approvisionner cette place par le Kentukey aussitôt qu'il sera possible, parce qu'elle sera le rendez-vous général des troupes de sauvages et le reste. Il faut d'ailleurs un tems infini pour tirer des vivres de la Nouvelle-Orléans, qui, en outre, serait certainement attaquée ou menacée en même tems par le golfe du Mexique et aurait besoin de tous ses moyens. D'ailleurs l'Angleterre, ici bien puissante, emploiera son influence aux États-Unis pour nuire à l'approvisionnement de la Lotiisiane. Comme le poste de L'Anse à la graisse¹ est en partie détruit par les eaux et que l'automne dernier, on allait l'évacuer, il faut en transporter les troupes, l'approvisionnement et les munitions à S^t Lotiis, ainsi qu'une partie de la garnison des *Ecoamargot*² et les trois galères qui s'y trouvent placées un peu au dessus du Missouri et vis-à-vis de l'embouchure des Illinois pour arrêter tout ce qui pourrait descendre par cette rivière ou du haut Mississipi, avec ordre dans le cas où elles seraient forcées, d'aller s'emboîser sous le fort S^t Lotiis.

On doit faire occuper les postes intermédiaires par les sauvages; bien disposés, ils rempliront les vides et empêcheront les Américains d'en prendre possession tant que la guerre durera. Je pense même que les

¹ New Madrid.

² Écores à Margot, Chickasaw Bluffs, Memphis, Tennessee. See REVJRW, II, 480; *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford's ed.), VI, 335-336.

postes New-Gales¹ et des Arkansas doivent être ramenés à St. Louis où leur garnison serait de la plus grande utilité ; d'ailleurs politiquement parlant, je le[s] trouve beaucoup mieux entre les mains des sauvages.

Par cette disposition, le gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Orléans, au lieu de se dégarnir, pourra renforcer les postes de la Nouvelle-Orléans, *Bâton-Rouge*, *Silenque-Mines*² et autres avec les milices des Natchès (la plus part des habitants des Natchès est composé d'anciens *Tysdesers-unis*,³ dévoués aux Anglais), de la pointe-coupée⁴ et des Carolines. Quant aux Florides, la Havane doit leur fournir des secours.

Mais pour opérer un effet moral plus puissant, rallier beaucoup d'opinions, déterminer toutes les nations sauvages si nombreuses dans cette partie à s'armer, contre les Anglais, enchaîner les Américains des États de l'ouest et nord-ouest, faire prononcer les Canadiens des Lacs, il faudrait des Français ; le plus petit corps de troupes de la République non seulement sauverait cette colonie de l'ennemi commun, mais encore mettrait Sa Majesté Catholique à même de porter bientôt la guerre dans le cœur du Canada. Ce n'est pas ici jactance, orgueil national, c'est la vérité extraite de ce que j'ai vu, entendu et observé dans la reconnaissance que j'ai faite de ces contrées. Mais le tems presse, l'ennemi est à la porte, les grandes autorités sont éloignées, cette idée ne peut servir que pour l'avenir. Peut-être serait-il possible de suppléer momentanément à ces grands obstacles en faisant lever au nom de la France dans la haute Louisiane un corps de Canadiens ; j'indiquerai la forme et le lieu du rassemblement. Cette union des deux nations serait d'un grand poids et suffirait peut-être pour suspendre l'expédition des Anglais, dans le doute où ils seraient de savoir quelle part les États de l'ouest pourraient prendre à cette guerre.

Je prie le ministre de peser dans sa sagesse cette note écrite à la hâte et trop peu développée, mais qui renferme des vérités qui feront peut-être époque un jour ; car la perte de la Louisiane dans la situation où se trouvent la France et l'Espagne vis-à-vis des États-Unis, serait un des coups les plus funestes aux deux puissances alliées. On doit donc tout faire pour la sauver.⁵

Pour copie conforme
Signé P. A. ADET.

IV. GENERAL COLLOT TO CHEVALIER DE YRUJO.⁶

Deuxième note remise au ministre d'Espagne par le général Collot, pour servir de réponse aux différentes questions qui lui ont été adressées par ce ministre par sa lettre en date du 1^{er} mars 1797.

Dans la première note que j'ai eu l'honneur de remettre au ministre d'Espagne, je crois lui avoir suffisamment démontré quelle était l'importance de la plan de St. Louis.

¹ Nogales, Walnut Hills, Vicksburg.

² Plaquemines ?

³ United Tory deserters ?

⁴ Pointe Coupée, Louisiana.

⁵ Compare Carondelet's plan of defense, 1794, in the REVIEW, II, 474-505.

⁶ Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis Correspondance, vol. 47, folios 130-131.

Il ne me reste plus pour répondre aux différentes questions insérées dans sa lettre en date du 1^{er} mars 1797, qu'à lui faire connaître que la conservation de cette place (d'après sa situation topographique) dépend autant de ses soins que de ceux du gouverneur général de la Louisiane.

On ne peut révoquer en doute que toutes les fois qu'une puissance est en guerre avec une autre, le premier soin d'un fonctionnaire public est de mettre en état de défense toutes les parties sous la domination de son souverain *appelées extrêmes frontières*, sans attendre même qu'elles soient menacées, il suffit seulement qu'elles puissent l'être d'un instant à l'autre pour justifier cette sage précaution.

S^t Louis est l'extrême frontière de la haute Louisiane relativement au Canada, puisque c'est à compter du Missouri que finissent les derniers établissemens formés sur le territoire de Sa Majesté Catholique dans la haute Louisiane.

La paix même ne serait pas une excuse suffisante pour ne pas mettre cette place en état de défense, puis qu'elle doit protéger par la suite du tems le commerce de ces immenses contrées, arrêter tous les envahissemens et violations de territoire de la part des Anglais, qui se sont déjà emparé[s] de la partie la plus précieuse appartenante à Sa Majesté Catholique, parce qu'ils n'ont rien trouvé qui s'y soit opposé, ainsi que je l'ai fait connaître au ministre d'Espagne, lorsque je lui ai rendu compte de mon voyage.

Que c'est de S^t Louis que doivent être répartis tous les différents postes que Sa Majesté Catholique sera obligée de faire établir *sur les limites projetées* entre le Canada et la Louisiane, et empêcher par là les empiétemens auxquels les lignes de démarcation imaginaires ne fournissent que trop de prétextes aux puissances ambitieuses et de mauvaise foi.

Mais comme le ministre d'Espagne pourrait m'objecter que ces soins devraient naturellement appartenir au gouverneur de la Louisiane, je lui observerai que, quels que soient les talents et l'activité bien connus de M^r le Baron de Carondelet, il lui est impossible de porter des secours et d'approvisionner la place de S^t Louis avec la même facilité et la même célérité que le ministre d'Espagne en a le pouvoir par la voye de Philadelphie, parce qu'il faut deux mois et demi de la Nouvelle-Orléans pour aller à S^t Louis et qu'un seul suffit pour s'y rendre de l'État de Kentucky ; que les farines à la Nouvelle-Orléans coûtaient à mon départ 20 et 24 piastres, tandis qu'elles n'en coûtent que 5 et 6 dans les États de l'ouest. Il y a donc pour Sa Majesté Catholique économie de tems et de dépense extrêmement précieuse.

À l'égard de mon opinion sur la nécessité d'envoyer d'ici un officier du génie dans la haute Louisiane, elle est fondée sur ce que cette province en est totalement dépourvue ; que d'ailleurs l'officier que le ministre d'Espagne dépêchera d'ici doit selon tous les calculs des distances être rendu à S^t Louis 6 semaines ou 2 mois avant celui que l'on pourrait tirer de la Havane.

C'est par cette même raison que je n'hésite pas à me rendre à la

demande que m'a faite le ministre d'Espagne de lui communiquer ce que je pense qu'il seroit raisonnable de faire pour mettre la place de St Louis à l'abri d'un coup de main.¹

Il trouvera, dans le projet que j'ai l'honneur de lui adresser cy-joint, ce que je pense à ce sujet, bien entendu qu'il sera soumis à l'examen de M. le Baron de Carondelet, afin qu'il puisse y faire tous les changemens, les corrections et additions qu'il croira justes et nécessaires.

Fait à PHILADELPHIE, le 9 mars 1797, (V. S.)

Signé, V. COLLOT.

Pour copie conforme

P. A. ADET.

V. ROBERT LISTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.²

PHILADELPHIA 16 March 1797

My Lord

The Bearer of this Letter is M^r Chisholm the Gentleman mentioned in my Letters No 2 and 3 as having been charged by certain Persons inhabiting near the South West Frontiers of the United States, to propose a Plan for the Conquest of the Floridas

He has lately received Letters from some of the Adventurers who wish the most ardently to engage in the Enterprize representing in such lively Colours the facility of its Execution and the Certainty of Success at the same Time urging him so strongly to bring the Business to a conclusion before he returns among them that he felt himself irresistibly impelled to make a Voyage to Europe in order to Explain his Views to His Majesty's Ministers and to obtain a definite answer on the subject before the Season be too far advanced.

M^r Chisholm's Correspondents appear to have given him an account of the Dispositions of the Inhabitants of the Spanish Territories adjoining to the United States that has persuaded him of the possibility of joining to the Acquisition of Florida the Reduction of the Forts on the Mississippi, the Conquest of New Mexico, and a Diversion that might ultimately contribute to the Independence of South America, if that were considered as a Measure essential to the Interests of Great Britain

The Certainty which the last accounts from Europe convey of the farther Continuance of the War, the Probability of the Cession of Louisiana to the French by the Spaniards, and the serious consequences that must attend it, together with the Advantages which might accrue to His Majesty's Interests from even a temporary possession of that Country are Considerations that struck me as being of such Importance as to render it improper for me to discourage the Idea of his Voyage. I have therefore consented to M^r Chisholm's Proposal and have paid his Passage to England,³ giving him hopes at the same time that the Expences of his

¹ See Collot's plan for fortifying St. Louis in his *Journey in North America*, I, 249-252, 257-264.

² Public Record Office, America 18.

³ See number VII, note 3, p. 584.

Stay in London, and of his Return to this Country will be defrayed by His Majesty's Government provided the amount does not exceed the Sum of One Hundred and Fifty pounds. The charge of the whole Expedition as stated by him is so very inconsiderable and the Risk seems to come so little home to Great Britain that there appears to be hardly any objection to making the Experiment except the possibility of being imposed upon by Characters of which it is not easy to obtain a competent knowledge. But this danger might in a great degree be obviated by sending one or two Persons of Consequence to direct the operations and control the Disbursements

I shall take the first safe opportunity of mentioning further particulars of the plan of operations in Question and shall content myself at present with suggesting that although any apparent Infraction of the Neutrality of the United States might be avoided by the Proposal of Captain Chisholm that the Adventurers (who have never become Citizens of America) should all pass over to the Spanish Territory, before they begin their Military Preparations, yet there are solid Reasons against complying with the proposed Invitation to the Indian Tribes to join the King's Standard, since by the Treaty between the United States and Spain, it is expressly stipulated that the Contracting Parties shall reciprocally prevent the Commission of Hostilities by the Indians settled within their respective Boundaries, and even use Force for that Purpose if it should be found necessary. This Difficulty can hardly be otherwise done away than by a Rupture between France and America, which might also involve His Catholic Majesty and of course annul the Treaty alluded to. But there is Reason to think that the Assistance of the Indians is not absolutely necessary to the Success of the Enterprize.

As It is not unlikely that this Dispatch may be prevented from reaching your Lordship's hands I have furnished the Bearer with ostensible Letters of Recommendation to M^r Hammond, but so expressed as to conceal the real object of his journey.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect

My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant

R^t Honbl^e Lord Grenville

ROB. LISTON

VI. ROBERT LISTON TO [GEORGE HAMMOND ?].¹

PHILADELPHIA 16 March 1797

Dear Sir

The bearer, M^r Chisholm is the Gentleman concerning whom I wrote to you in my Letters of the 25th of January and 13th of last month to which I beg leave to refer you.

He, and his partners and employers have become impatient and he sets out with an intention of Explaining the business and procuring a definitive answer himself.

Should he be disappointed at Hamburgh, and come to London, I, with perfect confidence deliver him into your hands for every degree of

¹ Public Record Office, America 18.

support and assistance he may require. He is likely among other things, to need your aid to put his thoughts into proper stile and shape on paper; for he is more used to *talk* over the praises of Lands, the advantages of their situation and the facility of their improvement than to *write* upon the Subject and our monied monied [*sic*] men are so much surfeited with eloquent descriptions that they are become fastidious and will not be affected by an artful tale.

I hope you will at all events redispach him soon for America and not allow him to spend money unnecessarily in London. I have desired Moore to supply him with what he may want during his stay but I trust the sum will not be large and I equally trust you will finally reimburse me the whole whatever it be, for my interest compared with that of the great monied men in question is next to nothing.

Captain Williamson who has been once more in town assures me the lands in the Genesee Country are by no means unhealthy when the woods are cut down and cultivation commenced but I still doubt Poor Bob Morris is at length obliged to sell, and has already advertised his magnificent possessions in this Country not excepting the palace in Chesnut Street.

I remain, with perfect truth and regard

My dear Sir

Your most obedient and faithful humble Servant

ROB. LISTON

VII. ROBERT LISTON TO JOHN D. CHISHOLM.¹

Memorandum for M^r Chisholm —

On arriving at Hamburgh, M^r Chisholm will call on M^r Goverts, to whom I have written a Letter,² and on M^r Peyron, the Swedish Minister to whom I also wrote sometime ago, and who is a very excellent Man. — These two Gentlemen will be sufficient for every thing you may want, except for Money, which I know you have taken your measures to procure elsewhere.³

If you are forced to come to London, I have given you Letters which I hope will suffice for every thing, and even for Money. When you wish to correspond with me, carry your Letters to *the Secretary of States Office Downing Street Westminster*, at the beginning of a month; at other times write by Ship.

R. L.

¹ Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, England, volume 5. Headed, "— Copy — [the original in the possession of R King]".

² This letter to J. H. Goverts, introducing Chisholm, was given by Chisholm to King, and is printed in King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II, 198.

³ Pickering in a letter to the committee of impeachment says that Liston confessed to him to have paid the passage for Chisholm and also to have given him a draft on his own banker in London for £20. Thus it may be technically true that, as Chisholm in his declaration claims, Liston had never advanced him any money (*Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2374; see also King to Secretary of State, August 28, 1797, King, *Correspondence*, II, 217-218). Thomas Davy in a letter to William Davy, dated September 13, 1797, says that Chisholm had tried in vain to borrow from him, and that the British ministry had amply supplied Chisholm with money (*Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2369-2370).

17. March 1797.

P: S the Originals, of which the foregoing are true Copies, are in my Possession, having been delivered to me by J. D Chisholm.

LONDON Dec. 9. 1797

RUFUS KING

VIII. GENERAL COLLOT TO CHEVALIER DE YRUJO.¹

3^{ème} Note. adressée au ministre de Sa Majesté Catholique près des États-Unis d'Amérique par le général Collot.

D'après la déposition du S^r Michel, habitant du Tennessee, il paraît :

1^o qu'il a été fait par le nommé Chisholm, agent anglais et habitant du Tennessee un enrôlement de 1000 habitans de cette province destinés à attaquer les postes du Bâton-Rouge, de New-Gales et des Écorts à Margot appartenant à Sa Majesté Catholique.

2^o que Chisholm a fait toute la reconnaissance de la Louisiane et des deux Florides, et déterminé les nations Creek et Cherokees à tourner leurs armes contre les possessions espagnoles.

3^o que Chisholm a obtenu une liste de 1.500 Torys ou loyalistes anglais des Natchez, qui se sont engagés à prendre les armes en faveur des Anglais, dès qu'ils paraîtraient pour attaquer la Basse Louisiane et marcher par cette conquête sur S^{te} Fé.

4^o qu'il se forme un rassemblement sur les Lacs dans le Haut-Canada, composé de 500 anglais troupe[s] de ligne, 700 canadiens, milice soldée, et 2000 sauvages des Lacs qui doivent être commandés par le chef indien *Brent*.²

5^o que ce corps doit descendre par la rivière des Illinois, attaquer S^t Louis, la Nouvelle-Madrid, marcher ensuite sur S^{te} Fé en suivant les rivières S^t François et des Arkansas.

6^o que Chisholm s'est procuré 6 pièces de canons de campagne, qu'il a déposées sur la rivière du Tennessee entre les mains d'un de ses agens, et que ces pièces sont les mêmes autrefois destinées à l'expédition du citoyen Genet.

7^o que le rendez-vous des Américains doit avoir lieu à Knoxville dans le Tennessee le 1^{er} Juillet.

8^o qu'en conséquence Chisholm, après avoir ainsi tout disposé, et après avoir fait son rapport au ministre d'Angleterre, M^r Liston, est parti le 28 de mars pour Londres sur le brig — destiné pour Hambourg pour faire part de ce project au gouvernement et demander des vaisseaux et de l'argent pour son exécution.

Le S^r Michel a déposé en outre qu'une partie des membres du Sénat américain était dans le secret; notamment MM. Bi——, Li——, et Ru——.³

¹ Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis Correspondance, volume 47, folios 137-139.

² Brant, the celebrated chief.

³ Blount? Livermore? Rutherford? These names of senators in the Fifth Congress most nearly supply the omissions. The editor has no other reason for the conjecture.

Pour preuve de ce qu'il a avancé, le S^r Michel a remis une lettre originale signée de Chisholm par laquelle il lui recommande de se trouver à l'époque convenüe à ——— pour agir en conséquence du plan arrêté. Cy-jointe copie de la lettre.¹

OBSERVATIONS

La déposition ci-dessus semble confondre deux projets hostiles contre la Louisiane qui sont également sur le tapis, mais qui n'ont aucune connexion entre eux.

Les Américains de l'ouest et les Anglais, quelque désir qu'ils aient, les uns et les autres, de chasser les Espagnols de la Louisiane, n'agiront jamais ensemble; les Américains du Tennessee et du Kentucky sont ennemis jurés de l'Angleterre, et n'aspirent dans ce moment qu'à prendre possession des postes établis sur la rive gauche du Mississipi, reculer toutes les nations sauvages jusqu'au delà du fleuve pour n'avoir plus de guerre indienne à craindre et acquérir de nouvelles terres.

Les Creeks et les Cherokees ont de tout tems été les alliés et les amis de l'Espagne, ainsi que les ennemis déclarés des Américains; un changement aussi prompt est invraisemblable.

¹ The letter of Chisholm to Mitchell and Major Craig inclosed in this letter of Collot is printed in *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2399; and Collot, *Journey in North America*, II, 67; French edition, II, 90.

On Mitchell and Craig see Chisholm's declaration, number XIII, *post*. Mitchell had given information to the Spanish authorities at Natchez in December, 1793, concerning the plot of Genet, *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 1029. See Mitchell's deposition in *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2336, 2398-2399.

The text of the letter in the *Journey* varies in minor phraseology and substitutes May for July. Possibly the verbal discrepancies arise from translation. Collot's statement, in his *Journey*, II, 64-68, that he informed Gayoso at Natchez of the circumstantial details of the hostile preparations against Louisiana and that he received Chisholm's letter at that place, is impossible, since the letter bears the date March 17, 1797, and the date of Collot's stay at Natchez was in October, 1796. Collot reached Philadelphia by the beginning of January, 1797, and it was not until February 24 that Adet informed his government that the English meditated an expedition against Upper Louisiana and a descent of the Mississippi. He remarks that he had had conferences in the matter with the Spanish minister, Yrujo. That minister called the attention of the Secretary of State on February 27 to an expedition said to be planned against Spanish territory, and again, on March 2, the Spanish minister briefly mentions the Fox and Wisconsin rivers as the line of attack, and St. Louis and New Madrid as objective points (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 68, 87-89). Chisholm was a babbler, and on March 19, according to the testimony in the Blount case, he was "vociferating vehemently amidst a crowd of Frenchmen" at a Philadelphia tavern (*Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2368). Possibly Collot secured his detailed evidence and the Chisholm letter and deposition at this time. Chisholm's date of sailing had been fixed for March 19, but the vessel did not depart until the next day, and Chisholm sent letters back from the Capes, including one to Blount, March 23 (*ibid.*, 2369). The date of Collot's present letter, April 15, 1797, is certainly significant. He may have desired to dignify his western inquiries by antedating this discovery. But see his account of Lorimer's disclosures (*Journey*, II, 11-13), which were probably the basis of his first reports to the French and Spanish ministers. Note the relation of this subject to the retention of the Spanish posts and to Liston's correspondence with Pickering (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 20-103, *passim*).

Une partie des habitans des Natchès prendra sans doute volontiers les armes pour les Anglais, mais, royalistes réfugiés de la dernière guerre, ils n'agiront jamais en faveur des Américains.

Je crois fermement qu'il y a un plan de [?] formé par l'Angleterre pour attaquer la Louisiane et que ce plan est secrettement favorisé par un parti aux États-Unis; mais les deux plans dont parle le S^r Michel sont très distincts.

Les Américains du Tennessee et du Kentucky veulent avoir les postes occupés par les troupes de Sa Majesté Catholique, mais quand [quant] à présent ils n'attaqueront pas la Louisiane; ils se battraient plutôt contre l'Angleterre. Ils ne peuvent être soutenus dans l'attaque de ces postes par aucune nation sauvage, excepté par une portion des Chikasaws, et l'on fera tourner aisément contre eux les Natchès.

Les Anglais (ou les compagnies du Canada) veulent la Louisiane et principalement la partie supérieure, pour leur commerce de pelleteries, et ils entraîneront dans cette expédition les Canadiens et les nations sauvages, en leur persuadant que c'est contre l'Espagne seule qu'ils veulent faire la guerre.

Mais mon opinion est que, d'après les mesures sages et fermes prises, il y a plus d'un mois, par le ministre de Sa Majesté Catholique près des États-Unis, en faisant passer un ingénieur à S^t Louis pour mettre cette place en état de défense, et requérant le gouvernement des États-Unis, de faire respecter son territoire, il est impossible, si le gouvernement fédéral est de bonne foi et fait respecter sa neutralité, que les Anglais puissent attaquer la haute Louisiane avant l'hiver prochain; ce qui donne à la Cour d'Espagne tout le tems nécessaire pour porter dans cette partie de sa colonie des secours suffisans pour la mettre à l'abri d'une insulte.

À l'égard du second plan d'invasion, désuni dans ses parties, M^r le gouverneur de la Louisiane est encore à tems de le déconcerter par des mesures promptes, tant en faisant renforcer les peuples menacés, qu'en faisant agir près des sauvages, des Natchès et des Américains de l'ouest, des agens différens, qui sachent faire tourner au profit de Sa Majesté Catholique leurs intérêts divers, et leurs passions très distinctes.

PHILADELPHIE, le 15 avril 1797 (V. S.)

Signé, V. COLLOT.

Pour copie conforme

P. A. ADET.

IX. ROBERT LISTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

PHILADELPHIA 10 May 1797

My Lord

The project suggested by the person mentioned in my letters N^o 2, 3, and 8 was of so great importance and on a consideration of the weak and neglected state of the Spanish American Settlements, appeared to be of such easy execution that I thought it my duty not to prevent His Majesty's Ministers from having an opportunity of discussing the subject with a man who (though without education or brilliant talents) seemed to be enterprising, resolute, and well acquainted with the proposed scene of action.

A circumstance has however since occurred which must add to the difficulty of carrying into effect any plan of the nature of the one in question.

Suspensions have gone abroad which I do not know how to account for, otherwise than by the indiscretion of the proposer — that the Government of Great Britain has actually an intention of attacking the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi. The idea has acquired so great a degree of consistency as to produce a representation on the subject from the Catholic King's Envoy here to the Ministers of the United States and a consequent note from Colonel Pickering to me of which last I have the honour of inclosing a copy. And, partly owing to this alarm, partly to the frequent journeys of suspicious Frenchmen into the back settlements of the United States, orders have been sent by the Secretary at War to the Commanding officers of the American Garrisons on the frontiers not to permit any travellers to pass their posts or to frequent those interior parts of the Country (even though they are Citizens of the United States) except those persons who are authorised to do so by Treaty meaning the British Traders from Canada, who have a right to pass and repass freely for the sake of trade.

This regulation, if strictly put in execution, might subject the author of the project himself, were he to return to the South Western Territory, to be refused admission and perhaps to be arrested, and it would be unsafe to trust him with any papers of consequence.

I beg leave therefore to suggest to Your Lordship whether it would not be advisable in the first place to draw from him all the information he is capable of giving and then to send him back to this Country accompanied or followed by a Person in whose talents and integrity our Government could place implicit confidence, who might in the first moment travel without suspicion as a Canadian Merchant, and afterwards act as circumstances might direct.

¹ Public Record Office, America 18. Compare Liston's disavowals and admissions in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 69, 71. Pickering gave Rufus King, our minister to England, an account of Blount's offense July 8 and August 5, 1797 (King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II, 196-197, 209-210, incompletely published). Létombe's despatch of July 18, 1797, alleges that two of Liston's letters were subtracted at Pickering's instance from Romayne's papers (*Report of American Historical Association*, 1903, II).

It is proper I should add, however, that reports are current here, and daily gaining credit. — That the French are soon to have possession of Louisiana, and that they are already planning improvements on the fortifications and an increase of the garrisons on the banks of the Mississippi.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect My Lord,

Your Lordships Most Obedient Humble Servant

ROB. LISTON

X. ROBERT LISTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

No. 27

PHILADELPHIA 24th June 1797

My Lord

I am much concerned that I did not receive Your Lordship's letter N^o 6 in time to prevent M^r Chisholm from setting sail for England. I have only now to request that Your Lordship will have the goodness to let him have his answer without delay and to direct him to return by the first opportunity to America both for the sake of appearances and that he may have no pretence for making claims on me for considerable sums of money for although I made him no promises of any kind yet as he had my consent to undertake the voyage I might not unnaturally find myself incommoded by his importunities on that head, were he to fall into difficulties in consequence of the protraction of his stay in London.

As the representations made to me by the American Secretary of State at the suggestion of the Spanish Minister respecting the pretended preparations on the lakes for an expedition against Upper Louisiana had in the first instance received only a verbal and preliminary answer, the rejection of the plan in question upon motives so liberal and so friendly to the United States as those alleged in Your Lordship's dispatch afforded me the means of giving Colonel Pickering an official and definitive reply I put into his hands the note I have the honour to enclose, with which he appeared to be satisfied and I hope the conversation we afterwards had on the subject will prevent him from making a disclosure which appeared to have been hastily resolved on by the American Government and which might be attended with consequences in some measure unfavourable to the cause of Great Britain without producing any real advantage to the administration of this Country.

It seems that some of the persons engaged in the project proposed to me, and communicated to Your Lordship, had been sufficiently imprudent either in consequence of intoxication, or by want of caution respecting their correspondence, to put it in the power of the American Ministers to get possession of proofs that there existed some plan of an expedition towards the Mississippi which was to originate in the Territories of the United States. The indications which had been discovered led to think that the enterprize was to be patronized by England. But Colonel Pickering has of late been so much accustomed to consider it as a fixed point that the French were to obtain possession of Louisiana, and he is

¹ Public Record Office, America 18.

so much persuaded that a measure immediately connected with this change of sovereignty must be an endeavour on the part of the Republick to excite disaffection and rebellion in the South Western Territories of the United States that he considered the attribution of the plan to British Agency or encouragement as a mere pretext to conceal the real springs of the operation. This idea had determined him in his present state of violent animosity against the French, to make a formal communication to the Congress of everything he had discovered; and he was the more fixed in this resolution from the circumstance that a Member of the Senate of the name of Blount (deputed by the State of Tennessee) a man of an active and turbulent character, and unfriendly to the present administration, appeared to be one of the chief promoters of the enterprise.

I have endeavoured to persuade Colonel Pickering and I flatter myself with some degree of success that a promulgation of the business in its present state would by no means be advisable. That it would furnish His Catholick Majesty's officers with a pretext for retaining the posts that were to be delivered up according to the late Treaty. That it would serve to throw an odium (however ill founded) on the British Nation which could be attended with no good effects to the Government of the United States, while on the other hand it would probably be impossible to bring home any serious charge either to French Agents or the American Citizens who were implicated in the plot. That these last might find means to exculpate themselves by pretending that they had only in view the acquisition of rich lands on the banks of the Mississippi, in the event of that Country's being possessed by people of more tolerant and liberal principles than the Spaniards, but that they intended to take no active part without the permission of their own Government which the present conduct of the Spaniards in that quarter gave them reason to suppose would sooner or later be obtained. I added that a public accusation would have the double effect of inviting¹ the principal characters concerned in the plan and of putting them on their guard, whereas, since the American Ministry were now possessed of a clew of discovery, they might by adopting a system of forbearance have it in their power to watch the motions of these men and to prevent all danger.

A few days will determine whether this reasoning has had its desired effect.

I have the honour to be, with greatest Respect My Lord
Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

ROB. LISTON

¹ Inciting?

XI. CHEVALIER DE YRUJO TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

Mui S^{or} mio.

La publicacion que acaba de hacerse del Mensage secreto del Presidente de los Estados Unidos á las dos Camaras del Congreso con motivo del descuvrimiento de la Carta del Senador Blount á M^r Carey, me ha hecho ver con gran sentimiento lo mui fundados que eran mis temores, comunicados á V. S. por mi en varias Cartas desde el principio de Marzo ultimo, acerca de la intencion que los Ingleses tenian de atacar las Posesiones Españolas en esta parte del Continente, violando el territorio de los Estados Unidos.

La citada Carta del Coronel Blount no dexa la menor duda sobre un proyecto tán hostil; y siendo el Senador Blount no solo Ciudadano de los Estados Unidos, sino Miembro de su Gobierno, y habiendo faltado con una conducta tán criminal no solo al Rey de España mi Amo sino á los Estados Unidos, debo pedir á V. S., como lo hago ahora del modo mas serio en nombre de S. M., la satisfacción correspondiente por tán escandaloso delito, imponiendosele toda la pena y castigo que las Leyes del Pays dicten para crimines semejantes.

Ofrezco á V. S. mis deseos de complacerle, y de que N^{ro} S^{or} gñe su vida m^a a^a.

PHILADELPHIA 6 de Julio de 1797²

Q. B. S. M^o de V. S.

su mas at^o y seg^o Serv^{or}.

CARLOS M^{te}ÑZ DE YRUJO

S^{or} D^a Timoteo Píking —

[*Indorsement*.:] Chev. de Yrujo 6 July 1797. rec^d 7. congratulatory on discovery of Blount's plot, and requesting he may be punished according to the laws of the US.

¹ Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Department, Spain, volume I. In the letter of Pickering to Yrujo, August 8, 1797 Pickering says of this letter: "But it is well known that Mr. Blount was your frequent guest and intimate companion, and that he was on this intimate footing with you during the whole time that you were representing to the Government your suspicions of British expeditions. Yet, after the discovery of the conspiracy was made public, you formally requested the American Government to punish him for so scandalous a crime. But seeing Mr. Blount was a citizen of the United States, and not a subject of Spain, it would have been decent in you to have left him with his own Government without interposing your advice. But especially when you knew that the President had laid his letter before Congress, and the two Houses were deliberating on the modes of punishing him; when the investigation had proceeded so far that a committee of the Senate had reported a resolution to expel Mr. Blount from the Senate, and a committee of the House had reported a resolution that he should be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors: for you then to interfere was singularly improper; and it was such an ostentatious display of zeal as, under all the known circumstances, suggests more than one interpretation." *Annals of Fifth Congress*, III, 3218.

² On July 11 Yrujo wrote again to Pickering; the letter is published *ibid.*, 3154-3162. In writing to Rufus King, August 5, 1797 (letter published in extract in King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II, 209-210), Pickering says: "I inclose a letter from the Spanish Minister, the Chevalier de Yrujo to me, dated the 11th Ult. His

(TRANSLATION)

Sir,

The publication lately made of the secret message from the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress on the discovery of the letter from Senator Blount to M^r Carey, has caused me to feel with great emotion how well founded were my fears communicated to you by my sundry letters from the first of March last relative to the intention which the English had to attack the Spanish possessions in that part of the Continent, by violating the territory of the US.

The said letter from Colonel Blount does not leave the least doubt on so hostile a project; and Senator Blount being not only a citizen of the US. but a member of its Government, and having failed in so criminal a piece of conduct, not only the King of Spain my master but the US. should request from you,¹ as I now do in the most serious manner in the name of His Majesty, a satisfaction proportioned to so scandalous a crime, by inflicting on him all the pains and punishments which the laws of the Country dictate for such crimes.

Professing my wishes to serve you, and that God may preserve your life many years

I am sir, your most ob^d serv^t

CARLOS M. DE YRUJO

PHIL^a July 6. 1797.

Timothy Pickering Esq^r

XII. ROBERT LISTON TO [LORD GRENVILLE].²

PHILADELPHIA 8 July 1797

My Lord

The *proofs* alluded to in my letter N^o 27 of the Existence of a plan concerted by certain inhabitants of the United States for an attack on the Spanish territories in North America in favour of Great Britain, con-

statements are as erroneous and his reasoning as feeble, as his stile and expressions are rude and unbecoming a diplomatic Character. My other engagements have been two [*sic*] numerous and too urgent hitherto to write him an answer. Two or three days since I began an examination of it, and shall finish it as soon as more important business will permit. This answer perhaps the President may lay before Congress at the next Session; and in that case it may be published. [See *Annals of Fifth Congress*, III, 3199-3219, for Pickering to Yrujo, August 8, 1797, his answer to Yrujo's letter of July 11.] The Spanish Minister procured M^r Bache to print the inclosed pamphlet containing his letter, and also sent it to the Editor of Porcupine's Gazette for publication; by the time that I had got the original translated. The Editor commented on the letter, and made remarks on the Minister, his Nation, and the King of Spain, in such terms as induced the Minister formally to request a prosecution against him; which in deference to his Catholic Majesty, the President thought fit to direct."

¹ This passage should of course read, "and having been at fault in a proceeding so criminal not only toward the king of Spain, my master, but also toward the United States, I must ask of you", etc. A letter of Yrujo to Pickering, May 24, 1797, complains of the inexact translations published by the Department of State, *Annals of Fifth Congress*, III, 3082-3083.

² Public Record Office, America 18.

sisted of an intercepted letter written by M^r. William Blount (formerly Governor of the district of Tennessee, and lately elected Senator for that New State) directed to a person of the name of Carey, an Indian interpreter in the pay of the United States residing in the South Western Settlements of this Country

In this letter M^r. Blount unbosoms himself without reserve on the subject of the project suggested to me through Captain Chisholm [(in which it appears that he expected to sustain a principal part) and he instructs his friend to contribute towards the success of the plan by endeavouring to secure the co-operation of the Indians, and in particular to increase his (Blount's) interest and consequence among them without any regard to the delicacy of the means to be employed.¹

It was—from the first moment that the matter was mentioned to me—and it still is my opinion that it would have been more consistent with the dignity, the tranquillity, and the real interest of the American Government to have suppressed all mention of this discovery—and I had flattered myself that I had brought over Colonel Pickering to the same sentiments. But the business struck the President in a different light. He looked forward to the possible explosion of the plot by other means and to the blame that might eventually fall on him for throwing a veil over a project calculated to favour a nation towards whom his enemies already accuse him of entertaining a culpable partiality. And the administration no doubt thought that the disgrace of a man who had been vehemently opposed to the measures of Government would have some effect in humbling and weakening the democratic party in general. M^r. Adams therefore resolved to communicate the business together with other matters in a confidential message to the two Houses of Congress and to leave them to take such measures on the occasion as they might think expedient.

I have the honour of enclosing a printed Copy of that Message with the documents referred to which relate chiefly to the increasing difficulties that have arisen respecting the surrender of the Spanish posts on the frontiers and to the danger of an Indian war. The letter of Governor Blount is No XVIII the last in the Collection.

The Secretary of State gave me an opportunity by the enclosed correspondence² of exculpating myself and the British Government of any degree of blame in this business. I have stated to Colonel Pickering with perfect truth that I had assured the speculators who applied to me here *that I could give no encouragement to the plan*. The fact is that although I did not chuse to take upon me to reject altogether an idea of such importance, and which I believe the United States themselves would have been glad to see carried into execution, if it could have been effected

¹ See the letter in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 76-77. It is dated April 21, 1797, and was communicated to Congress by the President July 3, 1797.

² See *ibid.*, 69-71.

with a rapid success, — yet I felt all the difficulty and danger of the enterprize which I stated to Captain Chisholm with more force than I have expressed in my reports on the subject to Your Lordship and it was with no small reluctance that I yielded at last to his earnest intreaties to be allowed to make a journey to Europe.

The violent partisans of the democrattick faction, who have since my arrival at Philadelphia observed with regret my anxious endeavour to promote a good understanding between Great Britain and America, and the degree of success with which they have been attended, were eager, on the first indistinct report which was spread respecting this business, to asperse my character, and Calumniate my intentions with regard to this Country and they shewed an inclination to carry their enmity to all possible lengths on the occasion. The explanations I have given appear, however to be generally considered as satisfactory and if any unfavourable impression has been made by the first aspect of the affair there is reason to hope it will be equally slight and transitory.

It is singular enough that Governor Blount is a man whom I have never seen and with whom I have had no communication either direct or circuitous. I did not even know till I read his letter that he was one of the persons concerned in the plan. Mr Chisholm used to mention him as a man of weight and influence in the back Country whom it would be essential to gain but he seemed to doubt the possibility of securing him.

It also appears from Blount's letters that there has been a branch of the project with which I have not been acquainted for I have no knowledge of the *man of consequence* who is said to *have gone to England*. At all events it is evident that the idea must now be wholly renounced unless the United States should come to a breach with the Court of Spain of which indeed there seems to be some degree of probability.

I cannot conclude without observing with regret that there is a degree of disingenuity and a disposition to intrigue and chicanery in the conduct of M. Yrujo the Spanish Minister in this Country which is highly disagreeable and may become dangerous to us. He has already produced in the most formal way a pretended plan for an expedition from Canada which never had existence. He now talks with perfect assurance of certain offers made by the English to a General Clarke in Georgia, which I conceive to be equally destitute of foundation; and I understand he is proceeding to bring forward other heads of accusation more gross and equally groundless, which are unfortunately received with pleasure and perhaps with sincere belief by the malignant or ill informed supporters of the French and Democrattick parties in the United Kingdom

I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect

My Lord, Your Lordships, Most Obedient Humble Servant
ROB. LISTON.

XIII. STATEMENT OF CHISHOLM TO RUFUS KING.

The Declaration of John D. Chisholm.¹

I arrived in New York while the British Army were in possession of it;—having a Father residing in Charleston South Carolina, I went to him in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven. I went from thence a few months after my arrival in Charleston to Savannah in Georgia, remained there a few weeks; from thence I proceeded to St. Augustine, remained there about two weeks, and from thence I proceeded to Pensacola; there I continued until the Spaniards took possession of the Country, I think in the same year or early in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight; from thence I was obliged to fly to the Indian Country where I found Protection from Alexander M^cGill-veray and others. I remained in the Creek Nation about three months, then went to the Cherokee Nation, and remained there a few weeks when I got acquainted with one Roach, Harling, and other Indian Traders from the Frontiers of the United States; with them I came into that part of the Country called then the Settlement of Holstien, now the State of Tennessee, from hence I traded with the Indians and often went to them from the Inhabitants to ask for Prisoners; in this way I continued till Colonel William Blount was appointed Governor of that State. I established a permanent Home at Knoxville where I was employed by Colonel Blount, the first time was to bring Goods for the Treaty of Holstien, and afterwards to bring the Indians to said Treaty, and continued to act for him on many occasions carrying Indians to and from Philadelphia; the last time in taking the Indians to Philadelphia, and in the month of November² 1796 arrived there—At this period I brought with me to Philadelphia a Petition from British Subjects residing in the Indian Nations, signed by myself and (I think) about twenty five others, requesting to be admitted Citizens of the United States; this Petition I presented to the Honorable James M^cHenry Secretary at War who treated it with coolness and said he would refer it to M^r Hawkins who had been appointed Superintendant of Indian affairs—I had conceived myself entitled to some notice and employment under the United States from the Services I had rendered in consequence of my influence with the

¹ Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, England, volume 5. For Chisholm's personal traits see the evidence in Blount's trial, particularly *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2357, 2366-2368. "He was a hardy, lusty, brawny, weather-beaten man", given to drink and brag. It is important to read this document in connection with the explanations and additional information in King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II, 217-218, 253-258. King's letter of October 31, 1797 (*ibid.*, 236-237), gives an ingenious conjecture of a connection between Romaine, Yrujo, Las Casas, De Moustier, and Blount in a western land speculation. Liston's relation to the Pulteney land speculations in the Genesee country, and Dr. Romaine's connection with Sir William Pulteney are shown by other documents.

² According to John Franklin (see *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2380-2381), Chisholm stopped at George Leshar's tavern, 94 North Second street, Philadelphia, with about twenty-two Cherokee Indians. Rogers and Carey were also there. For particulars see text cited.

Indians, and had very frequent promises from Colonel Blount to that effect. At the time I left the Indian Country with this Petition which was the Twenty first day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety six, the signers to this Petition, with myself and the principal Chiefs who accompanied me to Philadelphia had come to the determination that in case the same or similar Protection and Encouragement was not given them to that they received under the British Government they had formed a Plan to attack the Spanish Settlements, namely the Province of West Florida and Louisiana: Finding our Prospects not to our wishes in Philadelphia, I applied to M^r Liston the British Minister (I think about the latter end of November 1796) and laid open to him the plan verbally; he answered that he would take it into consideration and give me an answer at a given day; three or four days afterwards I called upon him, according to appointment, and he informed me that he had no Powers to go into a business of this kind; that he had objections to it on account of the Indians being engaged in it; that it was objectionable also on account of the neutrality of the United States. — I had frequent interviews with him afterwards in one of which he said that if I would deliver him the Plan he would send it to his own Government. I delivered him the Plan in writing without mentioning any of my American connexions. — I waited for some Months, that is from November till March, when being tired of waiting longer, I determined on coming to England; this determination I communicated to M^r Liston¹ and asked him to give me Letters to this Country; he accordingly gave me Letters to Lord Grenville, M^r Dundas and M^r Hammond² saying “that the Bearer was the person mentioned in former Letters etc.” — this I think was nearly the purport of them which he shewed me before they were sealed; he also gave me another Letter to some person concerned in the East India Company sealed, which I suppose was of a private nature; the persons name I do not recollect. — M^r Liston also gave me a Letter to a M^r Gavett³ of Hamburgh at my own instance, in case I was taken by the French to act as a blind or as a Letter of Introduction as occasion might occur.⁴ On my arrival in England I delivered the Letters to Lord Grenville, M^r Dundas and M^r Hammond at Lord Grenville’s Office; three or four days after this I received a Note from the Secretary of M^r Dundas requesting me to call at that Office. I called and was informed that I must state my Propositions in writing which I did a few days afterwards and they were in substance nearly the same as those delivered to M^r Liston with the addition of the many Friends to the Plan, Citizens of the United States, but I did not mention names; I had a copy of it where I formerly lodged which shall be forthcoming if in my power. — After remaining here about six or eight weeks and calling frequently at

¹ *Ibid.*, 2352.

² *Ibid.*, 2368.

³ J. H. Goverts; letter in King, *Correspondence*, II, 198.

⁴ *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2367.

Lord Grenville's Office, I was at length informed that the Government declined going into the business¹; a Draft was delivered me for One hundred Pounds to pay my expences back to America and a Pass (by my Request) which is in the French Language, to return to America. After my arrival in Philadelphia in November One thousand seven hundred and ninety six, I communicated the Plan to Colonel William Blount who immediately agreed to give it all his aid and influence; I saw him frequently afterwards at his House in Chesnut Street and talked with him on the business; I communicated the matter also to a M^r Ingraham who lodged at the same house with me (Lasher's² Tavern N^o 92 North Second Street) who said he was a British Subject, and through him I was introduced to a certain Lewis Collins³ a person said to be concerned in the Stages; this last Man as well as the other agreed to give the Plan their assistance, and he (Collins) said that he would go to Boston where he could raise One hundred stout Yankees and would load two Vessels with Provisions and take them round to the Floridas and join me; I then promised him that on those Conditions he should be appointed a Commissary and also have Commissions for himself and his friends; I left him in Philadelphia, and have heard nothing of him or Ingraham since I left Philadelphia I think in the month of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and proceeded to New York in company with Captain John Rodgers formerly a Captain in the British Army, James Cary Indian Intetpreter, four Creek and four Cherokee Chiefs, and took up my Lodgings at James Bradleys N^o 1. Gold Street where I became acquainted with a M^r Nicholas⁴ and a M^r Morris who I found was a British Subject from Kingston Jamaica, and had gone there on some Mercantile business; Nicholas I think said he was from New Haven; they both approved of the Plan. Morris said that if I succeeded with the British Government, he would assist all in his power by advancing Money on my Drafts in the West Indies or otherwise and Nicholas said that he would assist in providing Vessels to carry ammunition etc⁵; while in New York I also became acquainted with a certain John Mitchell⁶ who I understood was a Surveyor and largely concerned in Land Speculations and who I found had a good knowledge of the Country, particularly the Upper Spanish Posts on the Mississippi; this man came to me in Philadelphia and gave me to understand that he had heard from my Friends Morris and Nicholas our Plan. After several interviews in which he pointed out that he could be of material service, I agreed with him that if we succeeded with the British Government he should be commissioned; in one of our interviews he proposed a certain

¹ King, *Correspondence*, II, 218.

² Lasher.

³ Captain Collins of Marblehead, Massachusetts, King, *Correspondence*, II, 255.

⁴ A ship-owner of New Haven, who sent vessels to New Orleans, *ibid*.

⁵ See answer to question 19, p. 604. Compare *Report of American Historical Association*, 1896, I, 1027, 1029; King, *Correspondence*, II, 255; Collot, *Journey*, II, 67; and Collot's letter of April 15, 1797, number VIII, *ante*, pp. 585-587.

Major Craig formerly of the American Army, and who I understood lived about thirty or forty miles from Philadelphia (he was a stout man of about Six feet high about forty or perhaps forty five years of age) Mitchell often brought Craig to see me but I always evaded talking with him on the Subject; however I told Mitchell that as I had confidence in him he might promise to Craig that he should be employed; about the month of February last a certain Colonel James Orr of the State of Tennessee came to Philadelphia who I had known before and who lodged in the same house with me; in the course of conversation I informed him of our Plan to which he gave his hearty concurrence, and said that he could procure as many Men in his own State as he pleased and that he could be joined by Colonel Whiteley with a thousand Men from Kentucky *if I said the word*, as they always understood each other.¹ — While I was in the Indian Country in the Summer of ninety six I wrote by direction of the Indian Chiefs Circular Letters respecting the Peace which was expected to take place between them and the United States. Among these were Letters sent to the Kings and Chiefs of the Northern Tribes; Brandt and Cornplanter arrived too late for the Treaty, accompanied by Captain Johnston, Captain Stedman,² M^r Street (a Member of Assembly for Upper Canada) and a M^r Joseph Smith³ Indian Interpreter for the United States (Johnston and Stedman are both from Canada) I communicated to all those Persons, except Smith who we were afraid to trust; and all agreed to give their aid excepting Cornplanter who observed that as he was now surrounded by White People he wanted to learn his People to live at peace, but if any of his young men chose to follow his Friend, alluding to Brandt he could not prevent them. Afterwards I wrote Brandt and Johnston that I had embarked for England and they should hear from me — I also communicated at Philadelphia the plan to a M^r John Hillsman a Merchant in Knoxville who had come to Philadelphia (in March last) by him I sent Letters to my friends with the English and Spanish Declarations of war the Treaty between the United States and Spain and said that “they would hold themselves in readiness till they should see me” — I sent about fifty of the Declarations under cover to Captain John Rogers who was then with the Cherokee Nation and who was to deliver them to the different Persons who signed the Petition to the Americans mentioned in the first part of this Declaration and whose names as far as I can recollect are John M^r Daniel, James Lesslie, Joseph Higgins, Robert Grason, John Clark, Daniel M^r Gillveray, John O’Kelly, William Thompson, Malcolm M^r Gee, James Kemp (M^r Daniels’ name was not to the Petition); however the Petition which is with the Secretary of war will speak for itself as to Signatures; but as very many of them knew nothing of our Plan I will mention the names of those who did know it and who

¹ See King, *Correspondence*, II, 255.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

agreed to give their aid — Daniel M^cGillveray, James Lesslie, Joseph Higgins, Robert Grayson, John Clark, John O'Kelly, William Thompson, Malcolm M^c Gee, James Kemp, John O'Riety, Francis Lesslie, John Steel; all those persons I have conferred with myself on the business, also with James Colbert — Cap^t Rodgers who I have already mentioned, informed me that he had mentioned the plan to a certain Spaniard (whose name I do not at present recollect) who had run from the Spanish Garrison at Pensacola and taken refuge among the Indians; he had been employed as a Rider and Interpreter by the Spaniards and spoke all the Indian Languages. — I think his name is Antonio Gomaza or something like it. I have often seen him and we used to call him *Tonio*; however I know him to be the Identical Person who the Spaniards sent into the Indian Country in ninety five with Letters to the Indian Chiefs of the Chicksaws and Choptaws requesting them to make Peace with the Creek Nation; the reason of Rodgers' mentioning their Plan to the Spaniard was I suppose in consequence of his belief that he would now assist them, as he had deserted from the Spaniards, and indeed he agreed to join in it — this Captain Rogers came to Philadelphia with me in November ninety six, as an Interpreter, and was brought at the Instigation of the Dogwere¹ the King of the Creek Nation and myself, and is very friendly to the United States; There also came with me to Philadelphia, Malcolm M^cGee formerly British Interpreter and John Pitchlen who were both acquainted with and were to join in the plan — there was a certain person named Cobb who resided at the Natchez who came into the Indian Country, and I have been well informed that he was acquainted with the plan from some quarter. I recollect meeting at Philadelphia with a Person who called himself Blackburn to whom I mentioned the Plan; he said at first that he should have no objection to join in it provided the United States were concerned, but damned the British having any thing to do in it; he was well acquainted with Blount, as he informed me, and afterwards he said to me if you go on with your Plan I intend to join you; he resides in Richmond in Virginia as he said — the last time I saw Colonel Blount was sometime in March last previous to my sailing from America which was the Twenty first day of that month²; he said to me that he wanted me to be gone into the Indian Country and mind the business there; that he had been in New York, and while there had communicated with Doctor Romain³ and that they had agreed to carry

¹ Dog Warrior, of the Natchez?

² See *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2367-2369.

³ Dr. Nicholas Romayne, who figures prominently in the documents printed in connection with the trial of Blount, was in London in March, 1796, where Liston made his acquaintance. Liston gave Pickering an account of his relations with Romayne to show that they were free from an intrigue (Pickering papers, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Pickering's statement of July 26, 1797, VI, 467; see also VII, 93). There is, however, evidence in the Chatham papers that Romayne had been an agent of the British government. It is probable that additional material exists in the Public Record Office regarding the connection of Liston and Chisholm.

on the plan on a much larger Scale than I had contemplated¹; and added that if it took place he must be well paid for it, or he must make large sacrifices in America.—At the time I held a talk with the Indians in ninety five by directions of Blount there was a French Man there at the same time sent by the Governor of Pensacola (as he said); his name was John Louis Treville or Trevill; I had no conversation with him as I did not speak Spanish or French, and he did not speak English—I arrived in this Country in the Ship John Henderson; there were no other Passengers on board, except a certain Charles Jacob Hetter² from Lancaster Pennsylvania and a Woman. I never mentioned the plan to Hetter; he once asked me since I arrived whether I was concerned in a plan with Blount, and brought me the American Papers giving an account of Blounts Conduct—I could be more particular of names and other matters respecting the Spanish Garrisons was I in a situation to have access to my Papers which are in a small Trunk which I left in Philadelphia in the House of M^r Liston under the care of M^r Thornton his Secretary—I shall be willing to make Oath when required to the truth of the foregoing and answer any Questions which may be put to me respecting this business, and have made this Declaration in presence of Major David Lenox.—On being asked a question by Major Lenox I answer that in the winter of ninety five I met a person of the name of Fulton³ (who told me that he was a Colonel of Horse in the French Service) between the Towns of the Creek and the Cherokee Nations, he told me that he had come from France in order to get the Indians Consent for the establishment of a Republic in the Floridas as they the French were to take it or to get it (I don't recollect which) from the Spaniards; as I was friendly to the United States I advised him to leave the Country as soon as possible which I believe he did, as I have not heard of him since; the said Fulton is a tall handsome man, upwards of Six feet high, well mounted and handsomely equipped in every particular, appeared to be about twenty five years of age.

LONDON 29th November 1797.

JOHN D CHISHOLM

XIV. OUTLINE OF CHISHOLM'S PLAN.

The General Outlines of the Plan referred to in my Declaration of the Twenty ninth day of November one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, were as follows.⁴—

Brant and his Associates were to be joined at an agreed point on the Ohio by Mitchell and Craig with such men as they should have collected on the Frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania—this Party were to at-

¹ *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2356-2355, especially the important conversation on p. 2358.

² Christian Jacob Huetter; see *ibid.*, 2367; King, *Correspondence*, II, 217-218.

³ *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X, 270.

⁴ Compare Collet's letter of April 15, 1797, number VIII, *ante*, and *Journey*, II, 65-66, and George Rogers Clark's letter of March 2, 1797 (Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 362-363).

tack New Madrid, leave a Garrison in it, and proceed to the Head of the Red River and take possession of the Silver Mines. Mitchell and Craig with their Associates were to descend the Ohio in the character of Traders.

The People of Tennessee, Whitley's Men from Kentucky, with those of the Natchez and the Choctaws were to attack New Orleans; no precise arrangement was made concerning the Command of this Party; but I suppose it would be headed by Blount.

The Cherokees and Creeks with the white men of Florida, who were to join, were, under my Command, to take Pensacola; the attack on New Madrid, New Orleans and Pensacola to be made on the same day.

We made no arrangement concerning East Florida, conceiving that it would fall of course after we had obtained Possession of West Florida.

My demand of Great Britain was their Countenance of my Plan and a moderate advance of money; — that a naval force of Six frigates should be sent to block up the Harbour of Pensacola,¹ and the Mouth of the Mississippi; that British Commissions should be given to me and the Persons engaged in the expedition; — in case of success that the Floridas with Louisiana should be put upon the antient footing of a British Colony; — that I should be employed as the British Superintendant of Indian affairs; that public money and personal property should be equally divided between the Crown and the Captors; — that each private Soldier should receive from the Crown a grant of a thousand acres of Land; that Pensacola and New Orleans should be declared free Ports, and the navigation of Mississippi should for ever remain free to the People of Great Britain, and the United States. — We had no intention of attacking the Spanish Ports within the Territory of the United States. —

JOHN D CHISHOLM

XV. REPORT OF EXAMINATION OF CHISHOLM BY RUFUS KING.

Questions proposed by Rufus King and Answered by John D. Chisholm, — at the House and in the presence of Major David Lenox, on the Fifth day of December one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven.

Question 1st. Did you communicate your plan to Blount before or after communicating it to Liston; if before was Blount privy to your communication of it to Liston?

Answer. I communicated the Plan first to Blount — Soon after I came to Philadelphia I told him that unless I succeeded as to myself and friends in our Expectations from the United States which I communicated to him that we had resolved to apply to the British Government to which Blount answered that we were perfectly right. — After I found that my Petition delivered to the Secretary of War was coldly received I informed Blount of my determination to apply to Mr Liston which he approved and agreed to support the Plan.

¹ Létombe, July 18, 1797, takes it as being generally known that Admiral Reckett, who was just then cruising at the mouth of the Mississippi, would lead the attack in the south, while General Simcoe would be at the head of operations in the north.

Question 2. Was Blount present at any Conference between you and Liston?

Answer. No, he never was present at any such Conference; it was not my practice on any occasion to converse concerning my Plan with two Persons at the same time — No person was ever present at any Conference between me and Liston.

Question 3. In what manner did Liston receive your Plan?

Answer. He objected to it on two grounds; one that it proposed the Employment of the Indians, and the other that it might affect the neutrality of the United States.

Question 4. Did you inform Liston that Blount was privy to or engaged in the Plan?

Answer. I never named Blount or any other Citizen of the United States to Liston; but I gave him to understand that some persons in Office under them would support and join in the Plan.

Question 5. What part did you suppose the Government of the United States would take in case your plan was attempted?

Answer. I supposed that they would talk, but not act, against us.

Question 6. Had you any expectation of support from any other person besides Blount in the Government of the United States?

Answer. I thought it probable, tho' I never had any conversation upon the Subject with any Member of Congress except Blount, that some of the Members who owned Lands on the Western Waters, would favor my plan — I founded this opinion on the belief that they would follow their interest which would be advanced by clearing the navigation of the Mississippi, and making New Orleans and Pensacola free Ports; — these points, being part of my plan, we supposed would influence the Frontier People to join us.

Question 7. Do you know whether Blount communicated the Plan to any person except Romaine?

Answer. I do not know that he did; he once said to me that he must be well paid by the British and added that if his Brothers knew the plan they would forsake him for ever. My conversations with Blount were always private, and without witnesses; but he one day sent his little Son to ask me to come to his House in the Evening. — On my coming into the room instead of finding him alone as usual I found M^r Jefferson and General Wilkinson at Table with him (it being after Dinner) It immediately struck me, but I might have been wrong, that Blount had sent for me in order to open my Plan to these Gentlemen — this I did not incline to do, and after sitting a few Minutes, made an excuse to go away by saying that I had an appointment with the Secretary of War; and tho' Blount urged me to stay I went away.

Question 8. What objection had you to have opened your Plan to M^r Jefferson and General Wilkinson, had Blount desired it?

Answer. As both these Characters were in high Offices, I did not know but Blount might intend to entrap me, and I therefore determined

in case he wished them to know the plan, that he should disclose it himself

Question 9. Had you any expectation of assistance from any Officer in the American Army?

Answer. No, — I sought on several occasions to sound some of the Officers who were in Philadelphia, but I never found an opening to mention my Plan to any one of them.

Question 10. Did Orr, named in the Declaration, know that Blount was engaged in the plan?

Answer. He might have known it from Blount, but did not from me.

Question 11. What was the object of your Journey to New York?

Answer. Merely to gratify the Indians, who desired to see the other City, and who had also heard that they could obtain there better wampum than at Philadelphia

Question 12. What was the Object of the Circular Letters to the Northern Indians?

Answer. To invite them to attend at Philadelphia to witness the Peace; and in case we concluded to undertake my Plan, to engage them to co-operate.

Question 13. Did you communicate the Plan to the Indians sent from the several Tribes to meet you at Philadelphia, and if so did they engage to join you?

Answer. I did communicate it to them all, and they all, except the Corn Planter, engaged to join us.

Question 14. Did Liston know that Brandt and his Canada Associates were consulted, and that they had engaged?

Answer. I never mentioned it to Liston, nor do I know that he knew it — Brant was with Liston more than once, but I do not know what passed on these occasions.

Question 15. Had Brant and his Associates arrived at Philadelphia before you went to New York?

Answer. No. They had not arrived.

Question 16. By whom and how did you send your Letters from New York to Brant?

Answer. By a man whose name was Cozins or Cummins who knew nothing of my Plan nor of the Contents of my Letters, but who being bound to Canada engaged to forward my Letters from Albany.

Question 17. Had Blount any knowledge of your intention to come to England?

Answer. I had suspected and especially after Blount had told me that he and Romaine had agreed to carry on the Plan on a much larger Scale, that Blount wished to throw me aside. I therefore did not let him know of my determination to come to England.¹

Question 18. Did you ever see or converse with Romaine?

¹ See *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2359; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 76.

- Answer I knew Romaine four years ago in New York, and then conversed much with him, and at his request gave him a Description which he wrote down of the Western Country with which I was acquainted. — I saw him when I was last at New York, but I never conversed with him respecting my Plan
- Question 19. Was Mitchell, with whom you became acquainted at New York, named *John*?
- Answer He told me his name was John — he was a New England man who was a Surveyor, and had been at New Orleans.
- Question 20. Did you know d'Yrujo the Spanish Minister?
- Answer Yes. I did know him.
- Question 21. Where did you ever meet him?
- Answer At Kidds, a Lodging House near the President's, where I went to see M^r Blackburn mentioned in my Declaration.
- Question 22. Had D'Yrujo any knowledge of your Plan?
- Answer I do not know that he had.
- Question 23. Had you no fears that he would discover it?
- Answer No, for I did not think much of his understanding.
- Question 24. Had you any intention to ask the assistance of the French; or had you any reason to think that your Plan was known by the French agents in America?
- Answer I never intended to have any thing to do with the French, and I have no reason to believe that they knew any thing about the Plan.
- Question 25. What part did you suppose the people of Georgia and South Carolina would take in regard to your Plan?
- Answer I supposed that the Frontier People would generally join in.
- Questⁿ 26. Was Blount privy to your engaging Brant and the Canadians? — Did he ever see Brant or Street?
- Answer At Blounts request I one Evening carried Brant and the Corn Planter to his House, but we did not speak of our plan. Blount knew from me that Brant and his Associates were engaged in the Plan.
- Question 27. What has been your Treatment in England?
- Answer I brought Letters to M^r Dundas and Lord Grenville and M^r Hammond and M^r Moor — I have never seen either Lord Grenville or M^r Dundas. — After going to Lord Grenvilles Office many times, I was finally informed by Moor one of his Clerks that the British Government would not adopt my Plan, and that Lord Grenville had ordered me to be paid One hundred Pounds to enable me to return. I said I had expended Two thousand five Hundred Dollars, and that the One Hundred Pounds would not get me home again — Moor replied that that was all he had been authorized to pay me — I said then it must be so — After this Conversation M^r Moor sent me Twenty five Pounds more.¹

¹ See *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2369-2370; *King, Correspondence*, II 216-218, 253-256.

Question 28.— Have you been able to recover the copy of the Plan mentioned in your declaration as having been given in by you to the British Government?

Answer. No, The person in whose hands I left it, destroyed it upon the Publication in the English Papers of Blounts Letter to Carey.

Question 29. Did Liston encourage your coming to England or advance you money for your passage?

Answer. He advised me to wait till he received an answer, but finding me resolved on coming to England he consented, but he never advanced to me any money

JOHN D CHISHOLM

XVI. AFFIDAVIT OF RUFUS KING.

LONDON December 9th, 1797.—This Day John D. Chisholm made Solemn Oath to the truth of the foregoing, Declaration, dated the twenty ninth day of November one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven; to the truth of the Paper called the General Outlines of his Plan; and likewise to the truth of the Answers by him made to the foregoing Twenty nine Interrogatories, all which are by him Subscribed with his name, Before me

RUFUS KING Min. plénip. of the U S. of Amer: to Great-Britain

XVII. ROBERT LISTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

PHILADELPHIA 5 December 1797

[Extract.]

The Committee of the House of Representatives appointed towards the close of the last Session to draw up articles of impeachment against Mr Blount and to call for persons, papers, and records made their report yesterday, which with the documents accompanying it has been read in the House and is ordered to be printed. Although the report with the accompanying papers is voluminous, little additional light has been thrown upon this transaction, and as the plans of the parties concerned were never brought into action it is not probable that any further discoveries can be made

From the beginning it appears that M. de Yrujo has been indefatigable in his exertions to discover any circumstances which might serve to implicate His Majesty's Minister or the American Secretary of State, and he has not only on several occasions sent persons to the Committee (whose evidence has been contradicted in the most essential particulars) but he has corresponded (and sometimes there is room to suspect anonymously) with that body.

Whatever may be his motives of personal resentment against Mr Liston (it is not difficult to find the causes of his animosity and revenge against Colonel Pickering) his efforts have been totally without effect. And I humbly beg leave to offer to Your Lordship my opinion that (put-

¹ No. 56, Public Record Office, America 18.

ting out of the question the impossibility of bringing any charge against M^r. Liston) this is to be in a great degree ascribed to his frank and well timed communication to the Secretary of State. Every circumstance which however innocent in itself, might if left to the common course of discovery have been considered as decisive proof, had been so happily anticipated by him that Colonel Pickering's opinion of his sincerity was unchangeably fixed and the views of those members of the Committee whose democratic principles might dispose them to triumph in any discovery of this kind, were compleatly defeated.

It is not much to be apprehended that these communications which the circumstances of the time and the country rendered necessary will be drawn into precedent on any future occasion and although Colonel Pickering by confessing the delicacy of the question he was about to put made an implied acknowledgement that an answer might be refused with propriety, yet M^r. Liston has omitted no opportunity of impressing this observation on his mind

XVIII. EDWARD THORNTON TO LORD GRENVILLE.¹

PHILADELPHIA 28 December 1797

My Lord

M^r. Liston not having yet returned from his excursion to the Southward, I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship a printed copy of the report with the accompanying documents of the Committee appointed to prepare articles of impeachment against M^r. Blount. It is probable that the business will rest here as M^r. Blount has not made his appearance conformably to the recognizances into which he was obliged to enter at the conclusion of the late Session, and it seems the general opinion that no prosecution can be carried on against him in his absence.

The letter of General Clarke² to the Spanish Consul at Charleston is perhaps the only material part of this report with which your Lordship has not already been acquainted, and it is probable that M^r. Liston during his stay in the South may be able to throw some light upon the propositions which General Clarke pretends to have confidentially made to him through some British Agent.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect

My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient Humble Servant

EDW^d THORNTON

¹ No. 57, Public Record Office, America 18.

² See *Annals of Fifth Congress*, II, 2404, 2413.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of Matrimonial Institutions, chiefly in England and the United States, with an Introductory Analysis of the Literature and the Theories of Primitive Marriage and the Family. By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Ph.D. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Callaghan and Company; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1904. Three vols., pp. xv, 473; xv, 497; xv, 449.)

To students of sociology this work is one of importance. Unlike most which are published in three volumes, it could not well be reduced to two. It is divided into three parts. The first, which occupies half of the first volume, discusses primitive marriage and early rules of divorce. The second part, occupying the rest of volume I and part of volume II, takes up marriage and divorce in connection with the history of the Christian church, and with special reference to English laws and customs. The third and longest part, occupying most of the second and third volumes, explains the historical course of marriage and divorce in the United States, and is followed by a particularly full bibliographical index.

Part I gives a comprehensive and fair summary of the various theories of sociologists on the subject under consideration, accompanied by brief statements of the author's own conclusions. Like Westermarck and Hellwald, he does not shut his eyes to the fact that with other animals than man there is a sexual consort which may not unfairly be called marriage (I, 7); sometimes, as in the chelonia or tortoise group, monogamistic (I, 95), and, with birds, resulting in the establishment of a temporary family. Nor is he unwilling to apply the term marriage to the sexual relations which may have been maintained in common between the men and women of a particular tribe or horde. "Group marriages" between all or many of the members of the tribe may precede marriages between any particular pairs of them (I, 47, 53). He is not prepared to agree with Lubbock that monogamy is an invasion of what was a common right of all the members of the tribe (I, 120), and inclines to the position that in a loose form it is the earliest kind of sexual association. The probability of this he bases not on any moral or spiritual superiority in man, but on the fact that it seems to be required by the principles of organic evolution (I, 91). So far as morality is concerned, if a strict adherence to the marriage covenant for better or for worse be one of its consequences, the birds are more moral than men; for among them there is no divorce (I, 96). Monogamy, in the opinion of Dr. Howard, is not peculiarly a characteristic of advanced civilization. The institution of marriage develops in a circle,

and monogamy is found in its strictest form among the most backward races (I, 141, 150).

The author favors the view that not force but contract, and that a contract with the woman herself, is the foundation of primeval marriage (I, 178, 216). This would seem to be the case with the lower animals (I, 202, 222). Whether, however, the contract may not be at first with the father or head of the family, and later with the bride, must be regarded as yet in doubt. Among savages, still, a man frequently gains a wife by exchanging his sister or his daughter for her (I, 185). Post's suggestion is favored that consent marriages may be the normal type; then marriages by purchase or tribal consent follow; and then, with advancing civilization, the course be retraced to the starting-point, and the contract again made only or primarily with the bride (I, 202, 222).

In part II the course of the Christian church as to the celebration of marriage, culminating in the decree of the Council of Trent, is clearly traced, and the validity of the simply consensual marriage under the common law maintained (I, 316).

The chapter on the Protestant conception of marriage is a full and valuable one, and Luther's vacillating attitude is well described. The early troth-plights and child marriages of the Elizabethan age, as illustrated by the recent publications of the Early English Text Society, are explained (I, 399), and due place accorded to Cromwell's Civil Marriage Act in the succeeding century, with its provision for a public registry (I, 408, 418, 424). Following Stölzel, the author holds that the leaders in the Reformation held, as did Milton later, that such a breach of the marriage covenant as the Scriptures allowed to be a cause of divorce put an end to the marriage *ipso facto*, if the injured party so willed it (II, 69, 90).

The discussion of American matrimonial institutions covers familiar ground, but covers it well, and is founded on wide reading, including the consultation of many original documents, yet unprinted, in the offices of Massachusetts courts and the New York state archives (II, 121, 329). Due emphasis is laid on the regulation of marriage in New England by town orders (II, 143). Instances are given, from manuscript court files of two Massachusetts counties, of sentences of both adulteresses and adulterers to the brand of the scarlet letter (II, 175). The New England betrothal, with its similarity in form and consequences to the English *sponsalia*, is explained (II, 179, 185, 199), and the more or less tolerated bundling or proof-nights which sometimes preceded or followed it. A chapter on slave marriages in New England is especially interesting (II, 215-226). Two chapters are devoted to marriage in the southern and middle colonies. Colonial divorce requires less space. Where permitted, it was at first, as in England, a quasi-judicial proceeding. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the "assistants" or council granted them. From 1760 to 1786, ninety-six decrees were passed in the former government, a full docket of which

is published from court manuscripts, and may be useful to ancestor-hunters (II, 342, 344). South of Maryland no legislative divorces *a vinculo* were to be had (II, 367, III, 43). In New York and perhaps in New Jersey, the governor was the divorce court (II, 384).

The legislation of the states regarding marriage and divorce is laboriously detailed. Divorce *a vinculo* was a remedy to be had from the first in the courts of several; in others at the south it could come only from the legislature (III, 31). Often divorce has assumed the character of a log-rolling measure, and twenty or thirty couples have been released from the bond of marriage by a single bill (III, 42, 98). In South Carolina, except for a brief period during the days of Reconstruction, divorce has been impossible for any cause (III, 76). In some, by constitutional provisions, following the English usage, it must be initiated by a judicial and consummated by a legislative proceeding (III, 39, 43). In the territories the power to divorce was early assumed and continuously exercised by the legislative authorities, until they were deprived of such jurisdiction in 1886. The author has overlooked the full vindication of this practice in *Maynard vs. Hill*, 125 *United States Reports*, 191 (1888).

The closing chapter sums up the author's own opinions. He deplors the adherence of most of the states of the Union to the doctrine that a marriage may be illegal and yet valid, or, in other words, that statutes as to licenses, etc., are treated as merely directory (III, 170). He would place the celebration of marriage in the hands of local registrars (III, 193); introduce the divorce *nisi*, and in determining the sufficient causes, let every particular political society admit such, and such only, as best promote its happiness (III, 220). For progress in such directions he finds the best hope in the conferences of state commissioners on uniform legislation, held in connection with the annual meetings of the American Bar Association (III, 223). But back of all legislation must come a closer family life, made all the closer because of the narrowing field within which state socialism is gradually contracting the father's powers (III, 226), and of the liberation of woman from every mark of inequality (III, 235). She must not be regarded as a child-bearing animal. Marriages and children may well be fewer, if they are better, and coeducation opens a door toward the formation of life-unions on lofty ideals (III, 242-256). In such unions "natural and sexual selection should play a smaller and artificial selection a larger rôle" (III, 258). In this chapter Dr. Howard is evidently holding himself in. He has more to say yet, and sociologists will be glad to hear from him further in the direction of the restraint of marriage in the interest of posterity.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

The Historians' History of the World. A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by over two thousand of the Great Writers of all Ages. Edited, with the assistance of a distinguished board of advisers and contributors, by HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D. (New York: The Outlook Company; London: The History Association. 1904. Twenty-five volumes.)

THE general plan of *The Historians' History of the World* is undoubtedly familiar to all readers of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. It was certainly a novel idea to attempt to construct continuous narratives of the development of all the great historical nations by piecing together suitable extracts from contemporaneous and later writers with such editorial introductory and connecting paragraphs as were necessary, and so to produce not only a history of the world but, at the same time, an encyclopedia of historical literature of extraordinary range. The inherent difficulty in the scheme is that any extensive encyclopedia or anthology of historical writing must inevitably contain much that is antiquated as history proper, however interesting to the student of historical literature. In addition to this inherent necessity of incorporating a good deal of material that is not up to date, there is another factor which tends to increase the amount of antiquated material. In the field of English historical writing the copyright enjoyed by works abreast of present scholarship naturally compels a disproportionate selection from authors whose works are no longer copyright and so, from lapse of time, are out of date.

Against these inherent difficulties the editorial staff have contended with various degrees of success. I have examined with more or less care some twenty volumes of the *Historians' History*. In some cases I have been agreeably surprised by the degree to which these difficulties have been surmounted, and in others disappointed to find the difficulties apparently not realized. In the history of Greece (vols. III and IV), for example, one cannot but be favorably impressed by the extent to which the narrative has been derived from writers of the first rank, English or foreign. The matter on Greek colonization, for example, is derived almost entirely from Beloch's work not elsewhere accessible in English. Again, chapter 38, vol. VI, on the civilization of the first two centuries of the Roman empire, is made up of extracts from Renan's *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme*, Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticæ*, Boissier's *L'Opposition sous les Césars*, Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, and Bouché-Leclercq's *Manuel des Institutions Romaines*. The chapter on the Parthian empire (vol. VIII) is mainly derived from Gutschmid's *Geschichte Irans*, and the account of the Sassanids (*ibid.*) is almost wholly from Nöldeke's *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*. On the other hand, in the case of Spain and Portugal (vol. X) works antiquated in matter and never important for style like Busk and Dunham have been extensively drawn upon.

If one turns to the volumes on the United States (XXII-XXIII), one wonders what principle save that of least expense of time and thought suggested going to John Frost for the early life of Columbus or to S. G. Goodrich for his later days. On the other hand, it would be unfair not to point out that Irving's life is extensively used, that Columbus's Sanchez letter is quoted in full and that there are shorter citations from Las Casas and Peter Martyr, and that the editorial footnotes evince familiarity with the critical literature. The editorial discussion of the Vespucci question, except the last paragraph and perhaps one or two minor statements, is as correct and lucid as it could be made in the space except by a past-master of condensation. The same may be said of the Smith-Pocahontas story.

The general narrative of the story of the English colonies relies largely upon Bancroft and Hildreth. For Massachusetts Barry is the chief modern authority, with several extensive passages from Bradford and the contemporary sources. Perhaps the most serious criticism to be passed upon the treatment of the United States is its gross disproportion. The period from 1814 to 1860 is covered in sixty-four pages, just the number allotted to the years 1770 to 1789, and only ten more than are accorded to the discoveries from 1492 until the death of Columbus. This part, consequently, is on the whole not so good as the average recent text-book and is in fact largely drawn from the old handbooks of Eliot and Lossing.

In general it seems to me that the series appears at its best in the volumes on the ancient orient, Greece, the Roman empire, and perhaps Russia. In these volumes the citations from the best works of modern scholarship in French and German are more numerous and the extracts from English writers of the second or third rank a half-century ago much fewer. The work of translation so far as I tested it in various passages from Kittel's *Geschichte der Hebräer* was well done. Most of the illustrations scattered through the volumes, except the portraits of historians, cannot for the most part but be disappointing to any but the crudest taste.

Two or three other features of the series should be noticed. The so-called bibliographies are extensive author check-lists, alphabetically arranged, of the historical literature relating to the different nations. Brief biographical sketches of the more important writers are interspersed. While the proof-reading of this section leaves much to be desired and while important omissions are not infrequent, the lists as a whole seem to me a very useful feature of the series.

More striking and of incontestable value are the forty-odd special essays contributed in the main by scholars of the first distinction in their respective fields. These men have generally taken these essays seriously, and there are few readers of whatever degree of general attainments who will not be impressed by such papers as Harnack's on "The Roman State and the Early Christian Church" (VI, 629-642), Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's on "The Development of the Hellenic Spirit"

(IV, 587-613), Wellhausen's on "Tribal Life of the Epic Period" in Arab history (VIII, 284-293), Goldziher's on "The Principles of Law in Islam" (*ibid.*, 294-304), or Nöldeke's on "The Scope and Influence of Arabic History" (*ibid.*, 1-24). In addition the history of each nation is summarized in a rather detailed chronological table, and each volume is equipped with one or more maps.

Taken all in all, the series has the unevenness of quality of every historical library, for, in fact, such it is. Reading its volumes will have a certain likeness to a kind of methodical browsing in the alcoves of a vast collection of historical writings with the help of a well-read and, on occasion, critically qualified mentor to guide one's course, supplemented with the additional opportunity of listening now and then to a lecture on the subject from a great modern master. The patron of the smaller public or circulating libraries, and such readers as have not access to large collections of historical works, will be able through the *Historians' History of the World* to sample the work of a wide range of ancient and modern writers. Such readers, too, as have access to large libraries and are fond of discursive historical reading, but yet are without expert guidance, will probably fare on the average quite as well by resorting to the *Historians' History* as they are likely to if they select books on their own initiative. Any one familiar with the relative circulation of various classes of historical works in the larger libraries and the narrow range of historical literature accessible in the smaller popular libraries would not hesitate, I think, after a careful examination of the *Historians' History*, to recognize it, in spite of the shortcomings from the scientific standpoint of much that it contains, as a notable and, in many ways, a very useful effort to extend and broaden popular knowledge of history and of historical literature.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

A History of the Ancient World for High Schools and Academies.

By GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED, Ph.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904. Pp. xvi, 483.)

THIS history of the ancient world adds another to the already noteworthy list of text-books written in recent years by American historians. The proportions of the work, and therefore the relative importance which the author attaches to the main divisions of his subject, may be most effectively described by a simple statement of the number of pages which he assigns to each: oriental history receives sixty-nine, Greece one hundred and seventy, Rome and Europe to the time of Charlemagne two hundred and eight.

The history of the ancient orient, where centuries seem but years, presents a difficult problem for a writer whose narrative must conform in length to the few weeks which the high-school course can allow for its study. The author of the text under review has attacked this problem with unusual success. The essential features of the various

national civilizations, the influence of each on the other, and of all on the west are clearly set forth. The attention which is given to Syria and the people of Israel is very praiseworthy.

The Mycenæan period of Greek history is well handled. The author brings it down to about the year one thousand, and follows the generally accepted view in treating it as the "ancient" period of Greek history. The following three centuries are named the "middle age". It would be better to carry out the analogy to European history fully, and extend the middle age down to the Persian invasions, making it include the Homeric age, the period of colonization, the foundation of the city-state, and the beginnings of Greek civilization. The term "modern" would then be used for the centuries in which the fully-developed powers of Greek civilization express themselves in her history. The intricate detail of the history of the Hellenistic period is compressed into clearness; and the Greek side of Roman interference in the east is presented in a way which aids in understanding this phase of Roman history. As already implied, political history is everywhere kept within well-defined limits. Confused periods are treated briefly, and yet clearly and concretely.

In Roman history the proportions are in the measure of fifty-nine pages for the early history to the outbreak of the Punic wars, fifty-nine from thence to the death of Cæsar, fifty-four for the empire down to Diocletian, and thirty-one from the beginning of his reign to Charlemagne. Early Roman history is looked at from the agnostic standpoint of present-day scholarship; nevertheless the author's treatment is conservative and not radically destructive. Noticeable features of these pages are the emphasis which is laid on the strength and influence of the Etruscans, and on the participation of the Greeks in early Italian affairs. Without serious loss, somewhat less space could have been devoted to this period and used more effectively in other parts of Roman history. The progress of the Roman conquest of the west and east is systematically narrated, with all necessary reference to temporary circumstances and policy. The ill effects of the rapid acquisition of power and wealth attendant on this conquest are used to form an enlightening introduction to the story of the last century of the republic; but the treatment of that century is less satisfactory than the rest of the book. The author very properly avoids the over-amount of detail which often obscures the significance of this stormy time; but he does not bring out that significance with his usual force and clearness, except perhaps in the events in which Cæsar was concerned. The chapters on the empire are in many respects the most satisfactory in the whole book. The biographies of the emperors are reduced to a minimum; and more concern than usual is shown for the frontiers, the Germans, Christianity, and culture, and for changes in the constitution and in law. The closing pages contain an outline of early medieval history. The choice of points for emphasis is good; but they are so briefly handled that, at the most, they will be of value only as a guide for adapt-

ing longer accounts to the general scheme which has been followed in the earlier portions of the book.

The sum of the opinions on the several sections of this new textbook makes the judgment of it as a whole very favorable. It is abreast of the latest scholarship; its proportions—between the different nations, the periods in the history of each, and between political history and the history of civilization—are excellent. The material which is contained is but medium in amount, but the good proportions and the author's condensed and concrete style render it capable of effective expansion in the hands of an intelligent teacher. Sometimes, however, the style is condensed to the endangerment of clearness; and occasionally a word occurs which would send a high-school pupil to the dictionary; but such instances are the exception. Here and there come sentences which could be spared—none better than the one which states that "the west becomes the seat of the dynamo that supplies power to drive politics and civilization to higher achievements in a wider world" (p. 241).

For illustrations the publishers have inserted twenty-four finely executed plates, which are made more usable for teaching the history of art by the notes given in the second appendix. There are nineteen maps on full or double-page plates, and as many more in the text. These maps, with the exception of two or three of the smaller ones, are executed with clearness and emphasis. Questions for review, suggestive, comparative studies, and topics follow each chapter or section. A number of chronological charts are given; they are carefully prepared, but are too complicated to be of much practical value either for study or for reference. The titles in the bibliographies are well selected, and the brief comments judicious; reference should be made, however, to a classical atlas which is already on the market, not merely to one which is announced.

ASA CURRIER TILTON.

Prosopographia Attica. Edidit JOHANNES KIRCHNER. (Berlin: Georg Reimer. 1901, 1902. Two vols., pp. viii, 603; vii, 660.)

THESE two volumes contain the names, and, where possible, the genealogies and noteworthy achievements of some 16,812 Athenian men, women, and children. They aim to furnish us with a complete register of the Athenians of the prechristian era who are mentioned in the ancient literatures and inscriptions.

No such register existed in 1884 at the time the work was undertaken. The third edition of W. Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* had just appeared, but the purpose of this dictionary was, of course, quite different from that which Dr. Kirchner planned. It was practically impossible for the student to segregate the names in it according to the countries from which their bearers came, and even if such an undertaking were feasible, it would have been unprofitable,

because the collection did not pretend to be complete. Ten years later (1894) the first volume of Wissowa's revision of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* was published. This work, as is well known, was begun on so comprehensive a plan that few men in the least degree eminent could escape attention. But in a statistical survey, such as Dr. Kirchner had in mind, hosts of obscure persons from every walk of life, who were omitted in both of these forerunners, must be ferreted out to take their place beside those who had won distinction in history—in a word, completeness must be the object and justification of the undertaking.

In this the author, so far as we can judge from a few searching tests, has succeeded. The reviewer has consulted the *Prosopographia Attica* for the family affiliations of the Athenians who figure in the public documents between 307 and 262 B. C., and between 103 and 88 B. C., and has found, from a name which is here and there missing, the clearest proof of Dr. Kirchner's thoroughness. In *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, II, 611, for example, the motion was made by Kleon, son of Leokrates, of Salamis. No such name appears in our register. A careless workman would probably have inserted it. But from the content and character of the decree it is clear, on closer examination, that Kleon belonged, not to the Attic Salamis, but to Salamis in Cyprus. The *Prosopographia* contains no foreigners.

Perhaps Dr. Kirchner has erred in drawing the line between citizens and non-citizens too closely. Dr. Alfred Körte (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1903, 837 ff.) has supplemented the register by a long list of names of sculptors, potters, vase-painters, and others whom he affirms to have been Athenians. It may be that the author has not proceeded consistently in admitting or rejecting those upon whom the citizenship was conferred by special vote. And other minor defects may be pointed out. Thus, Neaichmos in *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, II, 581, is correctly listed as *demarch*, and yet the inscription is dated in 320–319, just as if he had been the *archon eponymus* for the year. Such mistakes are bound to occur. Here, like misprints, they are remarkably few.

Dr. Kirchner's work has not been a slavish sorting of cards. There is hardly a name in the register which does not show that his mind has been constantly alert for new combinations of individuals into families, for new identifications of otherwise isolated persons, and for new assignments of decrees and catalogues to their proper place in time. The work represents a very considerable addition to our knowledge. Indeed, we may venture to surmise that it was the uninterrupted series of discoveries which he made that stimulated the author to spend the best nineteen years of his life on the compilation of a dictionary of names. The task in itself, however, was well worth the effort. Dr. Kirchner has prepared an indispensable aid to every one who concerns himself closely with Athenian life. It is now possible, as never before, to write the history of Athenian politics. The party in power during obscure periods can often be determined from the known opinions of

the families represented during those periods in public life. We can now proceed to write the local history of Attica, since the men prominent in each deme are now readily determinable. The occupations pre-vaillingly practised in the various districts may be ascertained. Already we have learned something as to the social standing of different religious and other organizations.⁶ The distribution of the population over Attica and in the demes and tribes may be observed from the *Conspectus Demotarum* (II, 493 ff.), but here an uncertain quality exists, in that registration does not imply residence. Of course, the names listed under each deme are gathered from documents preserved by chance and scattered over a period of about seven centuries. Accordingly, we get from them only proportional, not absolute numbers. Similar ratios are established in the fourth century B. C. by the fact that the representation of the demes in each of the ten prytanies of the senate was determined by population.

The work is not final. While it was being printed, as many as 1,224 additions had to be made. Since its appearance, moreover, several new Attic inscriptions have been published, and every day, we hope, others will be found. But no one can deny that the great mass of the Athenian names is now before us in these volumes by Dr. Kirchner, and students of Greek history are under heavy obligations to him for the long years of patient effort devoted to their collection, arrangement, and publication.

W. S. FERGUSON.

The Campaign of Plataea, September, 479 B. C. By HENRY BURT WRIGHT, Ph.D. (New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Company. 1904. Pp. 148.)

To the general subject discussed in this thesis Dr. Wright has made one contribution. He concludes that Pausanias had formed the plan of drawing Mardonius into a locality unsuited for cavalry, and that with this in view he exposed his army to attack, first in entering the depression, in which the battle of Plataea was actually fought, before mounting the Asopus Ridge, and secondly in abandoning this strong position and in retreating, apparently in confusion, across the narrow valley with the "Island" to the south as his presumed objective. Thereby the generalship of Pausanias is vindicated, and the reason becomes clear for the great reputation he enjoyed in popular estimation before the Byzantium fiasco, and subsequently in the judgment of military experts like Thucydides. Herodotus indicates the movements correctly, but goes astray in interpreting them. What he gives is not even the private soldier's account of manœuvres which he did not comprehend. It is that account, perverted by the Athenian prejudice against Sparta during the early years of the Peloponnesian War. This, of course, has been already demonstrated by Eduard Meyer. Dr. Wright goes further, however, and in making his second main point contends that the contempt of Herodotus for Spartan courage is explicable only

on the theory that he was writing after the surrender at Sphacteria in 425 B. C. Others have concluded that nothing in the work of Herodotus shows knowledge of occurrences later than 428 B. C.

The reviewer must confess that he has not been convinced by Dr. Wright's argumentation in either instance. He can simply remark that it is a doubtful rehabilitation of Pausanias which makes him undertake so perilous a movement as the retreat by night from an impregnable position (p. 65) across a depression so gentle as to tempt the foe to use his cavalry—especially in view of the heterogeneity of the Greek army. Nothing short of decisive tactical superiority could justify such a risk, and if this was known to rest with the Greeks, the earlier hesitancy of the Spartan military authorities remains unexplained. Besides, it seems to result from Grundy's description (*The Great Persian War*, 499 ff.) that the depression was really suited for cavalry action.

The thesis, however, is not exhausted when these two conclusions are rejected. As a whole, it reveals sound judgment and careful work. At times, perhaps, the author does violence to historic facts in preparing the way for his theory, for example in his general characterization of the period from 479 to 449 B. C. (p. 38). Misprints, such as "golden statute of him at Delphi" (p. 84), are fortunately rare.

W. S. FERGUSON.

The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER. [College Latin Series.] (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1904. Pp. xiv, 514.)

IN the preface to this work the author states the purpose of the book "to serve as an introduction to the study of the topography of ancient Rome for students of Roman antiquities and history, and incidentally as a book of reference for those who have any special interest in the monuments which still remain". He adds a modest statement that the book "makes no claim to exhaustiveness or originality; it is only a compilation", drawn largely from Richter, "whose *Topographie der Stadt Rom* has been practically the basis of the present work". The writing of an introduction is always an ungrateful task; your prospective audience is composed of individuals whose mental status is largely a matter of theory, and it is easy for a critic to complain that the author has presupposed too little or too much knowledge on the part of his readers. Scarcely any two men would set the tone at the same place in the intellectual scale. Possibly very humble beginners may crave an additional amount of elementary explanation, but in compensation the more advanced student will find certain matters more conveniently presented than in Richter, notably in regard to bridges, aqueducts, walls, and gates. The chapter on "Building Materials and Methods" is also an improvement on Richter, but here the student will still have to go to the incomparable Middleton. It seems very unfor-

tunate that the chapter on the "Development of the City" has no companion piece in the "Destruction of the City", a subject quite as important and equally fascinating; and one is tempted into wondering whether the book would not have been more readable had foot-notes been used more fully to contain the numerous centimeter measurements and the contradictory theories which merely interrupt the narrative when inserted directly in the text. But possibly foot-notes were avoided out of respect for the apparent prejudice which the majority of American writers have against such foot-notes as tending to make a book ponderous. As a matter of fact, however, foot-notes, if properly used, tend to lighten the narrative without sacrificing accuracy and to provide a special training-table for the more voracious of one's readers.

Roman topography is moving very rapidly these days, and it is not to be expected that any book on the subject will last long without being out of date; it is, however, all the more necessary that a book should be thoroughly up to its date of publication. In this respect Professor Platner is to be distinctly congratulated, for although our knowledge of topography is beginning to get ahead of the book (*e. g.*, p. 256, as the *lacus Curtius* has since been discovered), the author is thoroughly conversant with what had been done up to the time of writing. News of the excavation of the *ara Pacis* evidently reached America too late to be of use (p. 341). The illustrations are apt to be the worst part of a book written by a scholarly man. The publishers and the general reader are more interested in the illustrations than the author is, but in the present case the care which has evidently been given to the choice of the illustrations (*vide* the list of sources) has been rewarded, and there is much to praise. The picture of the northwest corner of the Palatine (p. 158) is out of date and had much better have been omitted. The detailed plan of the Hippodrome (p. 153) does not agree with the general plan (fig. 16, p. 128); and the plan of the Temple of Venus and Roma (p. 298) is not entirely in accord with the description on page 299.

Judged as an "introduction", the book seems open to some slight criticism. It is questionable whether the habit of giving the exact measurements (especially in the metric system) of so many things is going to be of much help to the beginner; it might serve rather as a discouragement, and certainly it is of no value to the general reader. Then too the paucity of references among the sources to the sketches of the Renaissance architects keeps the beginner in ignorance of this source, which is of constantly increasing value since Middleton's book. Then too (p. 6) a caution ought to be inserted regarding the use of coins as topographical evidence. The book is remarkably free from misprints, unless the mistakes in the points of the compass (*e. g.*, pp. 37, 127, 149, 152) are to be included under this head.

In a book which contains so many facts and theories it is an easy matter to pick out points where a difference of opinion is permissible. I mention a few such points: the statement that the "present topog-

raphy of the city is in its main features precisely the same as when the first settlements were made" (p. 15) seems rather exaggerated when one remembers the cutting down of hill spurs, the rise of artificial mounds, and the general change of level. The absence of metal in the *pons Sublicius* is not in itself a sufficient ground for dating it before the knowledge of metal (p. 79). No metal was used so that the bridge could be easily destroyed. The *atrium Vestæ* is said to have had "two and perhaps three stories" (p. 201). There were certainly three and at the south side probably five. The reference to the Anglo-Saxon coins (p. 203) were better altogether omitted unless space can be spared for some further explanation. The Ionic column of the *ædicula Vestæ*, referred to as *in situ* (p. 204), is a restoration. It is by no means certain that the balustrades now standing on the pavement of the forum belonged to the rostra (p. 216); it has been repeatedly asserted but never proved, and the measurements do not seem to agree. The black marble pavement was reset by Maxentius but not originally built by him (p. 239). People did not use thick slabs of marble in the time of Maxentius. The *scalæ Gemoniæ* did not branch off from the *gradus Monetæ* (p. 278), but were merely another name for that part of the *gradus Monetæ* which was near the *Carcer*. The first triumphal arch in Rome (p. 300) was not that of Q. Fabius Allobrogicus (B. C. 121) but that of Stertinius (B. C. 196, cf. Livy, XXXIII, 27). The theory of the velaria for the Colosseum is given as a fact (p. 312), whereas it is supported on very weak evidence and has grave technical difficulties.

But these suggestions, many of which are open to discussion, touch on relatively few points, considering the large number of disputed matters with which the book has to deal. Possibly they may be of use in a subsequent edition, which will undoubtedly be demanded; at any rate they are merely the exceptions which prove the generally judicious character of the statements made.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

The Private Life of the Romans. By HAROLD WHETSTONE JOHNSTON. [Lake Classical Series.] (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, and Company. 1903. Pp. 344.)

TWENTY years ago the undergraduate classical courses in our American colleges and universities were limited somewhat strictly to the interpretation of a few select masterpieces of ancient literature. Barring an occasional lecture, no attempt was made to give formal instruction in the history of classical literature, institutions, archæology, or private life. Hence classical studies frequently used to be reproached with being narrowly grammatical and linguistic. As one father wittily said: "Homer may be the prince of poets and Demosthenes the prince of orators. But what of it, if after a dozen years' study of Greek my son hasn't a spark of enthusiasm for either?" This, of course, was

putting the case rather strongly, but there is no doubt that there was much justice in the protests raised against the classics as formerly pursued. Classical study did, beyond question, long shut itself up too exclusively to a study of words and sentences. In recent years, it is pleasant to note, all this has radically changed, and to-day in most institutions of consequence formal synthetic courses in the literature and institutions of the classical peoples are prominent features of the college curriculum.

The book before us is an outcome, as it is also an index, of the changed conception of classical teaching just mentioned. In fairly compact compass it treats in successive chapters of the family, the Roman name, marriage and the position of women, children and education, dependents, slaves, clients, *hospites*, the house and its furniture, dress and personal adornment, food and meals, games, the circus, gladiators, baths, travel, correspondence, books, sources of income and means of living, death and burial ceremonies.

The task which the author has set himself is no light one, for our information on many, perhaps most, of the topics here embraced is often provokingly scanty and not infrequently conflicting. Moreover no book of similar scope exists which can be regarded as at all satisfactory for the purposes of collegiate instruction. Wilkins's manual is but a primer; the work of the Misses Preston and Dodge is not merely meager in extent but rests upon no independent study; while Ramsay's work has long been hopelessly antiquated. Under these circumstances the opportunity existed to produce a work which should be a credit to its author and render a signal service to the cause of classical education. It is a pleasure to recognize that Professor Johnston has availed himself of this opportunity with eminent success. His book not merely gives ample testimony to thorough scholarship and conscientious attention to minute details, but also reveals a ripe teacher, full of pedagogical resource. Witness, for example, the diagrams prepared to illustrate *patria potestas*, *agnati*, and family relationships. A broad view characterizes the book throughout. To Professor Johnston, classical philology is evidently no mere dogma, but a living reality; and one of the most valuable features of his volume is the frequency of his observations on the relation and contrast of ancient and modern ideas and institutions.

The book is well supplied with illustrations, most of which are excellently chosen, though the purpose in including portraits of Brutus, Scipio, and Sulla in the chapter on the family, and those of sundry Roman emperors in the account of the Roman name is not obvious. Almost nothing has been omitted that could fairly be expected to find a place in a work of this character. Perhaps a somewhat fuller treatment of arts and industries might wisely be included in a subsequent edition. Apparently no mention is made of the aqueduct system, or of the *acta diurna*, the Romans' nearest approach to a newspaper. But these topics are no doubt intentionally omitted as belonging strictly within the limits of public, rather than of private, antiquities. Though

prepared primarily for professed students of the classics, Professor Johnston's volume ought to appeal to a much wider circle. It is a book which every cultivated person may read with interest and profit.

CHARLES E. BENNETT.

Roman Historical Sources and Institutions. Edited by HENRY A. SANDERS. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volume I.] (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. iv, 402.)

THE University of Michigan devotes the initial volume of her *Studies* (Humanistic Series) to a collection of essays dealing with Roman historical sources and institutions, under the editorship of Professor Henry A. Sanders. It is gratifying to receive this witness to the vitality at Michigan of a branch of investigation so undeservedly neglected in this country; and we note with satisfaction the announcement that a half-dozen volumes continuing the series are already in preparation. Apart from Professor Dennison's discussion of the singing of the "Sæcular" Hymn, all the papers are historical in theme. They display diligence and zeal; in view of our American failure to insist upon drill in clear and easy English composition as a preliminary to historical writing, it is perhaps ungracious to object to their literary baldness and disjointedness; but none of the essays shows a facile pen.

Miss Mary G. Williams of Mt. Holyoke follows up her *Julia Domna* (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d series, VI, 259-305) of 1902 with a similar study of *Julia Mamaea*. This is accurate and exhaustive. Dr. Duane R. Stuart investigates *Dio Cassius's* use of epigraphic material, and reaffirms the earlier verdict of negligence. Professor Drake takes *Cauer's* tabulation (now over twenty years old!) of inscriptions relating to officers below the centurion's rank, and traces the rise and decline of the *principalitas* in the pre-Diocletian army. Dr. G. H. Allen of Cincinnati presents a valuable study of centurions as substitute commanders, based on the inscriptions.

Professor Sanders's two disquisitions occupy well toward one-half the volume. In the first, he collects all versions of the *Tarpeia* myth, following *Krahner*, and adds some allied stories. Two of these, Persian myths whose irrelevancy he admits, are quoted in French and German versions long since superseded; another, a *Charlemagne* story found in the *Chronicon Novaliciense* (3, 14), is taken, without indication of ultimate origin, from *Grimm's Deutsche Sagen*! The whole study would have gained greatly by compression and elimination; it is hard to winnow out the wheat, and even the sensible discussion of the origin of the myth lacks clearness. Misprints (especially in the Greek quotations) and inconcinities are too frequent. *Nonius* and *Gellius* are cited from old texts with readings now abandoned. After the *Nissen-Haupt* controversy and *Döhner's* excellent dissertation, it is strange to be referred back to *Schmidt* on *Zonaras's* use of *Plutarch*.

In his discussion of the lost Epitome of Livy, Professor Sanders does himself greater justice. He criticizes Reinhold's and Drescher's recent dissertations and continues and defends his thesis of 1897, in which he showed that this abridgment was composed as early as Tiberius's reign. The correct attribution of later statements to this vanished condensation of Livy is a peculiarly delicate task, as has been well pointed out by Schwartz apropos of Dio Cassius. Professor Sanders has collected numerous resemblances of statement in late historians, and his general conclusions agree with those of earlier investigators and are certainly sound; but the aptness of several of his parallelisms must remain a matter of opinion. The collection has however a permanent value for all students of Roman historical tradition. From Pliny's citation of *Livius filius* as a source for a portion of book 5, in which we do find a fragment of the Epitome, and from one or two other indications, Professor Sanders ventures to guess that the historian's son was his abridger. What a pity, since this study was not already published when the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus fragment was heralded, that the volume was not held and the essay worked over in the light which the new abstract throws upon the whole subject, as just pointed out by Professors Moore of Harvard and Kornemann of Tübingen!

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic. By CHARLES W. C. OMAN, M.A. (London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1902. Pp. viii, 348.)

THE seven statesmen are the two Gracchi, Sulla, Crassus, the younger Cato, Pompey, and Cæsar. Their lives, as Mr. Oman points out (p. ii), "completely cover the last century of Rome's *ancien régime*"; or, more precisely, they cover the course of the Roman revolution. The *ancien régime* received a fatal shock when Tiberius Gracchus appealed to the direct expression of the popular will without regard to the checks and balances of the constitution. In reality he thus forced the issue of personal versus constitutional government; and this was not finally settled until Augustus found a *modus vivendi* for both, that the lion and the lamb might lie down together, with the lamb, as it proved, ultimately inside. In the nature of the issue we have one reason why the story of the hundred years required for its settlement may well be told in a series of biographical studies. Each of Mr. Oman's seven statesmen, with the exception of Cato, whose career after all might have been quite as well left to incidental treatment as that of Marius or of Cicero, represented the monarchical principle, each more distinctly than his predecessor. Thus the true meaning of the whole process, as Mr. Oman indicates in his preface, may be brought out by concentrating attention upon the personal element.

Although the cardinal facts of the story are common property and allow of no radically new explanation, yet they are invested with new

interest by Mr. Oman's literary skill, his graphic and often colloquial style, his genial and pungent wit—as of the Oxford common-room, his thoroughly individual appreciation of each of the leading figures, and his presentation of the whole movement in modern and realistic terms. The seven are for him, as for Mommsen, not “Plutarch's men”, but actual politicians, which they become when studied by one who knows more about history and politics than Plutarch did. M. Livius Drusus was a Tory-Democrat (p. 104). Crassus reminds him of “that wonderful old Whig, the Duke of Newcastle” (p. 191). He clinches the proof that it was not protracted warfare but foreign competition that ruined Italian agriculture by observing that “otherwise the Roman farmer, like the British farmer in the golden days of the struggle with Napoleon, might have prayed for ‘a bloody war and a wet harvest,’ as the things most likely to send up wheat to 120 s. the quarter” (p. 17). The gratitude of the proletariat, when Caius Gracchus put through his bill for the sale of the tithe-corn at half the market-price, reminds him “of the Portuguese army when it saluted its commander with the shout, ‘Long live Marshal Beresford, who takes care of our bellies’” (p. 59). “The Aedui and the Remi”, he observes, “stood to Caesar in Gaul much as the Nawabs of Oude and the Carnatic stood to the British in India” (p. 316), while the spade-work of Caesar's and Pompey's soldiers in front of Dyrrhachium finds its like nowhere except in the “interminable entrenchments around Richmond and Petersburg” in 1864-1865 (p. 329).

There are three possible verdicts, each of which found expression in antiquity, in the case of the Government *vs.* Tiberius Gracchus. Either his programme and his methods were equally justifiable, or his aims were right but his means wrong, or both aims and means alike are to be condemned. Mr. Oman finds against him on both counts and for convincing reasons. The agrarian law, for the sake of which he had no “right to pull down the constitution about the ears of the people” (p. 49), was a perfectly futile attempt to suspend—on what we should call populist principles—the operation of economic causes. Not the greed of the rich, but cheap grain from abroad, was ruining the small farmer. The only remedy, says Mr. Oman, was protection, and this could not be had because “the city mob would never vote for the dear loaf” (p. 24).

In reviewing the ten years that passed between the death of Tiberius and the tribunate of Caius Gracchus, Mr. Oman neglects to explain how it happened that the agrarian law was allowed to stand and why its execution was subsequently checked. In other words, he ignores the intervention of the group of moderates headed by Scipio Æmilianus, whose attitude toward the question of reform is most instructive and, in a very true sense, prophetic. Scipio saw clearly the rocks upon which the good ship Constitution was drifting, but believed that it was impossible to escape them. “Either we are lost”, he said, “or we are lost.” This is the only instance in which Mr. Oman has allowed him-

self to ignore a significant and impressive personality, without which the story of the revolution is incomplete.

It is at least open to question whether Mr. Oman is correct in the assumption that Caius Gracchus reenacted his brother's agrarian law only because it looked well in the democratic programme. It looks more like the chief end of his legislation, the goal to be gained at the price of the corn dole for the proletariat, the courts and the taxes of Asia for the capitalists, and monarchical power for the reigning demagogue. In the permanent influence of the equestrian order, as constituted by Caius and controlled by a syndicate of big capitalists—what Mr. Lawson would call a "System", Mr. Oman recognizes a conspicuous instance of the evil that men do living after them; but he fails to note that it was these capitalists who compelled the declaration of war against Jugurtha and steadily backed Marius, one of their own class, until his democratic ally Saturninus began to attack vested interests. Then they compelled Marius to abandon Saturninus to their vengeance. It was the young and active members of the equestrian order—and not, strictly speaking, an "Optimate mob" (p. 103)—who put Saturninus to death. Capital had dropped the democrats when they became anarchists, just as it recoiled in horror when Crassus and Cæsar put up Catiline to attack society that they might be its saviors. When Mr. Oman mentions the young equites who on December 5, 63 B. C., waited for Cæsar sword in hand (p. 183), he might have reminded us that they were minded to do to Cæsar as their grandsires had done to Saturninus.

Another crisis that remains more or less of a riddle in Mr. Oman's book is the one that began in the year 88 B. C. In agreement with Mommsen he represents the Sulpician revolution and the civil war between Marius and Sulla as hinging solely on "mere personal rivalry for a military command" (p. 113). It has, however, been conclusively shown by Nitzsch that it was again the capitalists—well-nigh ruined in the financial panic due to the Social War, the successes of Mithridates, and the massacre of their agents in Asia Minor, exasperated by the revival of the old law against interest, and resolved not to allow the Senate to get possession of the fat province of Asia—who forced through the Sulpician laws and secured the appointment of Marius to the command of the army of the east, with which the Senate had legally vested Sulla. The war between Sulla and the Marians was a war between the Senate and the "System". When Sulla finally became master and monarch of Rome, sixteen hundred financiers were sent to join a thousand of their confrères who had fallen in the course of the war, and their property was confiscated. That was the end of the "System" as a political factor of dangerous magnitude.

Mr. Oman's admirable portraits of Sulla and Crassus do not vary from the prevailing conceptions of these men sufficiently to arouse dissent; but it is otherwise with his treatment of Cato, Pompey, and Cæsar. Of them he writes (p. 236): "It is hardly necessary to say

that Mommsen's estimate of Pompey is no more to be taken seriously than his estimates of Cicero, or Cato, or Cæsar. It is as misleading to treat him as a mere drill-sergeant, as to call Cicero a 'fluent Consular', or Cato a 'mere Don Quixote,' or Cæsar a beneficent and unselfish saviour of society." Apart from the question whether any judgment of the "master of those who know" Roman history is not to be taken seriously even when it must be reversed on appeal, it hardly seems to the present writer that Mr. Oman has succeeded in rehabilitating Cato's reputation for normal common-sense or that he has devoted sufficient attention to Cicero to make clear the issue between himself and the great scholar from whom he has learned so much. For him, too, Cicero is "the unfortunate orator" (p. 228), led astray at a critical moment by his "idiotic vanity" (p. 189). As for Pompey, Mommsen undoubtedly misunderstood him, but it is a question whether Mr. Oman, in his reaction from Mommsen's view, has not assumed an attitude so erect as to have endangered his own equilibrium. We may admit that Pompey did not ineffectually seek the crown, without having to regard him as thoroughly loyal to the republican constitution. One would never get the impression from Mr. Oman's book that it was he, more than any other man, who threw the republican machine out of gear. He was not content with the honor of being the "first citizen in the Republic" (p. 288); he wanted chief power as well, but was unwilling to say so. It must come to him, Pompeius Magnus, as a tribute to his greatness. For this reason he affected indifference to the Gabinian law, not because (p. 250) he "doubted his own capacity" to clear the sea of pirates. For this reason he disbanded his army on his return from the east, not because (p. 261) he was a model of "civic virtue". For this reason he looked on at the anarchy of 54-53 B. C.—which Mr. Oman regards as very "curious" (p. 276)—not because he did not know what ought to be done, but because he meant to compel the government to throw itself into his arms, as it finally had to do. He accordingly did choose to play the rôle of savior of society, for which Mr. Oman thinks he had no inclination (p. 288). There is damaging evidence against the purity of Pompey's intentions in the confidential correspondence of Cicero, and, although the *Bellum Civile* was a campaign document, there is no good reason to doubt Cæsar's statement that on January 1, 49 B. C., when his own march on Rome was imminent, the Pompeians threatened to join hands with him and wreak united vengeance on the recalcitrant Senate. The Senate realized fully that it had only the choice of masters. Pompey, we repeat, did not wish to be king; but he conceived of himself as entitled to be the successor of Sulla as an extra-constitutional executive, the guardian of the empire and its earthly providence. Thus Pompey and not Cæsar was the true forerunner of Augustus.

Mr. Oman's portrait of the great Julius is more convincing. He does not blink the seamy side of Cæsar's career. The aristocratic young demagogue, with his extraordinary capacity for self-advertisement and

for "getting through money—especially other people's money" (p. 302), who led gangs of thugs to the polls and was at the same time "the inevitable co-respondent in every fashionable divorce" (p. 301), gets his due on all these counts; nor is it admitted that he can be truthfully represented even in his later years "as a staid and divine figure replete with schemes for the benefit of humanity" (p. 292). He remains "the great adventurer" (p. 284). "The monarch of the world was at bottom the same man as the clever young scamp whose epigrams and adulteries had scandalised Rome thirty years back" (p. 292). Yet nowhere has his consummate mastery of military, as of political, strategy and tactics been more effectively presented and analyzed than by the accomplished historian of the art of war in this the most interesting chapter of his excursion into Roman history. Nothing could be better than his explanation of the unparalleled variety of Cæsar's campaigns by the fact that the conqueror of Gaul "was essentially an amateur of genius, who had taken to war late in life, and not a soldier steeped from his youth upwards in the study of the drill-book and the manœuvres of the barrack yard" (p. 322); and with this may be coupled the reminder that "his final object was not so much the conquest of Gaul, as the building up for himself of an unrivalled military reputation and a devoted army" (p. 321). In short, the explanation of his whole career is to be found in "enlightened ambition and the love of doing work well, if it has to be done at all" (p. 291). Mr. Oman gives us this very realistic Cæsar in express antithesis throughout to the ideal Cæsar constructed by Mommsen, whose *Römische Geschichte* was an apotheosis of the great revolutionist, conceived in the heyday of youth by a son of the German revolutionary movement, but largely rejected by the sober second thoughts of a less turbulent age. It would have been only fair to state that, in declining to write his fourth volume, Mommsen tacitly admitted his youthful error; and if Mr. Oman had bethought himself of Mommsen's own reconstruction of the Augustan Principate, as based on the "dyarchy" of Senate and Princeps, he would hardly have left us with the conclusion that Cæsar had solved the problem of sovereignty by establishing an autocracy (p. 339). Cæsar's solution was, as he says, logical, but it was certainly not practical nor definitive.

On page 189 the note should refer to the fourteenth and not the thirteenth letter in the first book of Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, and on page 215 the reference is to the eighth and not the third paragraph of the letter there cited. On pages 258 and 273 we have "negligible", on page 218 "negligeable". The illustrations reproduce the Naples bust of Cæsar, the so-called Pompey, also in Naples, and three sets of historically significant coins. Since 1886, when Helbig published the authentic and very characteristic head of Pompey, now in Copenhagen, there has been really no excuse for continuing to serve up the Naples bust, which had previously been discredited by Bernoulli.

HENRY A. SILL.

La Plus Ancienne Décretale. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Par E. CH. BABUT. (Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition. 1904. Pp. 87.)

Le Concile de Turin. Essai sur l'Histoire des Églises provençales au V^e Siècle et sur les Origines de la Monarchie romaine. Par E. CH. BABUT. [Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, Fascicule VI.] (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1904. Pp. xi, 313.)

THESE two theses presented to the University of Paris invest the study of the chronological problems of obscure documents with charm of style and a wealth of scholarship. With the ease of full knowledge and accurate penetration, M. Babut interprets these minor data in the framework of an interesting historic process. In the first thesis he persuasively argues his discovery of the earliest extant decretal from a Roman bishop. Among the canons of councils in the manuscript of Angoulême (sixth century) is a document entitled *Canones Romanorum*, which editors have assumed to be the canons of a Roman synod under Siricius (384-399) or Innocent I (401-417). M. Babut argues that we have not a synodal epistle but a decretal from Damasus the predecessor of Siricius. It is shown conclusively that Siricius mentions the document in a letter and that Siricius and Innocent gave more rigorous rules for the cases with which the document deals. The most important case is the question of admitting to the clergy men who had been married after baptism for the second time. The milder position taken by the document is in harmony with Jerome (Ep. LXIX) and is to be assigned to Jerome's protector Damasus rather than to the more rigorous successors. We find, moreover, a less advanced stage of decretal authority. The document argues, while Siricius is known to have commanded the provincial churches. The fact that the author of the canons does not impose law but instructs as to Roman usage is used by M. Babut to explain the later erroneous entry of the document among the acts of councils. The bishops of Gaul who received the instruction did not regard the Roman bishop as their canonical ruler. The pope's name did not matter and was not transcribed in the early copies.

The second thesis illustrates more amply the relation of Gallic churches to the Roman see. Leo I, finding the Gallic bishops indisposed to yield to his decisions, obtained from Valentinian III the famous decree which made the papal commands obligatory as law for the bishops of Gaul. This measure was necessitated by an earlier crisis. M. Babut aims to fix the date and meaning of the synodal letter of Turin in connection with this earlier effort to extend the ecclesiastical monarchy of Rome over the Provençal bishops. Most authors have conjectured for the lost date of the synodal letter the year 401. Babut holds that the synod's action was intended to invalidate the decretal of Zosimus in March, 417, which ordered Patroclus, bishop of Arles, to assume metropolitan rights in the three provinces of Vienne and Narbonne I and II. The argument turns upon the effort to provide a setting for the acts

of the synod between two letters of Zosimus dated September 22 and September 29. The second of these letters must be provoked by the mere tidings that the synod has opened discussion of the decretal of March. To escape a difficulty it has to be conjectured that another papal letter (*Quod de Proculi*, September 26) has erroneously received the date of the document enrolled just before it in the records of Arles.

To substantiate this construction, which seems to merit assent, Babut gives a very interesting and detailed account of the ecclesiastical conditions of Gaul in the fifth century, and promises a further work on Saint Martin of Tours. He will show that Martin narrowly escaped condemnation for Priscillian views and that Priscillian was only an ascetic pietist, the dogmatic heresies charged upon him being a false misrepresentation.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

The Dark Ages. By W. P. KER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904. Pp. x, 361.)

"PROFESSOR KER, of University College, London, presents, under the special title of *The Dark Ages*, the first volume of a series of Periods of European Literature to be edited by Professor Saintsbury. As in duty bound, he begins with an attempt to define this much-abused term. He devotes to this his first two chapters, nearly a quarter of the whole little volume. Chronologically he limits his period by the decline of Roman culture on the one hand and the year 1100 on the other. These limits include, so we are told, the migration of the Teutonic peoples, of which Mr. Ker regards the Norman conquest of England as the last wave. He does not mention the Norman occupation of southern Italy, and why the Norman conquest of England is any more a piece of the Teutonic migration than the later and vaster expansion of Teutonic life in the lands eastward from the Elbe is not clear. However, periods must end somewhere, if only for the convenience of the literary historian, and if we must have a "dark" time, we are not disposed to quarrel with Mr. Ker's thesis that with the beginning of the twelfth century a new light is visible both in the subjects and the methods of literary treatment. In the second chapter, "The Elements", we are given a general survey of the whole period with reference specially to the material utilized in literature. The main body of the volume is then divided into two parts, treating respectively the "Latin Authors" and "The Teutonic Languages"; and a short final chapter on the literature of Ireland and Wales completes what is at best but a hasty survey of a vast field.

Of Mr. Ker's scholarly equipment for his task there can be no doubt. The whole volume bristles with "reading". There are enough learned references here to challenge the literary expert at every turn. Indeed, we can hardly see how any one can understand this book to whom the things it deals with are not already perfectly familiar. To such a one it offers a somewhat confused résumé of matters he should know

already. For the young student it is far too abstruse, and for the general reader it lacks the unity and concentration which alone can command his attention. This failure to appeal to a definable audience is the more to be regretted because Mr. Ker shows us at times that he is capable of straightforward and vivid characterization. For example his treatment of the Monk of St. Gall and the nun Hrotsuit gives us really valuable little sketches of important works. The same might have been said of his sketch of Liutprand of Cremona were it not that in the five pages (180-185) devoted to this author we have no less than sixteen literary allusions, every one of which would tax the learning of an adept in comparative literature. Mr. Ker's bane is fine writing; he has a certain sense of humor that now and then is useful, but it leads him into long ways around where directness and compactness are prime necessities. He is not willing merely to tell us about literature; he must still be making literature himself. It is true that reading about literature is generally dreary work enough, but this is all the more reason why the literary historian should suppress himself to the last degree and furnish us mainly with illustrations from his authors of the ideas he is seeking to make clear.

E. E.

A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West. By R. W. CARLYLE and A. J. CARLYLE. Volume I. *The Second Century to the Ninth.* By A. J. CARLYLE, M.A. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1903. Pp. xvii, 314.)

THE object of the joint authors of the present work is to carry in several volumes the history of political theory down to the early seventeenth century—"that is the time when, as it is thought, the specific characteristics of modern political theory began to take shape". It is to be strictly a "history of theory, not of institutions", though the authors "have frequently been compelled to examine the institutions in order to draw out more clearly the character of the theories which were actually current among those who reflected on the nature of political life".

The author of the present volume has brought to his work a thorough knowledge of the early church writers—certainly a necessary qualification for the period of which he treats—and has succeeded in expressing himself in such admirable and lucid English, free from all philosophical abstractions and obscurities, that at no time does his exposition fail to instruct and to interest the reader. This clearness is largely due to the admirable arrangement of the subject-matter and to the method of treatment, for the author deals not with theorists, but with theories. To some, no doubt, such a method will be unacceptable because it involves a certain amount of repetition and does not permit the reader, without some labor on his own account, to find the complete political system of any one of the writers referred to. The method

pursued, however, is infinitely preferable to that used in other works, where the treatment by authors in chronological order only serves to bring together a mass of encyclopedic and incoherent detail.

Part I or the introduction of the work devotes two chapters to the political theory of Cicero and Seneca. These are of such excellent merit that it is to be regretted that the authors did not see their way clear to giving several more introductory chapters to the precursors of Cicero in both Rome and Greece. The average reader will find difficulty in getting his bearings without first taking up some other work on political theory which deals with earlier writers.

Part II is devoted to the political theory of the Roman lawyers. It is in this part that the truly admirable quality of the method of treatment begins to show itself. The opening chapter deals with the theory of the law of nature. This is followed by one on slavery and property, and others on the theory of the civil law, the sources of political authority, and the political theory of Justinian's *Institutes*.

In part III, which has for its subject the political theory of the New Testament and the Fathers, the chapters are given the headings which those in the remainder of the work are evidently to retain. After a preliminary chapter on the New Testament, chapters follow on natural law, natural equality and slavery, natural equality and government, property, sacred authority of the ruler, authority and justice, and the relation of church and state. Part IV, treating of the political theory of the ninth century, is dealt with under almost the same chapter-headings as those in part III. Each chapter and each part is followed by a very useful summary, and at the foot of each page are given very lengthy extracts from the sources, which, if collected in one volume, would form a convenient source-book on the political theory of the period.

No claim could be made that the author has discovered any new theories or new theorists, but he has certainly put many matters in a new light. He is happy in possessing a certain aptness of expression in such phrases as these: "natural law and natural equality do not perhaps mean much more to them [the Roman lawyers] than evolution or progress mean to the modern politician" (p. 35); "The ninth century writers are Teutonic politicians, but they are obviously also disciples of the Western Fathers" (p. 197). Mr. Carlyle is equally skilful in making important distinctions and in summarizing the characteristics of great epochs. For example, he shows that though *jus gentium* and *jus naturale* were not distinguished by Gaius, Ulpian conceived of some difference between the two (pp. 36 ff.); that the reason for the preaching by the Apostles and early Church Fathers of such a strong theory of subjection to the civil powers lay in the dangerous tendency to anarchism among the Gentile converts (pp. 94, 97).

There are but few portions of the work which call for adverse criticism. On p. 63, the author states: "The mediæval theory of the social contract, . . . so far as we know, was first put forward definitely in the

end of the eleventh century." This is so general as to carry a wrong impression, and its truth is entirely dependent upon which one of the several meanings of the social contract the author has in mind. He is somewhat too mild in speaking (p. 124) of the early Christian defense of slavery. A knowledge of *How's Slaveholding not Sinful, Slavery the Punishment of Man's Sin*, published in our ante-bellum days, would have shown him how lasting and vicious that early defense was. In speaking of St. Gregory's theory of non-resistance to the temporal power he implies (p. 169) that St. Augustine was silent on the subject, thus overlooking entirely the latter's sermon in which he says: "non semper malum est non obedire præcepto cum enim dominus jubet ea, quæ sunt contraria deo, tunc ei obediendum non est". He fails to recognize (p. 211) that the source of Alcuin's description of primitive conditions of society obviously lies in the Prometheus myth. He might have called attention to the fact (p. 214) that Ine used the expression "king by the grace of God" almost a century before Charlemagne used it.

Few if any of the above criticisms could have been made had Mr. Carlyle seen fit to study carefully the best secondary works on the history of political theory instead of confining himself almost exclusively to a study of the sources. Throughout his work he seldom shows any familiarity with the researches of modern scholars in the field of political theory, and with but few exceptions he never refers to any secondary authorities. This is a glaring and inexcusable fault in an otherwise highly meritorious work.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest.

By LAURENCE MARCELLUS LARSON. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 100. History Series, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 55-211.] (Madison, Wisconsin: 1904.)

THIS monograph, which was submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, exhibits much more originality and power of research than the average doctoral thesis. It also displays a linguistic equipment and a lucid style such as are rarely found in dissertations presented by candidates for the degree of doctor of philosophy. To grapple successfully with a subject like the king's household in the Anglo-Saxon period requires much courage and learning; stray bits of evidence laboriously gathered from a great variety of sources, English and continental, must be skilfully pieced together and critically interpreted. This Dr. Larson has done with signal success. He has carefully exploited charters, laws, chronicles, sagas, lives of saints, and poetic monuments in quest of evidence bearing on his subject; and the result is a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

He first gives us an account of the eorls, gesiths, and thegns, especially of their relations to the king. He believes that the eorl was

originally the leader of a *comitatus* and did not become an Anglo-Saxon official before the reign of Cnut, but in a foot-note on page 81 he intimates that such officials existed already in the tenth century. Though no strikingly new general conclusions are deduced regarding *gesiths* and *thegns*, the chapters on their status and relations to the crown are valuable, because many new details, drawn chiefly from Anglo-Saxon poetry, are presented. Our author doubts whether there were common *thegns* in distinction from king's *thegns* before the eleventh century (p. 100), but such subordinate *thegns* seem to be referred to in various passages cited by Schmid (*Gesetze*, 668) and perhaps in a letter written by Alcuin in 801 (*Monumenta Alcuiniana*, 623). Guilhiermoz's *Essai sur l'Origine de la Noblesse en France* (1902), the second chapter of which deals at some length with *thegns* and presents a novel view regarding *gesiths*, has escaped Dr. Larson's diligent examination of the literature of the subject; probably it came to hand too late for him to use.

After considering the relations of the nobles to the king, he treats of the various officers of the royal household. He believes that in the eighth century there was a court official called the king's reeve (*praefectus regis*), who resembled the Merovingian *major domus*, but the evidence in support of this view is not convincing. Most of the passages in which the title *praefectus regis* occurs may refer to reeves placed in charge of royal estates. There seems to be a reference to "the high reeve" in Edmund's Laws, III, c. 5, which has escaped Dr. Larson's attention, but it does not help to throw light on the functions of this obscure office.

In chapters v-vii, concerning the seneschal, butler, chamberlain, royal chaplains, chancellor, staller, and house-carls, we feel that we are on firmer ground, and with the aid of Norse sources Dr. Larson gives us many new facts. Of the principal household dignitaries we hear little before the tenth century, when the butler, chamberlain, and seneschal comprised "the inner circle of the royal household service". These palatine officials begin to assume prominence in the time of Athelstan. Royal chaplains appear frequently from the time of Bede onward, but some of the passages in which the king's priests are mentioned may refer to the ordinary parish priests, as in Alfred's Laws, c. 38. Dr. Larson believes that a royal chancery existed as early as the reign of Ethelred the Unready. To his list of writers who contend that such a chancery was unknown in England before the time of Edward the Confessor, the names of Brunner, Aronius, and Giry may be added. The reign of Cnut marks the appearance of the stallership and the house-carls. On these institutions our author, with the aid of Norse poems and sagas and the Danish histories of Svenio and Saxo, throws much new light. "There can be no doubt", he says (p. 149), "that the stallership was the highest dignity at the Old English court when the Anglo-Saxon period came to a close." The account of the house-carls, which is based on a critical study of all the available

sources, is particularly valuable. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the statement (p. 170) that such a corps existed in England in the first quarter of the tenth century, with the view that it "was unknown in England before the last great Danish invasion" (p. 154). Chapter viii deals with the lesser officials of the court; and the last chapter considers "to what extent the organization of the Anglo-Saxon court was influenced by Continental custom and what influence, if any, it, in turn, exerted on similar households of a later date".

We hope that Dr. Larson will continue his study of Anglo-Saxon institutions, for the investigation of which his knowledge of the Norse sources renders him eminently fitted. Among other things, we need a reliable general account of the influence of the Danes upon the development of English institutions, for the conclusions of Worsaae are not trustworthy and those of Steenstrup are inaccessible to most students of English history.

CHARLES GROSS.

Innocent III, Rome et l'Italie. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1904. Pp. 262.)

THE author of this book is the well-known historian of the Capetian dynasty (987-1224). The most characteristic pope coming within the period he has made his own is Innocent III (1198-1216), except his still more interesting predecessor Gregory VII (1073-1085). But Luchaire has attempted to write not a life of Innocent III, but a monograph on this pope's relations with Rome and Italy in general. His first chapter deals with the advent of the pope, and is lively reading, his second with the Roman commune, and we get a vivid impression of the sharp contrast between the clerical corruption and the longing of the people to be rid of the corrupt court. In chapter three we enter into the troubles of the pope in his attempt to impose the leaden yoke of the church on the proud necks of republican Italy. Freedom had given forth her rallying-cry, but the papacy was not prepared to grant the people any liberty. The chapter recounts these squabbles at rather tedious length. Sometimes the pope carried his point, but often miserably failed. Chapter four is more interesting. It deals with the effort of the pope to keep the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in subjection and to do his duty by his very independent ward, the young emperor Frederick II (1194-1250). On page 183 he utilizes with proper credit the matter relating to the capture of Palermo unearthed by Karl Hampe in the Bibliothèque Nationale and published in December, 1901. The fact comes out in the only foot-note or reference in the volume. The last chapter is the most interesting of all. It gives a graphic and very amusing account of the court of Innocent III, and of the pope's method of doing business. The poor man had no show there and the rich were fleeced. The money which Innocent III extorted was lavishly spent on deeds of charity and on splendid structures, and the conscience of the pope was easy. Luchaire tells at great length one of the many negotiations which required the patience of Job and the riches of Solomon

to carry through. It is the story of the successful efforts of Thomas de Marleberge, of whom we may read in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which, by the way, to its infinite credit, prints a small volume of errata and thus honestly owns to errors and corrects them.

The vast correspondence of Innocent III was doubtless the source of this volume of Luchaire. We wish he had so stated, and that he had given references, as the correspondence of Innocent fills three volumes of the Migne reprint. The absence of such apparatus may have been due to the publisher who probably put the yellow paper cover on the book and made it look like a novel. It is, however, anything but fiction, being the work of a scholar who has gone to the sources for his facts, though he does excel many novelists in the number of good stories he has to relate of this lively pope, who wanted to have his finger in every pie and felt perfectly competent to rule the universe. Luchaire restricts himself to one land, but manifestly the pope who in this volume is found assigning husbands to marriageable females and tongue-lashing into silence refractory Italian villages and towns, is the same as he who in his world-politics browbeat Philippe Auguste of France, Alfonso IX of Castile, Peter of Aragón, and the more familiar John of England. Petty beyond comparison were many of the matters submitted to "the Oracle", as Luchaire calls Innocent III, but answers on all topics were forthcoming and, thanks to the letters having been dictated, they cost the honest, patient, and well-meaning pope no great amount of time.

What Friedrich Hurter, the classic historian of Innocent III, could not find, Luchaire, more fortunate, presents, namely, a contemporary portrait of this pope—in fact two, one from a mosaic and one from a fresco. It is to be regretted that the third contemporary portrait is not given. Luchaire has an interesting excursus on the portraits of Innocent III and thus brings this valuable book to a fitting close.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen. Von Lic. WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL, Instruktor der Theologie in Andover, Massachusetts. (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1904. Pp. xx, 374.)

THIS volume is one which will prove of value to the student of the Reformation period, for the episode with which it has to do was of far-reaching political significance, as well as curiously illustrative of a confusion of moral judgments brought about by the general unsettlement of hitherto accepted convictions incident to the Reformation age. That the foremost political leader among the princes who early supported the Reformation, the one among them all who saw most clearly the necessity of political coöperation for the advancement of the cause, and the one who had probably the most intelligent and appreciative sense of the principles for which the Reformation stood, should suddenly be isolated, and should become a divisive instead of a uniting force in Protestant ranks, being bent to the policy of Charles V. instead of standing as the

emperor's strongest opponent, and that these untoward results should have been the consequences of so unusual an act as a bigamous marriage, is certainly one of the tragedies of the Reformation age.

Mr. Rockwell's investigation has evidently been extremely painstaking and his study of the material on which a judgment of the course of events, or of the merits of the questions involved, can be based, is the most elaborate and exhaustive that has yet been attempted. The work is one in every way creditable to Mr. Rockwell's patience and scholarship, and, as such, is an excellent example of the application to a historical problem of careful methods of investigation. Many valuable, though relatively minor, modifications of earlier presentations are reached; yet the story, though far more adequately told, is still largely the same as it appears under the treatment of Professor Max Lenz in the fifth volume of the *Publicationen aus den königlichen Preussischen Staatsarchiven*. Mr. Rockwell is able to show, for the first time, that the famous Wittenberg Advice of December 10, 1539, was not composed by Melancthon, whose approval, with that of Luther, it bore, but was drafted by Justus Winter, a Hessian theologian, and that Melancthon did little more than copy out the form thus submitted to him in the interests of the landgraf. He is also able to demonstrate that, when rumors of the bigamy became spread abroad, Philip called together the leading nobles of Hesse and received their pledge to support him in event of attack. These may serve as types of a considerable number of additions to and corrections of the generally accepted narrative which Mr. Rockwell's scholarly acumen have enabled him to make.

Mr. Rockwell's work is in three parts. In the first, he takes up the history of the marriage itself from the earliest evidence now discoverable of the formation of the plan by the landgraf, through the course of the negotiations with Bucer, Luther, Melancthon, the Kurfürst Johann Friedrich of Saxony, and other nobles, to the actual marriage with Margaretha von der Sale, on March 4, 1540. From that event, he describes with graphic fullness the spread of the rumors of the bigamous union; the rising opposition, the landgraf's efforts to secure supporters, the difficult position of the reformers, the literary controversies which ensued, and Philip's settlement with the emperor. In his second part, Mr. Rockwell takes up the attitude of the Wittenberg reformers toward Philip's bigamy, and attempts to modify the critical judgment passed by Köstlin upon Luther that the Wittenberg divines' assent to Philip's second marriage was the greatest blot on Reformation history as well as on Luther's own life. He does not, indeed, undertake wholly to justify Luther's action, but to give it the kindlier explanation which he deems its due by exhibiting its motives in their true light more fully than has yet been done. That Luther should have consented that a marriage should secretly take place and then should have advised, as he did, at the meeting at Eisenach in July, 1540, four months after its occurrence, that a "good, strong lie" would be the best method of reply to the criticisms which the public

knowledge of the event excited, has always seemed a course of conduct difficult of justification. Mr. Rockwell shows plainly that Luther regarded the question from the point of view of a confessor charged with the spiritual good of the landgraf's soul. He did not look upon bigamy as a general right, but as a status that might be permitted in view of Old Testament example, under the special circumstances in which the landgraf was placed. Such permission, however, was only a dispensation before the bar of conscience and not a justification before the law. It was an allowance by a confessor to do something forbidden by law, which, nevertheless, it was for the good of the soul of the particular inquirer to do. The underlying theory was that the end of all law is the good of the soul; if that law hinders its good, exceptions may be permitted, but should not be made public, since their example would, in general, be bad. Hence Luther held himself warranted in advising a denial, as far as the general public was concerned, of facts which were well known to him in his confidential capacity. Curiously enough, from a modern Protestant point of view, Luther called to his aid, in this very question of denial of fact, the example of our Lord, saying, "I can do with good conscience as Christ in the Gospel; 'the Son knoweth not the day', and like a pious father confessor who shall and must say openly or before a court that he knows nothing regarding that which he is asked concerning secret confession, for what one knows secretly that cannot one know openly." It may be interesting to note, however, that this interpretation of Christ's declared ignorance of the day of judgment, as an intentional reticence justifying the secrecy of spiritual counsel, was not at all original with Luther, but was current in his day, for example, in the popular *Summa Angelica de Casibus Conscientiæ* of Angelo di Chiavasso, which Luther had read. Whether he can regard this explanation as affording any considerable measure of justification for Luther, the reader of Mr. Rockwell's volume will decide for himself. In the third section of his work, Mr. Rockwell presents a valuable discussion of the attitude of the Reformation age toward bigamy in general, involving an examination of the opinions of the German reformers on the matrimonial questions raised by Henry VIII; the views of Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer on bigamy; and the contemporary attitude of the Roman church, especially in regard to the power and extent of the right of papal dispensations.

WILLISTON WALKER.

A History of the English Church. Edited by the late Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester, and the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt. Volume V. *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625).* By W. H. FRERE. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xiii, 413.)

THE series to which this book belongs has established a reputation

for painstaking diligence in the use of original materials and the presentation of the subject in careful detail. Mr. Frere's volume conforms to this standard and contains much that is of interest and value to the student. The most important information of this detailed character is the statistical data about the English dioceses in 1563 compiled from manuscript sources. Doubtless the conscientious precision shown in determining the practice of various men and of men in various years in the matter of vestments and ceremonial will make some readers impatient, but such dull items may serve an end, negating, for example, the notion often entertained that many ritualistic practices of modern Anglicanism were not expressly enjoined in the time of Elizabeth simply because they were taken for granted. It is indeed to be regretted that some other modern questions are left unanswered. Recent discussions of the eucharistic doctrine show divergent views of the purpose and practice of those who gave form to the Elizabethan church. Frere offers no help in this matter, which Maitland, on the other hand, has made clear and significant in the *Cambridge Modern History* (II, 588). Maitland's treatment is illuminating because he sees English incidents in the framework of the general European situation; Frere has no constructive power. He seems not to have discovered general characteristics that make his period what some have called Pre-Laudian Anglicanism. The net impression left by the book is that only the Puritan party had a history of internal development and that the episcopal conception of the church was a fixed type. We learn nothing of the divergence of Bancroft from the principles of Jewel, Whitgift, and Hooker. We are left without explanation of the Elizabethan valuations of the articles or of the episcopal office. We learn nothing of the conscious and expressed convictions of those who gave the impress of their ideals to the church. We read that Jewel's *Apology* at once became a classic but obtain no notion of the thought of so influential a book. The mention of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* is even more meager and empty. The statement about its publication does not mention the doubts as to the genuineness of the posthumous books.

One result of this is that the presentation is one-sided. The Anglicanism of a later and more permanent type seems to be assumed as the necessary norm and the Puritans are false brethren intruding where they do not belong. It would be hard for the author to understand the protests of loyalty to the church of England on the part of the first Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. It is true that he studies to be just and for the most part freely recognizes the justification of the more temperate Puritan demands, yet an irritation which seems to grow as the book proceeds results in some rather sweeping aspersions, such as "truthfulness was never the Puritans' strong point". For the piety of Roman recusants Frere feels a reverence which no one will blame, but he has not taken pains to understand the Puritan type of piety. A little more power of *Anempfindung*, a little more social psychology, are needed for the study of a period when a nation became divided into

groups antagonistic in religion and politics. The author speaks slightly of the Puritans' "invasion of the liberty of men to enjoy innocent amusements on Sunday after service". Richard Baxter's account of a Jacobean Sunday will explain, however, the deep feeling of violated sanctity that drove the Puritan to his sabbatarian demand.

A few minor slips may be noted. The statement that Robert Browne's works have not been reprinted is made in ignorance of the *Old South Leaflets*, volume IV, and of the extracts in Hanbury and in Walker's *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*. Robinson of Leyden is called James, and the Mayflower party is said to have landed "on November 11 at Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts".

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 2. *Basis of American History, 1500-1900.* By LIVINGSTON FARRAND, A.M., M.D., Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xviii, 303.)

THE American nation as a political unit merely is a subject easily compassed by the historian, since its foundation lies not only within the period of written history but within the narrow limits of discovery and colonization. But he who would venture to treat the national history in its fuller significance must carry his researches beyond the limits of the Columbian period and over a vast range of subject-matter; he must consider the races and cultures of the Old World and their far-reaching influence in the New; he must have an intimate acquaintance with the New World, giving due attention to its configuration, its climate, and its resources, and must build up the background of his picture with the history of the American race. These are the elements that, in the view of Dr. Farrand, constitute the basis for the history of the American nation. The time may or may not have come for an adequate presentation of this history; the point of view may not yet be sufficiently remote for comprehensive vision, and the knowledge of the field and its complex phenomena may not be sufficiently complete; but our author has ventured upon the task, and the future must determine the wisdom of the undertaking and the degree of his success.

In the earlier chapters the author depicts in a simple and effective manner the physical features of the continent, characterizing the areas fitted for human occupancy and pointing out the bearing of the mountain masses, the deserts, and the rivers upon the distribution of populations. He shows how the invading race advanced to the conquest of the fertile valleys and the prairies, and how the aborigines were pushed inland along the waterways, across the passes, and over the portages, until the great habitable areas were almost completely wrested from their grasp—the special areas that had nurtured the native communities and developed their peculiar culture now became the focal centers for

the development of the new people and the new culture. Dr. Farrand summarizes the characteristics of the great areas of human activity, and enumerates (touching all too lightly on the mineral kingdom) the resources which, under the simple régime of the Indian, gave him an impulse toward civilization, and which in the stronger grasp of the white race created a new empire almost within the limit of a lifetime. Having covered this much of the ground, the author takes up the story of the native tribes as an essential part of the national history.

Chapter 5 is devoted to a consideration of the very important question of the antiquity of man in what is now the domain of the American nation. The geological evidence is dismissed with a few short paragraphs, leaving the impression that as yet little satisfactory proof of great antiquity has been found. Facts relied upon, when investigations began a few years ago, as fully establishing the existence of conditions of occupancy and culture parallel with those of Europe have more recently been given different and much simpler interpretations. Finds of artifacts in glacial gravels are too few and too imperfectly attested to carry conviction to the conservative student, and it is pointed out that caves which have for untold centuries offered free shelter to the tribes that have come and gone yield no trace of occupancy by others than the Indian tribes as known to us. It is justly considered, however, that the continent must have been occupied for thousands of years, the well-authenticated traces extending far back toward the period that witnessed the final retreat of the glacial ice beyond the northern limits of the Great Lakes. The mound-builders and the cliff-dwellers, about whom much misconception and error have insisted on clustering, are relegated to their proper place in the simple history of Indian occupation. In the light of the straightforward and judicious interpretations presented by Dr. Farrand, the cobwebs of early misinterpretation are swept completely away.

In chapter 6 a comprehensive glance is taken of the North American aborigines for the period beginning with 1500 and ending with 1900—the period during which they have been under the observation of our own race. The first requisite in this presentation is a classification of the extensive and complex phenomena involved, and it is pointed out that four groupings of the tribes are possible: by physical characters, by languages, by geographical areas, and by culture groups. The physical characters are varied and pronounced, but difficult to formulate in such ways as to serve as a basis for treatment. The grouping by languages is regarded as the most satisfactory for scientific discussion, but the tribes north of Mexico present such a wonderful diversity of tongues that fifty-seven distinct linguistic groups or families are recognized, making impossible a brief and comprehensive treatment on this basis.

It is believed by Dr. Farrand that a grouping by geographical areas is the most satisfactory for his purpose, the areas being such as have partly at least, through their peculiar characteristics of conformation

and resources, led to the development of somewhat decidedly distinctive phases of culture. By this method the number of groups may be large or small as the treatment demands. Seven are considered sufficient for the author's purpose, and are as follows: (1) the Eskimo; (2) the tribes of the north Pacific coast; (3) the tribes of the Mackenzie river basin and the high plateaus; (4) the tribes of the Columbia river and California; (5) the tribes of the great plains; (6) the tribes of the eastern woodlands; and (7) the tribes of the southwest and Mexico. The Eskimos occupy the northern shore-line of the continent from Bering sea to Greenland, and originally, it is surmised, extended south into New England. They are a people widely separated from the Indian in physical and mental characters, whose origin is not determined but whose adjustment to the Arctic environment and unique culture are among the most interesting and instructive lessons of aboriginal America. Contrasting strongly with the Eskimo, and presenting physical and cultural characters hardly less remarkable, are the tribes of the northwest coast. The third group, assembled in the great northern inland region, connects with the Eskimo on the north and extends from the coast ranges on the west to Hudson bay on the east; while the fourth occupies the basin of the Columbia river and the numerous minor valleys opening out to the Pacific in Oregon and California. The fifth group comprises the great warrior-hunter tribes of the inland plains, of which the Sioux are taken as the type; the sixth, the formerly powerful and strongly contrasting groups of the eastern woodland north and south, with which the English and French colonists had chiefly to deal; and the seventh, the many tribes of the southwest and Mexico, presenting numerous physical types and greatly diversified cultures. Of the three hundred or more tribes thus passed under review, few could even be mentioned and fewer described with any degree of fullness in the brief space allotted; but the perusal of these chapters will give the reader an excellent notion of the people as a whole, and of the groups as assembled in the great specialization areas of the northern portions of the continent. The chapters treating of the social organization of the tribes; houses, house life, and food quest; industrial life and warfare; religion, mythology, and art; and the character and future of the Indians, which follow, are excellent summaries of these subjects; and the final chapter, a critical essay on authorities, will prove to be of high value to the student.

Not without shortcomings such as necessarily result from the crowding of a vast subject within narrow limits (the faults of omission), this work is charmingly simple, direct, and comprehensive. The reader is not led into troublesome mazes of speculation, nor is he asked to skate on the thin ice of preconceived notions; the work must therefore prove a boon to schools and to the general public, which have too long been at the mercy of the hobby-rider and the sensation-monger. It is conservative and refreshingly healthy in tone throughout. The publishers

will be fortunate if the other volumes of the composite work to which this one belongs reach an equal standard of excellence.

W. H. HOLMES.

The Spanish Conquest in America and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies. By SIR ARTHUR HELPS. Edited by M. OPPENHEIM. (New York: John Lane. 1900-1904. Four vols., pp. xxxviii, 369; x, 365; xv, 400; xi, 374.

For a dozen years the book-buying market has been calling for a new edition of Helps's *Spanish Conquest*. The rapidly widening interest in the West Indies and in South America has found little satisfaction in the various manuals and volumes of personal misinformation which make up most of the bibliography of that part of the world. Helps remains as almost the only name which every one knows and with which confidence is associated. A mere reprint, however, would never have satisfied the public, much less the book-reviewers, and so the publishers have sought long and diligently for an editor. That only one edition has resulted apparently means two things: that there are very few people who pretend to know anything about early Spanish America, and that only one of these few has been willing to commit himself in regard to his opinion of the work of Sir Arthur Helps. The *Spanish Conquest* is so very good and so very bad, so delightful a presentation of the long-accepted versions of events, so perverse in its interpretation of many of the best-known happenings, so wearisome in its goodness, so uncritical in its acceptance of evidence, so admirable a specimen of the popular English historical attitude of the middle nineteenth century, that there is small wonder other students could not make up their minds how it ought to be edited. Mr. Oppenheim, who alone has ventured on the task, has succeeded most admirably in performing it in the spirit of his author. Just as Helps left the moral of the story to his readers' own insight, so his editor leaves them to find out for themselves what they think about Sir Arthur's historical method and manner. The notes correct some obvious mistakes, add considerable information from material published since the work first appeared, and otherwise elucidate the text, as on page 32 of the second volume, where Helps's statement, taken verbally from Las Casas, that a certain friar was a brother of the queen of Scotland, calls forth a list of all the brothers of all the Scottish queens who might have been living in 1516. It could not, of course, have entered the mind of Sir Arthur, any more that it has that of his editor, that the recognized heirs were sometimes not the only offspring of royalty, and that the half-brothers of queens, who very frequently rose to distinction in the religious orders, were not ordinarily included in the official genealogies. The editor not infrequently makes the mistake of saying too much, if he is not to say more, as where, on II, 56, he points out that Las Casas estimated the

width of South America as about double its actual extent, without adding that Sir Arthur, throughout this portion of his work, adopts the statements of Las Casas as his own, without comment or thought of verification.

The editor's important contribution, in the introduction and throughout the volumes, is the addition of cartographical material. Twenty-six of the most typical sixteenth-century maps are reproduced, in good size, and the introduction contains some suggestive remarks concerning the importance of finding out what were the contemporary notions of geographical location. The maps are not facsimiles, but are carefully redrawn so as to give the reader who is not accustomed to the documents themselves an excellent idea of the configuration and nomenclature of the originals. These redrawings would be distinctly more suitable for their purpose than actual facsimiles, if the editor had taken the trouble to provide some definite information regarding size, authorship, and significance. The absence of any such assistance, and the fact that the map of Venezuela faces the chapter on Honduras, that of Peru accompanies a chapter on the West Indies, and Chile one on Mexico, contribute to the feeling of sincerest regret that Mr. Lane has not succeeded in doing away with the need for any further reprinting of *The Spanish Conquest*.

G. P. W.

The United States: a History of Three Centuries, 1607-1904. In ten Parts. Part I. *Colonisation, 1607-1697.* By WILLIAM ESTABROOK CHANCELLOR and FLETCHER WILLIS HEWES. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Pp. xxiii, 533.)

In this era of many-volume histories of the United States the first question that the reviewer must settle is the claim that the work may have to existence—not whether it will find a market, but whether it is fit to set before the intelligent reading public. In the present case it may be safely said that if the publishers of the book had submitted the manuscript of it to expert criticism before launching it into print, the review that follows would not have been written.

The publishers' announcement that the series of ten volumes is to constitute "a comprehensive narrative which shall cover the entire record of the national history and development" of the United States does not differentiate the work from its fellows in the same field. Neither do the proposed titles of the volumes indicate any deviation from the familiar text-book paradigm. Obedient to the general scheme, the introductory number of the series starts with Columbus and the Spaniards, turns aside for a glance at the Indians, then jogs stolidly along through wastes of arid description and platitudinous rhetoric, till 1697 bars the way.

The book is divided into four sections: "Population and Politics", "War", "Industry", and "Civilization". For the first, second, and

fourth sections Mr. Chancellor assumes the responsibility, and Mr. Hewes has prepared the third. In none of the four divisions is anything like a serious study of institutions attempted. So as to render the collocation of material rather more luminous, however, we are told (p. viii) that "the Second Section presents the record of war and of conquest, chiefly in their military phases", while the fourth section is devoted to "religion and morality, literature and art, education and social life". The unique separateness of treatment is so faithfully observed that the historical trains on this four-track road of American development rarely graze one another in passing. They appear to run quite free from any essential interconnection. This idea Mr. Hewes has emphasized, though unconsciously it would seem, in the first of several "historical perspectives" he has contributed. The "perspective" shows how American history has developed between 1607 and 1904 in four parallel columns set off with chromatic graphics, wherein Democratic politics and panics are colored blue, and Republican politics, education, wealth, and war are tinged with red—the whole properly surveyed with lines, chains, and rectangles. A glance at the "Civilization" column indicates the following as successive stages in the growth of American civilization: "Wigglesworth's 'Day of Doom'", "Import of Negroes encouraged"; "500 Negroes imported"; "Death for over 100 Crimes"; "Great 'Revival' colored people"; "Preachers may sell liquor"; "Rutgers College lottery"; "N. Eng.-Sexes in pub. schqols" [sic]; "Extensive 'Revival'" (twice); and the "Chicago fire"—the last without allusion to the historic cow! In addition to the "perspectives", the volume is provided with many small maps and diagrams, of which some are quite useful.

The bibliography is a hodgepodge of popular treatises, school textbooks and source-books, and encyclopedias, and includes at rare intervals a monograph of special value that does not seem to have been much used. The titles of the "authorities" are frequently misquoted, none of the references cite pages, and the notes are numbered consecutively. As the work progresses the number of notes steadily decreases, but the grade of intelligence displayed in their selection remains the same. Some of the notes are merely collections of references by number to previous notes. Had all of them consisted of digits, the result would not have been different, for they possess no value.

The index ranges itself alongside of the notes and references. It contains such interesting topics as: "Aboriginal mothers"; "Aborigines healthy"; "Conquest, not colonization"; "Cruelty and kindness"; "Kindness and cruelty"; "Intellectual wild man"; "New woman"; and "*Wander-lust*". William Penn is mentioned three times and Pocahontas seven. Arthur, Cervantes, Luther, and Gustavus Adolphus appear, but Robert Barclay, Theophilus Eaton, George Berkeley, the New England Confederation, and the Fundamental Laws of West Jersey are unheard of.

As for literary composition, whatever be the claims of the publish-

ers (p. xi), the book abounds in cheap comments, efforts at fine writing, and big words. The "unspeakable Turk" (p. 10) and the "Scythian pirate" (p. 10) of the fifteenth century jostle "had gone 'a-viking'" (p. 55) and "then there fell . . . a besom of cruelty and ruin" (p. 50). Speaking of the Northmen, the statement is made that, "in the course of the millenniums their flesh won the color of snow tinted by their own red blood; and their eyes changed to the color of the sky" (p. 53). "Climacteric" events (p. 39), "cataclysmic [sic] struggles" (p. 23), and "objurgated colonials" (p. 129) trip the reader up, and he falls sprawling over the "static" and "latent" Invincible Armada engaged in its deadly conflict with the "kinetic" and "dynamic" English fleet (p. 62). But when he has about recovered his equilibrium, the hapless reader falls again—this time into a slough of unexplained allusions, quotations of small pertinence, and trite digressions on European history. Teutonic origins are unctuously traced, Anglo-Saxon superiority is proclaimed from the fence-top, while the Jews, the Indians, and woman suffrage—with mistaken notions about Queen Elizabeth as the text—receive words of commendation, and the Roman Catholics a gratuitous fling or two. In this connection it is pleasant to learn that "by Columbus" "the Mediterranean was made an inland sea" (p. 23), and that the "untutored savages" were in the habit of arguing "post ergo propter" (p. 202).

Of the making of positive errors, misstatements, and slipshod phrases there is no end. To quote a few samples: we are told that the idea that the earth is round emanated from Constantinople after 1453 (pp. 11-12); that Verrazano was commissioned by Charles V of France (p. 37); and that King Arthur went to Iceland in the sixth century, on which occasion he "broke a path" in the ocean "never afterward wholly lost" (p. 56). The "marriage of Henry of York, the statesman-miser, with the beautiful and generous Elizabeth of Lancaster" (pp. 65, 68) matches "the long line of English kings, from Cedric" (p. 117) and the circumstance that the mother of William III "was Mary, daughter of Charles I., and sister of James I." (p. 323), whose "hybrid nature made him . . . 'the wisest fool in Christendom'" (p. 68). That James Stuart was "Earl of Albany in the Irish peerage" (p. 315) is an assertion not quite so surprising, perhaps, as the observation that "Holland had adopted the modern . . . calendar year centuries before the scholarship of England was sufficient to overcome the prejudices of Parliament" (p. 314). One would like to know, also, where Mr. Chancellor procured his estimate that the mines of Spain in America yielded sixty billions of dollars between 1492 and 1588 (p. 27).

When the author reaches American colonial history, the reader who would follow him becomes entangled in another mesh of mistakes. For instance, it is said that Bartholomew Gosnold organized the first Virginia Company (p. 96) and that the "governing council in England, consisting of twenty-five members", was "independent of the company of stock-holders" (p. 113). The Pilgrims are alleged to have

applied to the Dutch West India Company for permission to go to New Amsterdam (p. 197). The conduct of Thomas Morton and his company at "Merry Mount" is said to have "indicated . . . how near in time and in character the Englishman was to the Teutonic barbarian" (p. 227). It may be doubted whether a writ of *quo warranto* destroyed the charters of the Virginia Company in 1626, and of the Plymouth Company in 1635 (p. 237). The history of New Hampshire is so unimportant as to be dismissed with nineteen lines. An examination, finally, of the frame of government adopted in Pennsylvania in 1683 will show that the author's interpretation of the last article, to the effect that it "provided that an unconstitutional law was void unless passed by a vote of six out [of] seven" (p. 304), is not a commentary on the intelligence of Penn and his associates. Wrong dates, misspellings, and misuse of proper names and places are so common as to call for no special remark.

After the reader has escaped from the book he feels as if he had been almost "immolated in life-long confinement" (p. 118) and is inclined to agree with Lord Acton of "Oxford" (p. 33) that the "historic cycle" which he has just traversed is indeed one "laden with storm and havoc" (p. 34) in all the essentials that count for ability in historical writing.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Memoirs of the Martyr King: being a Detailed Record of the Last Two Years of the Reign of His Most Sacred Majesty King Charles the First (1646-1648/9). By ALLAN FEA. (London and New York: John Lane. 1905. Pp. xxi, 278.)

MR. ALLAN FEA, who has already told us much about the personal life and adventures of Charles II and of his son, the Duke of Monmouth, undertakes in the present work to give a detailed account of the last two years of the life of Charles I. The author's own contribution is included in the first two chapters, which together occupy about one-fourth of the volume. The first and most important is a diary or chronological itinerary tracing the movements of the king from his escape from Oxford, April 27, 1646, to his execution at Whitehall, January 30, 1648, Mr. Fea's chief purpose being to fix dates missing in the memoirs which follow. The second chapter is devoted to a description of the personal relics of the last days of the ill-fated monarch. The bulk of the volume, however, consists of a collection of narratives of persons in attendance about the king during the period in question, namely, Dr. Michael Hudson, Sir Thomas Herbert, Major Huntington, Sir John Berkeley, John Ashburnham, Sir Henry Firebrace, and Colonel Edward Cooke. Among these narratives the *Threnodia Carolina* of Sir Thomas Herbert is first published in its original form; since the editor has found that the edition of 1702, from which those of 1711 and 1813 are merely exact reprints, differs considerably both from the

original manuscript and from a copy in Herbert's handwriting which has also been preserved. The appendix contains Colonel Edward Whalley's account of Charles I's escape from Hampton Court palace, November 11, 1647, Colonel Hammond's letter to the Houses of Parliament concerning the attempted escape of Charles from Carisbrooke castle, May 28, 1648, and extracts from Lilly's autobiography and his *Life and Death of King Charles I.* William Lilly, it will be remembered, was the astrologer whom the Royalists, with the privity of the king, consulted as to whether he should escape from Hampton Court and whether he should sign the propositions of Parliament. The work concludes with pedigrees of the Worsley, Ashburnham, Legge, Cooke, and a branch of the Berkeley families, to whom, by the way, the dedication is addressed.

Both the chronological introduction and the editing of the various narratives are marked by an extended and minute acquaintance with topography, genealogy, chronology, manuscript sources, and relevant printed materials—in short, by all of the antiquarian equipment, and enthusiasm as well, requisite for an undertaking of this character. In the interest of clearness, however, it might have been advisable to add a summary table of dates and a chart indicating the course of the king's wanderings during the interval treated. Although a great service has been rendered in bringing together these interesting materials in a single place, the expense of the edition, limited to three hundred and fifty copies, will keep it beyond the reach of most students. On the other hand, its rich and tasteful externals should make it a joy for collectors to possess. The cover, of brown leather stamped with the royal arms in gold, is from a design on the king's Bible which he used on the scaffold and gave at his death to Bishop Juxon. There are upwards of a hundred illustrations, mostly in photogravure, of portraits, relics, views of ancient buildings, and reproductions of old paintings and engravings; the frontispiece, a picture of Charles from a painting by Lely after van Dyke in the Dresden Gallery, is done in colors. A detailed discussion of these illustrations would be beyond the scope of this review, but it should be said that, while occasional small criticisms might be made, the industry and knowledge of the author combined with the skill of the publishers have secured pictorial results deserving of the highest praise.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle. Edited by S. C. LOMAS, with an introduction by C. H. FIRTH, M.A. (London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Three vols., pp. lxii, 523; xii, 557; lxii, 523.)

Mrs. LOMAS's edition of Carlyle's *Cromwell* is undoubtedly definitive. Mrs. Lomas is a scholar possessing sound sense, experience, and unusual familiarity with the period. She has gone to the originals of the

letters and speeches where the originals exist, and as near to the originals as possible where these do not exist. She has added a large number of letters hitherto unpublished, and has contributed critical notes of unusual value.

Nevertheless, it is a pity that she should have thought it necessary to reëdit Carlyle's text. She would have rendered a much more acceptable service to scholarship by producing an entirely new work. Scholars do not need and do not wish Carlyle's comments. Moreover, to give Carlyle's text, no matter how thoroughly annotated, is to perpetuate an untrue portrait of Oliver Cromwell. For those who are not scholars, the old Carlyle was good enough. If, however, she felt it necessary to reëdit Carlyle, it would have been better to include in the body of the work all the new letters and speeches, instead of relegating them to a supplement. If one wishes to be sure that he has all the information given in this collection concerning any particular period in Cromwell's life, he must consult first Cromwell's text, secondly Cromwell's appendix, thirdly Mrs. Lomas's supplement. To state this fact is, it would seem, to condemn Mrs. Lomas's method. All the letters and speeches could easily have been included in the body of the work by adopting a system of double numeration.

Criticism is justified, moreover, in regard to Mrs. Lomas's treatment of Carlyle's text in the speeches, though not in the letters. In the speeches she has allowed many of Carlyle's alterations to stand, and has not always indicated what these alterations are. An excellent illustration is found in the speech numbered iv by Carlyle. The present editor gives this "almost as it stands in the old pamphlet". Why "almost"? As it now stands, it is neither Cromwell nor Carlyle. Collating Mrs. Lomas's text with that of Stainer, who also prints from the old pamphlet, we find over fifty variations between the two, not counting differences in paragraphing, punctuating, the use of italics, or quotation marks. This seems inexcusable, and the more so as Mrs. Lomas points out that the speech as printed was revised by Cromwell himself. It should consequently have been given precisely as Cromwell left it. The variations in Mrs. Lomas's text are indeed insignificant, but that only makes them the more inexcusable. The truth is that all editing of material for the use of scholars, except the very slightest, is an offense. What a scholar demands is the text as nearly as possible as it exists in the originals. He can do his own paragraphing, his own punctuating, his own italicizing; he can make his own comments, and add his own embellishments. Mrs. Lomas should have taken the editing of the *Clarke Papers* as her model.

Some minor criticisms may be offered. Mrs. Lomas should have omitted letter CC. Firth has shown that this letter cannot be genuine, and Mrs. Lomas evidently agrees with him. If she allowed this to remain, it was hardly consistent to omit the Squire Papers, though of course the position of these in the appendix lent itself much better to omission. Another matter of some importance is the apparent failure of

the editor to use the reports of the representative of the Great Elector. These would have furnished at least one characteristic speech of Cromwell. Mrs. Lomas should have said that the supplement contains four new letters from Oliver to Henry Cromwell, instead of three. All letters of Cromwell, no matter how similar to others, should either have been printed in full, or the variations noted, instead of merely calendaring them; in the editor's note, and again on III, 313, the name Downing is given where Downhall is meant. Firth's introduction is all that could be asked.

R. C. H. CATTERALL.

The Adventures of King James II of England. With an introduction by the Right Rev. F. A. GASQUET, D.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Pp. xliii, 502.)

THE anonymous author of the *Adventures of King James II*, supposed to be Thomas Longueville, has already entered more than once the field of seventeenth-century biography. Among his previous publications *The Life of a Conspirator (Sir Everard Digby)*, *The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby*, and *Rochester and other Literary Rakes of the Court of Charles II* will recall the character of his prevailing interests, which are personal rather than political. Likewise, in the present work the aim is not to study James as a king, and still less to trace again the events of those stormy years which culminated in his expulsion from the throne, but rather to tell the story of those less-known sides of James's life in which he appeared to most advantage, as a soldier, as a sailor, and as a conscientious and efficient administrator.

Although there is ample evidence of familiarity with the contemporary memoirs of the period, the book is practically based on the celebrated *Life of James II*, compiled by order of the old Pretender from the king's own memoirs, and first published by the Rev. J. S. Clarke in 1816. Not only has it been the author's chief reservoir of facts, but it has largely colored his estimate of the character and motives of James. Strangely enough, although Ranke in a masterly criticism of this work has shown its untrustworthy character by comparing it in places with the extracts made by Carte and Macpherson from James's original memoirs and published by the latter in his *Original Papers*, the present writer makes no mention of these valuable fragments, even though he occasionally quotes from another work of Macpherson's, *The History of Great Britain*, etc. Indeed, in referring to that portion of James's memoirs relating to his experiences under Turenne, which is printed in volume II of De Ramsay's *History of Viscount Turenne*, he states that this collection "is the only portion of James' manuscript *Memoirs* that we have, at any great consecutive length, and the substantial agreement of it with the *Memoirs* edited by Clarke goes far to show the care, accuracy, and trustworthiness of the compiler" (p. 57,

note 2). On the sides of James's career with which the author is chiefly concerned it is only fair to say that Clarke's *Memoirs* are a much less unsafe guide than are the parts which relate to his political activity in England.

The narrative is clear and fairly readable, considering the dullness of the man with whom it deals, and while it keeps James's best side uppermost, and while it exhibits frankly Roman Catholic sympathies, the facts, except here and there where Restoration politics comes in, are presented accurately and fairly.

Although political questions are touched on only slightly, the bias against the party opposed to James is all too evident. Aside from occasional references to Macaulay, usually for a partizan purpose, Lingard is the only general historian used; and many particular instances might be cited of the author's eagerness in the cause of James and his party and of his animus against their enemies. Arlington is said (p. 202) to have worked for the Test Act out of hostility to the Duke of York, when it seems more likely that his aim was to get rid of Clifford in order to succeed him as Lord Treasurer. Mr. John Pollock's evidence concerning the real designs of the Roman Catholics in the latter half of Charles's reign, as distinguished from those mendaciously attributed to them by Oates, is hastily dismissed as unconvincing (p. 243). Halifax, because of his desire to limit the power of James in the event of his succession, is not given adequate credit for his share in defeating the Exclusion Bill.

Keen on exonerating James from any responsibility for the "Bloody Assize" of Jeffreys, the author states (p. 322) that it is recorded in the *Lives of the Norths* that when Lord North informed the king of the excessive severities of Jeffreys, James sent orders to stop them. No page reference is given for this statement: it occurs on p. 391 of Jessopp's edition of 1890; but a learned note is appended, which the author does not mention, showing that, since North died on September 5 and since Jeffreys did not open his assize at Dorchester till September 3, it is unlikely that North made the remonstrance attributed to him. Moreover, the fact that James appointed Jeffreys chancellor after North's death rather contradicts the conclusion that "it is clear that when he realized Jeffreys' cruelty, he strongly disapproved of it". The delight of the dissenters at James's Declaration of Indulgence does not seem to have been so general as the author implies (p. 337), and in spite of the very broad views on toleration attributed to James in Clarke's *Life* (II, 145-151), which, by the way, might have been cited, many will question the assertion (p. 357) that "there is no reason, again, for supposing that he only relieved all nonconformists, with the object of giving relief to the Catholics". James's truthfulness is constantly insisted upon, though he certainly did not observe the spirit at least of the promises made at his accession, and much of the blame for the most disastrous measures of his brief reign is ascribed to his too generous trust in unworthy men. Always less dissolute, except in

the matter of sexual purity, than those about him, emphasis is laid on the fact that James's last years were a pattern of personal morality and devoutness.

Although we have had to pass some adverse criticism on a side of the work where the general reader might be misled, we ought to be grateful to the author for a book which, if not strikingly interesting, is nevertheless useful for bringing out features of James's character which are not in general adequately recognized. It is worthy of note that Mr. J. R. Tanner in his recently edited *Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library*, volume I (Navy Records Society, 1903), has furnished additional proof that the period of progress in the administration of naval affairs from 1660 to 1688 was due, to a considerable extent, to the influence of James, thereby conclusively refuting Macaulay's unjust reflection on his capacity in this field of work. His able assistant Pepys was not Secretary of the Admiralty during the Dutch War of 1665-1667, as stated by our author (p. 161), but Clerk of the Acts. Father Gasquet's introduction, devoted mainly to a consideration of James's conversion and the consequences which it involved, argues what few will deny, that, in spite of his continued immorality, his change of faith was due to conviction rather than to policy. The book is well bound and exceptionally well printed; the illustrations are happily chosen, and the analytical table of contents adds to its usefulness for reference.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Friedrich der Grosse und der Conflict mit seinem Vater. Von RHEINHOLD BRODE. (Leipzig: C. Hirzel. 1904. Pp. x, 486.)

It is no enviable task to be obliged to review a book like the above. It is written by a professor in a German university of high standing; it has all the appearance of a most thorough and learned work, with copious notes and citations; the numerous printed authorities quoted are of the highest order, and the author claims to have used manuscript material; the work is evidently the result of great industry. Yet so faulty is the arrangement, so slight is the thread of connection running through the whole, so minimal—at least from the historical student's point of view—are the results, so inflated and pretentious is the style, that the most lenient critic could find little to praise. The author is something of a mystic. "You cannot", he says when describing the few events that are known of the early days of Frederick the Great, "master the fullness of individual life with the incorporeal word, with definitions and formulas. But the little that has been said, *had* to be said. It is true these explanations offer little perhaps to the abstract thinker, and nothing at all to the bald weigher of facts. But to the soul-knower (*dem Seelenkundigen*) they mean much."

The title of the work is *Frederick the Great and the Conflict with his Father*; the subtitle, "a Contribution to the inner History of the Monarchy of Frederick William I". Yet not until page 259 do we

reach the page-heading "Germs of the Conflict with the Father"; and after the conflict is over we have to go back to Albert the Bear in a chapter entitled "Sum and Substance of Prussian Civilization". The earlier chapters deal for the most part with events that took place long after the conflict; thus no less than 110 pages are given to the general diplomatic and military history of Europe between 1740 and 1748.

One might understand an endeavor to show that the Frederick of the Austrian Succession war had become what he was in consequence of the bitter experiences of the years 1730 and 1731. But no such attempt is made. During this whole long digression into European history Frederick's name is scarcely mentioned. One is perfectly at sea as to the meaning of it all until, at the end, we are told that the author has heretofore been keeping the Prussian king (who has, according to the strange economy of the book, yet to be born) "behind the scenes, as it were, looking on at the grandiose drama of this seven-year struggle"; and all that has preceded is simply "intended to constitute, in forcible synthesis, the sharply outlined pedestal on which his image rises". "Now, however," exclaims the author, "it is time to bring upon the stage as protagonist the most active and boldest of princes and to look face to face on this monarch and his state." Incredible as it may seem after such an exordium, we are now plunged into a chapter on the "Essence and Value of Absolute Monarchy", and after sixty pages "the most active and boldest of princes" has only just seen the light. "Ein Glück nun' dass er da war", is the author's own commentary (p. 224), though possibly intended in a different connection. The passage in which he speaks of what might have been Frederick's first impressions, had he had any, is characteristic of Brode's style. He tells of "high-coifed, silk-robed dames", of "tight-laced, copper-faced officers", of the "corpulent, tempestuous father", of the "majestic, amiable mother", and of the "warm-hearted little sister", and concludes: "such were the personages from one to the other of whom the little prince allowed his astonished, delicious, blue, childish, giant eyes to wander".

Brode says in his preface that his book owes its origin to the famous controversy of Lehmann and Delbrück against Naudé and Koser regarding the causes of the Seven Years' War. He has come to the conclusion that what is now needed is not a further threshing out of the old field but "psychological analysis of the great king". He implies that Dilthey's experiments in the direction of descriptive and psychological analysis have not been carried further because most men lack the requisite "fineness of perception" (*Bewusstseinsverfeinerung*). But he, Brode, now proposes to undertake just such analytic study with regard to Frederick's character and to make clear his motives in connection with the vicissitudes of European statecraft. This again seems to be an unmeaning promise, for no such analytic study is apparent. The narrative goes on for scores of pages as though Frederick never existed, and we are only occasionally brought back to him by some

sentence such as this: "it has been necessary to let our glance sweep the horizon of his youthful life to see how he was affected by environmental circumstances and events".

Perhaps the best pages in the book are those devoted to Grumbkow. Here the current idea that the Prussian minister was nothing but a paid spy of Austria is attacked. But the author runs away from every difficulty. That Grumbkow received a yearly pension from Austria is asserted by Koser on the strength of accounts handed in by Seckendorf to Prince Eugene. Brode simply remarks, "the proof that Grumbkow received a pension has not yet been furnished". Altogether the book is, in itself, as much of a psychological problem as Brode claims to be the case with Frederick's character.

ERNEST F. HENDERSON.

Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia. By W. F. REDDAWAY, M.A. [Heroes of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Pp. xi, 368.)

MR. REDDAWAY's history of Frederick is likely to be of use to students of this period for the reason that he is thoroughly up-to-date with his authorities. He has used the *Political Correspondence* which is in course of publication, and he has also read to advantage Koser's second volume. His accounts of battles are clear and vivid, and the little maps that show the disposition of the troops are a boon to the reader. The style in general is good.

With the arrangement of the book there is cause to quarrel, although the subtitle, "the Rise of Prussia", is somewhat disarming. Yet it surely is disproportionate, in a biography of Frederick, that more than seven-eighths of the volume should be concerned with the period anterior to 1763, although actually that date marks but the central point of the reign. Moreover in a work on a "Hero of the Nation" one has a right to expect a little less general military and diplomatic history, and a little more study of personality. Even Frederick's outward appearance is scarcely done justice to by the casual remarks that his ablutions were few, his uniform usually faded and covered with snuff, his boots "through neglect, of a reddish color", his bearing "stern and caressing by turns", his voice clarion, his eye commanding. We have definite descriptions of him which might better have been quoted, like that of the Marquis de Bouillé, who saw him as an old man. As to any real weighing or study of character such as we find, for instance, in L. Paul-Dubois, *Frédéric le Grand d'après sa Correspondance Politique*, no such attempt is made at all. Yet Frederick's character, with its contradictions and idiosyncrasies, is very interesting indeed. Even his threats and insults are attenuated when we see him so conscious of his own shortcomings as to inquire anxiously about new ambassadors whether they can stand occasional outbursts or not, handing document after document to Podewils with instructions to tone down the violence of their language, and taking great pains to explain

to an offended Mardefeld that his one and only object in scolding him had been to incite him to greater efforts. And Reddaway's treatment of the literary and philosophic side of Frederick's life is absolutely inadequate; all the references to Voltaire together fill little more than a page, while d'Argenson and d'Argens are not even mentioned.

The weakest part of the whole book is that which deals with Frederick before his accession. Reddaway shares with Tuttle a contempt for King Frederick William I which makes his narrative descend to the level of mere invective. He has, for instance, no more real ground for saying that the king's "mixture of fervent piety and immorality suggests that he was hardly sane", or that he "drank himself to death before he was fifty-two", than Tuttle had to speak of the "sour beer" and "stale tobacco" of the famous tobacco parliament. If the beer was sour, it was not Frederick William's fault, for we have his admonition to twenty-seven towns of Prussia to bring the quality of their beer up to that of the beer of Potsdam; while the charge of immorality can only be traced to a scurrilous remark of Wilhelmina and is in direct contradiction to a mass of other evidence. Altogether Wilhelmina is given too much credit by Reddaway, as also by Tuttle. Since Droysen proved that all the letters cited in her memoirs are fabricated, her credibility has been more and more shaken, and there are German scholars of repute who go so far as to consider her utterly unfit to be quoted as an authority except where her statements can be controlled.

In his description of Frederick's attempt at flight Reddaway has made several careless statements. Katte was not one of the confederates who "tried to steal from the royal camp at dawn and to ride into France" (p. 32). He had remained in Berlin, and it was there that he was arrested. Keith was Frederick William's page, not Frederick's. Frederick did not, on October 11, 1730, "declare to the commission that he was ready to renounce the succession". On the contrary, he answered, to quote the protocol of Grumbkow, that "life was not so very dear to him, but his royal Majesty would not be so ungracious to him as all that". Finally it cannot be said that "Frederick had neither acted nor *tried to act* in collusion with any foreign Power". Katte confessed that among letters that he had destroyed there had been one from George of England, while Frederick himself avowed that the English special envoy, Hotham, had known of the intended flight. In fact Frederick had tried in every way to make Guy Dickens, the regular envoy, promise him that England would grant him asylum, and Dickens had been obliged to threaten him with the retraction of a promise to pay his debts, which debts, again, Frederick had placed many thalers too high in order that he might have funds for his undertaking.

ERNEST F. HENDERSON.

The Writings of Samuel Adams. Edited by HARRY ALONZO CUSHING. Volume I. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Pp. xiv, 447.)

THE editor of this volume properly says in the preface that the writings of no one of the leaders of the American Revolution form a more complete expression of the causes and justification of that movement than do the writings of Samuel Adams. Such a collection has long been needed for the study of the movements of the decade before the battle of Lexington, as the only available material was to be found in the three-volume *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams* (1865), by his great-grandson, William V. Wells. Of course much of the material available for the edition of the writings was to be found in such volumes as the *Massachusetts State Papers*, and doubtless Bancroft made use of many if not most of the materials that are here gathered together; for the papers collected by Samuel Adams Wells, which formed the basis of the *Life* by William V. Wells, were transferred to Bancroft, and on the death of the historian went to the Lenox Library. The student and the reader of the Revolutionary era, however, has had to take much for granted and has not had the opportunity of examining critically the work of the foremost democratic leader of the great democratic movement of the last century. We now have the promise of a collection of the most important public papers, carefully edited and printed in the attractive form in which the writings of other American statesmen have been published by the Putnams.

The present volume covers the period from 1765 to 1769, inclusive. We are given nothing before the date of the Stamp Act, except one paper dated May, 1764—the instructions of the town of Boston to its representatives in the general court. It is true that the worshipful diligence of Wells did not unearth much of importance for the early years of Adams's career; but the two or three things which Wells did print are perhaps worth including in any collection of Samuel Adams's writings. Nearly all the papers in this volume are of a distinctly public character. Probably, as the editor says, prudence as well as necessity dictated the destruction of many of Adams's papers, but it seems strange that almost no letters of a personal character worthy of publication have been discovered, and almost no letters written in an informal, friendly way on matters of public concern and interest—such letters as are found in abundance in the writings of Madison, Jefferson, and Washington. This failure to discover such material is presumably not to be attributed to any negligence on the part of the editor, but in itself helps to characterize the character and conduct of Adams. The townspeople of Boston were his correspondents, and he addressed them with frankness, suggestion, irony, insinuation, and semi-serious, heavily-laden humor in the pages of the newspapers of the day, which were largely made up of contributed articles of this kind and plenteous advertisements.

The papers presented in this volume are brought together from many places. Some come from the manuscript collections of the Earl of Dartmouth, some from the collections in the Lenox Library, some from the *Massachusetts State Papers*, some from the *Life* by Wells, some from the *Prior Documents* and other printed sources. Mr. Cushing has had the task of gathering his material as well as editing it. The patience used in gathering the writings is evident, but it is plain too that the editor has undertaken a task more puzzling than that confronting any other of those that have edited the writings of the early statesmen. The editors of the writings of Washington, Madison, Jefferson, and Monroe found themselves troubled with an embarrassment of manuscript riches, from which they could select the most significant papers. Mr. Cushing has had to seek for his materials. He has had moreover the task of determining whether papers commonly attributed to Adams were really the handiwork of the great radical or have simply been attributed to him by admiring patriots and by reverential descendants. How carefully this work has been done we are not allowed to know. For example, on page 166 we are informed only that a paper appears in *Prior Documents*; numerous articles are printed from the Boston newspapers, absolutely without editorial comment. It is easy enough to gather from Wells that every trenchant newspaper communication came from the irreconcilable Adams and that every report from a committee of which he was a member was written by the fluent pen of this first among American politicians. But in volumes such as these we are entitled to a short statement of the evidence on which the authenticity of a paper is decided. When any one of the documents here inserted is not copied from the manuscript, and when the whereabouts of the original manuscript is unknown, it is incumbent on the editor to give the reason for including the papers. In many cases he may be able only to say that the article has been commonly attributed to Adams or that it bears the marks of his hands, but that much at least we are entitled to.

The whole history of Adams is affected in large degree by the questions here stated. Much applause has been given him for his acumen and his persistence; and in some measure this reputation and our estimate of him rest on his papers and his letters to the press; and yet the authorship of many of these letters seems to be inferred only from the fact that Adams was persistent and acute. Of course that sort of reasoning can go on forever, and any one of us could be made out the greatest of men. Everything included here is so desirable for an understanding of the Revolutionary movement that the reviewer has not the courage to advise the omission of papers the authenticity of which is in doubt, but he does express the desire that succeeding volumes will make plain the basis of inclusion and that work of such importance as this should not be subjected to so serious a criticism.

The Bernards of Abington and Nether Winchendon: a Family History. By MRS. NAPIER HIGGINS. Volumes III and IV. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1904. Pp. x, 363; ix, 342.)

WITH the disappearance of Governor Bernard from the stage in volume II of this series it seemed probable that the career of the Bernards, whether of Abington or of Nether Winchendon, would be of little interest to American readers. Such, however, is not the case. Setting aside as of minor consequence the story of Sir Scrope Bernard's life, the greater part of which was spent in public service, much of it in fact as a member of Parliament, the attention of the reader will be fastened upon the many philanthropies with which the name of Sir Thomas Bernard is associated. Those who have read the second volume of this series will remember that Thomas Bernard, a son of the governor, was summoned from Harvard College to serve in Boston as the private secretary of his father. This Thomas Bernard was our philanthropist; and the limits imposed upon this review would not permit even a list of the many benevolent works with which his name was connected. It is interesting to note that he was quick to appreciate the value of the investigations of that distinguished native of Massachusetts, Count Rumford, with whom he was associated in the formation of the Royal Institute, and from whose published works he made free use of that part devoted to the subjects of food and fuel, the value of which to-day is seldom recognized at its true worth. At the Foundling Hospital in London, of which he was treasurer, he adopted the Rumford grates and established a Rumford eating-house. This charity had been founded by Thomas Coram, a name intimately associated with Massachusetts history, and the hospital had a short time before acquired an estate near Bernard's Bloomsbury residence. To this estate Bernard repaired, and there with his wife he lived for many years in order that he might directly oversee the lives of the children in the care of the institution. His varied interests comprehended, among other topics, prevention of mendicity; improvement of the treatment of prisoners; protection of chimney-sweeps and factory children; and providing facilities for vaccination—in short, there was no question under consideration in his day bearing upon the amelioration of the condition of the poor and the oppressed with which his name was not associated. Moreover his extraordinary power of interesting others in his work led to conspicuous success in the formation of societies, and caused a contemporary writer to remark that he had made benevolence fashionable. Through copious extracts from the many publications of Bernard the author of these volumes has succeeded in giving an idea of the life of this remarkable man.

A pathetic interest attaches to the story of Sir John Bernard, who was left by Sir Francis in America, in supposed wealth, he being the designated heir of the vast grants of land which the governor had accu-

mulated during his official career. The confiscation of Sir Francis Bernard's American property during the governor's life dissipated the prospective patrimony of the young man and left him without means. He inherited nothing but the empty title attaching to the baronetcy, which after the brief and apparently unsuccessful career of its bearer devolved upon Thomas, the next brother in succession. On the death of Sir Thomas the baronetcy passed to Scrope; to-day the title is extinct. Sabine gives brief sketches of the lives of Sir John and Sir Thomas.

Bearing in mind that this is a "family history", it may be said that the author has justified its publication. The typography of the volumes is excellent, the proof-reading unexceptionable. Admirable tables of contents preface each volume and head each chapter. A well-prepared index for the two volumes under consideration is to be found at the end of volume IV.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

A History of Education in the United States. By EDWIN GRANT DEXTER, Ph.D., Professor of Education in the University of Illinois. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. xxi, 656.)

THIS book is very attractive in its make-up, but it will prove disappointing to those who hold that the history of education should be history. It is split up into monographs, giving separate accounts of the development of education in its different aspects. Ten times the reader is taken back to colonial beginnings to trace the isolated chronology of some part of our educational system. This is in keeping with the declared purpose of the author to present a mass of fact rather than discussions of historical trend. But instances are far too numerous in which the fact is not even fact. A few representative examples of such inaccuracy may be cited. The story of the founding of the College of William and Mary is thrice told (pages 10, 73, and 234), with each time a different date. Neshaminy, the seat of William Tennent's famous "Log College", is located in New Jersey (p. 64). Jonathan Boucher, the tutor of Washington's stepson, makes a statement which is quoted and assigned to the year 1678 (p. 65), and the context shows that the date is not merely a misprint. The account of the early course of study in public high-schools (p. 174) is misleading. Equally misleading are statements made on pages 78, 199, and 257 concerning Columbia College and the University of the State of New York. For instance, the Board of Regents, as constituted by the act of 1784, was legally much more than "an advisory board for Columbia College" (p. 199). Against the statement (p. 200) that the duties of the State Board of Education in California "are almost entirely confined to the examination and certification of teachers", should be set the fact that this board has nothing to do with the examination of teachers, and that an important part of its duties are those relating to the text-book system of the state.

To say (p. 218) that Lilly's *Latin Grammar* was first printed in London in 1755 is to overlook almost a quarter-millennium of Latin in the schools of old England. It is doubtless Ward's edition of that famous book that is referred to.

Inaccuracies abound in the accounts of the several colleges and universities, as when the General Court of Massachusetts is made to vote money for a college in 1630, Cotton Mather is made president of Harvard College, and that institution is declared to have been "nominally under state control" until 1865. Unwarranted liberties are taken with the text of historic documents, as in the surprising version (p. 25) of a vote of the town-meeting of Boston. There are numerous slips and incongruities in some of the lists of references, as, notably, in those following chapters iv and xv. The list of particular instances might be greatly extended.

One would gladly find something more favorable to say of a work on which so much of serious labor has been expended. Probably the best portions of the book are those, mainly in the latter half, in which the author sets forth and analyzes the information available with reference to the recent history and present state of our educational system in some of its special aspects—commercial education, learned societies, the education of the Indian, etc. But even in such portions we could sometimes wish for more convincing evidence that the items presented have been adequately sifted or that they have been interpreted with genuine insight.

ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN.

Napoleonic Studies. By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1904. Pp. xii, 398.)

THIS volume is a most important supplement to the author's *Life of Napoleon*. The twelve papers and ten appendixes which it contains have all or nearly all been published from time to time in one or another review. It was worth while to collect them. While they vary in their temper and treatment as widely as the subjects, yet the author's personality gives them quite sufficient unity to secure the interest of the reader and the continuity of the subject. In our opinion those on "The Idealist Revolt against Napoleon", on "Napoleon's Religious Belief", and on "The Whigs and the French War" are of literary interest but not in the author's best vein, which is rather the reasoned treatment of the state papers he has so industriously collected. Each of the three essays entitled respectively "Pitt's Plans for the Settlement of Europe", "Napoleon and British Commerce", and "Austria and the Downfall of Napoleon" is admirable in its way, the last being the most novel and interesting of the three. Numbers iv, "Egypt during the First British Occupation", v, "Canning and Denmark in 1807", vi, "A British Agent at Tilsit", viii, "Britain's Food Supply in the Napoleonic War", xi, "The Prussian Co-operation at Waterloo", and xii, "The

Detention of Napoleon by Great Britain", all belong to the field of British apologetics in history. They are convincing discussions of questions which affect the course of history to be sure, but which after all have not determined the channel of its great central stream.

Incidentally they clear up several little mysteries of antiquarian interest. The reader will be amazed at the slight knowledge of Egypt which the western world possessed a hundred years ago! It appears that Canning's information about the treaty of Tilsit, though strangely roundabout, was secured through Russian channels and was strictly correct. It is interesting, most interesting, to read Mr. Rose's partial apology for Denmark. With masterly hand he destroys the legend that Britain's food supply throughout the Napoleonic wars was secured in spite of hostile efforts and by means of overwhelming naval superiority. In the matter of the never-ending Waterloo controversy, strict justice is measured to Prussia's participation, to both her mediate and her immediate influence on the culmination of the struggle. It is a novel point of view which is indicated, or at least hinted, that Wellington's force was really only the auxiliary in a campaign dependent for success upon the main army of Blücher. Two illusions, says Dr. Rose, have been dispelled: the British legend that the Prussians came in at the finish to reap Wellington's harvest; the French legend that seventy thousand Frenchmen held at bay as many foes under Wellington and as many more plus ten thousand under Blücher until treason turned the day. He feels that still a third should be relegated to oblivion: that Blücher's army, in the lately spoken words of Emperor William II, "rescued the English army from destruction at Waterloo".

Chapter XII, entitled "The Detention of Napoleon by Great Britain", gives a curious insight into the official mind of London for the years 1815-1821. The author's examination of the British archives has brought to light papers which seem to confirm others from French sources long since published in regard to plans for Napoleon's escape from St. Helena. There has never been any reasonable doubt that exile prolonged the emperor's life, because Prussia certainly, and probably Austria, would have executed him as a criminal had he fallen into their hands. That any careful or even respectable plans were ever made to rescue him from captivity remains thus far among the things not proved. Our author's contribution to the question creates some probability of their existence and exhibits clearly how uneasy and credulous the British officials were. This is the sufficient justification of many rigors which they practised. Lord Rosebery's volume on the St. Helena phase was a political pamphlet in the main and was so understood by most of his readers; in no sense a serious historical contribution, it somewhat disturbed many English minds, and possibly it was worth while to refute his positions, as is done thoroughly in this chapter. Napoleon did escape from Elba, and cost Europe millions of treasure as well as countless lives. It was not intended that he should escape from St. Helena, and he did not. He was shabbily treated as an emperor, perhaps; but the gov-

ernment house was not available for his lodging, because, as we here read, it was the center of all the signal system from every point of the island, and after that he had the best there was. A new and more commodious house than Longwood was prepared and erected, but he desired the rôle of martyr and would never, except under compulsion, have occupied a first-rate dwelling. As General Bonaparte, a state prisoner, the captive was treated with considerable generosity. Of this the household accounts afford quite sufficient evidence.

The most important of all these papers is the second. Hitherto our knowledge of both French and British policy between the years 1795 and 1805 has been based almost exclusively on continental sources. An enlightened and singularly scientific policy has ordered the French archives so thoroughly and opened them to the public so generously that almost of necessity historians have been influenced by this fact. Both the British and the Austrian governments have so arranged the management of their historical fountains that only persistent residents of the respective lands could secure access to the penetralia. Dr. Rose himself has had almost a monopoly of the Public Record Office during the Napoleonic era, though others would fain have enjoyed the same privilege. Accordingly he is able to trace step by step in an interesting and convincing way the evolution of British policy as Pitt framed it. He shows how in 1795 the hopes of Britain were founded in Austria, how Bonaparte's Italian campaigns shattered those plans and in 1798 threw England and Russia temporarily together for the pacification of Europe. It was then for the first time that Pitt, knowing how eager the Hapsburgs were to let Belgium go in return for some gain nearer home, first suggested the idea of a Dutch-Flemish state as a barrier to French ambitions for the "natural" boundaries. More important still is the exhibition of such inherent weakness in the Second Coalition as to disprove conclusively that France owed her territorial integrity and her very existence to the frenzied exertions of the Convention. It is also shown that the initiative for the Third Coalition came from Russia. Further, we get a clear view of Pitt's mind. Utterly destitute of any liberal sentiment about the right of peoples to self-determination—the very word was unknown in 1805 to European statesmen—he firmly believed in the nationality of states which had exhibited nationality. In support of the balance of power he was willing to spend five million pounds in European subsidies; this and similar details were carried out in 1814 when Canning negotiated "his" treaty of Chaumont. Pitt desired the independence of Switzerland and Holland, the autonomy of both Italy and Germany. Our author admits that Pitt's policy looked to existing needs only, and that it was premature; he makes clear, however, that after the furnace heats and cyclopean weldings of the Napoleonic wars it reasserted itself and has proved more practical than the schemes of the French emperor.

We cannot reprint even the substance where there is so much that is vital to a reconstructed and scientific view of modern history, and we

have given only a sample. Likewise in regard to the other most important chapter, that numbered x and relating to Austria's participation in Napoleon's downfall, we can give only an instance or two. Here Dr. Rose works at second-hand, relying on the biographies of Austrian diplomatists in part, and in part on the state papers printed by Austrian historians from their own archives, apparently as accessible to natives and not more open to strangers than those of London. Two facts are emphasized: that twenty years of military failure had left Austria impoverished; that in 1813 she had really far more to fear from the czar than from the emperor Napoleon. It seems proved that Metternich really desired peace, and that his offer of friendly intervention in April was sincere. Napoleon rejected it for both military and dynastic reasons. Then for the first time, about July, Austria for self-preservation framed her policy of armed mediation. The declaration by the emperor Francis of war on his son-in-law, the methods by which he used his own child to secure state secrets, the subsequent behavior of Maria Louisa, these in connection with numerous unedifying details have combined to place Francis in a very dark light at the bar of history. If the Austrian emperor actually sacrificed natural affection and inclination to the interests of his people as is indicated above, the judgment of posterity will eventually be modified if not reversed. Finally we call attention to the confirmations that Dr. Rose's gleanings afford of the fact that the armistice which Napoleon granted at Poischwitz while the allies consulted was the verge of his undoing. Had he driven his foe onward to Glatz, as was well within his power, and so have forced a conclusive struggle there, the event would have favored him almost beyond a peradventure. To reject the moderate terms formulated by the Congress of Prague was possibly a grave fault; probably, however, it would have been a more serious one to accept a sovereignty limited by European consent. Had he made the first step backward in 1813 after the awful diminution of prestige due to 1812, there might have been delay in the Napoleonic decline, but the chances are that nothing short of an impregnable military power could ever have supported his authority. The decline of that military power dates from the fateful armistice. A movement carefully studied and based on sound considerations, both diplomatic and military, proved futile only and solely through an error of military judgment. This error was due to his fatal conviction that Austria, facing an ultimatum, would again yield to his iron will as she had so often done before.

The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies. By R. M. JOHNSTON. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Two vols., pp. xxi, 408; ix, 232.)

To recount the events and conditions of the Two Sicilies is the most disheartening labor which to-day confronts the serious student of nine-

teenth-century Italian history. Published sources are not wanting, but those that are trustworthy are few, while critical research has here most of its work yet to perform. Public and private archives are rich in documents, but they have been little studied, and their publication remains in most part a work for the future. Deficiency of enthusiasm for Italian unity, and a mercurial discontent with government, may account in part for the failure of students in southern Italy to exploit the sources of their recent history. Perhaps the want of a high-class and enterprising Neapolitan publisher has contributed to the same result; certainly De Cesare and Ravaschieri, the most recent Neapolitan historians of note, have found their publishers outside the boundaries of the ancient kingdom.

The Napoleonic empire, the restoration, and the revolution of 1820 are as deficient in published material as the later Neapolitan periods of the century, and the writing of the present volumes, intended for the serious general reader, demanded courage, as well as historical enterprise. Sicily has been excluded from the narrative in order to give it greater unity, and because despatches of Lord Bentinck remain shut up in British secret archives. However, Sicilian relations have been outlined when necessary, and the account does not lose by the exclusion. Mr. Johnston frankly admits the limitations of his work in the face of inadequate sources, but believes that his account is in "the broad outline substantially true". He has certainly done a useful piece of work; the English reader no longer need depend on the English translation of Colletta, a primary source, but very untrustworthy, an apology and a series of libels rather than a history. Mr. Johnston's narrative is entertaining, and exhibits breadth of view and considerable discernment. Unfortunately, evidence of haste and carelessness in preparation is not wanting. Some of his sketches are well done, and he has put in relief facts often neglected. The importance of Naples in the Napoleonic plan he emphasizes effectively, perhaps in some disproportion, but he justly remarks that it has been passed over too lightly in histories of wider scope. It is not a slight merit that he keeps the larger European situation well in view. His conception of the real significance of the secret societies and of their mission is notably just and well stated. On the other hand, many of his appreciations of individual characters are open to criticism. Thus it is difficult to admit that Zurlo is worthy of "the foremost place among the patriots and statesmen of southern Italy" (II, 121). A tendency to undervalue Italian historians is noticeable, as is an excessive veneration for the learned but partizan Austrian historian of modern Italy, Helfert, who is complimented as being in a class by himself (II, 204). Many statements that are made are striking and suggestive, although they are sometimes contradictory or loosely expressed and do not bear the stamp of deliberate and exhaustive criticism. Jablonowsky, the Austrian minister at Naples, is described as too profound a diplomat to commit himself by advising the Neapolitan government on the deliberated fate of Murat in October, 1815 (I, 403-

404). He therefore found a diplomatic excuse for absenting himself from Naples. Further on, however, is it stated that Jablonowsky, "far below the average of Austrian diplomatic ability . . . had been officially reproved for not having assumed a purely neutral position in the question of the fate of Murat" (II, 54).

It is unfortunate that authorities for specific statements are not more frequently cited in foot-notes. On many facts and opinions, given by Mr. Johnston with all assurance, the best evidence is conflicting. The reader's confidence would have been increased had such conflict of authorities always been noted, and had the writer's position been substantiated. Perhaps more of such references were made in Mr. Johnston's original manuscript, of which, he tells us in his preface, four-fifths was irrevocably lost while out of his hands, and had to be rewritten without opportunity to consult many of his sources. From this misfortune the work has certainly suffered materially. In the original version, we are informed, there were "passages, extracts, and notes that were taken directly from the original material", found in researches among manuscript sources, particularly in the national library and state archives of Naples, and in the British War Office and the British Admiralty. Such quotations would have added greatly to the force of the work, and would perhaps have saved some errors. However, the loss of his original manuscript cannot excuse Mr. Johnston in the occasional foot-notes and in his bibliography for quoting falsely the statements of his accessible printed authorities. For example, he says (II, 217), "The theory of the conspiracy against Murat supported by Zahn, Sassenay, and Lemmi has been effectively answered by Dufourcq and Lombroso." But the fact is that Lemmi disbelieves in the plot, and the scope of his study is to disprove it, while Lombroso, instead of effectively answering arguments in favor of the plot, admits the possibility of its existence. Before condemning Lemmi's study (II, 207) as "unimportant", proving nothing, and adding "nothing to the subject", Mr. Johnston might have examined it with sufficient care at least to form a correct idea of the writer's general position, which is declared in neither uncertain nor ambiguous terms. Again, a more intimate knowledge of Italian historical literature would have made it impossible for Mr. Johnston to designate the eminent Piedmontese jurist, Federigo Sclopis, as a Bourbonist.

The bibliography of nearly five hundred titles, which is appended, abounds in errors, and in faults of bibliographical usage. Galvani's *Mémoires*, and *Nouveaux Mémoires*, cited as separate works (II, 202), should have been given as two editions of one work, printed in fact from one set of plates. Corridore's pamphlet was not "written on a newly found proclamation" but on one published over seventy years before by Franceschetti. It is bad bibliographical usage to omit altogether a pseudonym because the author's true name has been discovered, as in the case of Justus Tommasini, pseudonym of J. H. C. Westphal. The notes of the bibliography are descriptive as well as critical; the descrip-

tive part might well have been extended. Taken as a whole, the bibliography is comparatively full, and as a list of titles it is a useful contribution to bibliographical studies of the period. It is unfortunate that all the important sources cited were not laid under contribution in the preparation of the narrative.

H. NELSON GAY.

A History of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century. By MARCUS R. P. DORMAN, M.A. Volume II. *The Campaigns of Wellington and the Policy of Castlereagh (1806-1825)*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Company; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1904. Pp. xiv, 374.)

MR. DORMAN'S *History of the British Empire*, of which the second volume is now before us, has already won for itself a place of merit in historical literature. It aims to present a consecutive account of British foreign and domestic policy, claiming originality only so far as foreign relations are concerned. In the latter respect it is a contribution of substantial value, even in the presence of the writings of Fyffe and Rose, each of whom had access to the Foreign Office papers. Mr. Dorman has used the same documents with greater skill than did Fyffe in his *Modern Europe* and with greater fullness than did Rose in his *Life of Napoleon I.* For the period to 1825, which marks the close of Mr. Dorman's second volume, he has been able to interweave foreign and domestic policies in a more elaborate discussion than Stern was able to do in his *Geschichte Europas, 1815-1871*, and so to give a treatment of the period that is clearer and fresher than that of the German writer. The attitude assumed throughout is that of a fair-minded and impartial narrator.

Mr. Dorman pays little attention to affairs in France and central Europe. His point of view is always British and his desire is to elucidate the part played by British statesmen and soldiers in continental affairs. He is not writing a history of Europe in the nineteenth century. His work is, therefore, somewhat disproportionate and his handling of other subjects than his own largely conventional. Where he needs to fill in his picture, as he frequently does in the earlier portion, he draws on Rose and Napier for information, strangely enough neglecting entirely Oman's recent work, and occasionally, as in his discussion of the policy of Fox in 1806, he adopts not only Rose's sequence of ideas but even some of his words and phrases. Such a mild form of plagiarism seems unnecessary, since Mr. Dorman does not display in other portions of his history either slipshod scholarship or poverty of thought. He not only elaborates and improves existing accounts, but he introduces a considerable body of new information drawn from the correspondence of British representatives in other countries. He throws light on the Welcheren expedition (pp. 64-65); on the part played by General Chitroff in betraying information to the British government

(p. 93); on the negotiations between Alexander and Napoleon in 1811 (p. 104); and on the position of Prussia in February, 1812, regarding which neither Rose nor Seeley was sufficiently well informed (p. 121). It may be that Mr. Dorman has placed almost too implicit a trust in the accounts of the British ministers and that his work would be more scholarly if he had made a more critical comparison of the British and foreign reports. It is rather a striking fact that with the exception of Napoleon's *Correspondance*, Wellington's *Despatches*, Castlereagh's *Correspondence*, and the debates in Parliament, Mr. Dorman has made no use of other original material than the records in the British Foreign Office. He knows nothing of foreign archives or of foreign authorities. For this reason, his work, clear and readable as it is, has a certain appearance of insularity and incompleteness.

The second portion of the history, dealing with the period from 1815 to 1825, is chiefly concerned with the policy of Castlereagh. Mr. Dorman justly follows the present tendency to rehabilitate that statesman and to clear his name of the taint of reaction that has hitherto clung to it. He shows that Castlereagh did no more than uphold the best traditions of the British government. In the first place, Castlereagh consistently attempted to enforce treaties to the letter, and in so doing, particularly in the case of the alliance of November, 1815, was charged by the opposition in England at the time, and has been charged by many writers since that time, with joining a conspiracy to check the liberties of Europe. It is certainly true that Castlereagh had little faith in the power of the people to govern themselves wisely and peacefully, but many other men of that day, with the experiences of the French Revolution fresh in their minds, thought the same and deemed it no fit time for men in office to make experiments with popular government. Castlereagh did believe in constitutional government and therein differed wholly from Metternich, with whom he has been classed by careless writers. Probably his close identification with Metternich and the Metternichian policy has been due in part at least to his faith in the necessity of maintaining the continental alliances in order to keep the peace abroad and to assure moderation in the foreign and domestic policy of the continental governments. He labored hard to calm strong passions everywhere, and his loyal support of the duke of Richelieu in France was due to his hatred of the White Terror. Yet he opposed Alexander's project for a periodical meeting of the powers, since neither he nor the British government believed that treaties should be upheld by any such means.

In the second place, he refused to interfere with the domestic affairs of another nation, and he considered that every people should be free to conduct its own government as it liked, as long as it did not endanger thereby the peace of Europe. For this reason he refused to force the Bourbons on France in February, 1815; to coerce the king of the Netherlands when the freedom of the press seemed to be abused in that country; to interfere in Italy, at the time of the Neapolitan uprising; or

to prevent Austria from doing what she liked at Laibach, a refusal that drew down upon him the malediction of the liberals and won for him the approval of Metternich. On the question of the South American republics he made it clear, despite the endeavors of Spain and Portugal, that the British government would not agree to force the insurgent colonies to submit and that any coercion on the part of Spain would not be permitted. Canning in reality did little more, for it is evident from Castlereagh's statements that he fully expected the eventual independence of the colonies.

In passing judgment upon the statesmen of that time historical writers have drawn too sharp a line between Castlereagh and Canning on one side, and have failed to show the vital differences that existed between Castlereagh and Metternich and Wellington on the other. In fact, there are more points in common between Castlereagh and Canning than between Castlereagh and Wellington. Both were in favor of that "hardy annual", the Roman Catholic claims; both opposed parliamentary reforms but believed in constitutional government; and both upheld the cause of the South American republics. As a recent writer well puts it: "The difference between them was not one of principles but of character. Castlereagh was a bad speaker, but a man of sound judgment, cool and courageous, who combined suavity with strength. Canning was a man of fine and brilliant genius who looked at affairs 'with the excitable disposition of the poet and the orator', and he had the orator's craving for popular applause." I am inclined to think that Mr. Dorman has not made some of his points with as much force and courage as would have been done by a writer with a firmer grasp of his subject and greater power as an analyzer of character; nevertheless, he has done a good work in upholding the right and in maintaining what he believes to be true. We shall look with interest for the appearance of further instalments of his history.

A few errors may be noted: the statement that Charles IV of Spain was "promised half the Portuguese colonies in return for Etruria" is not true (p. 33); Asturias led the revolt in 1808, not Galicia (p. 37); Beylen should be Baylen (p. 38); Kustrim should be Küstrin (p. 42); Robert Smith was Secretary of State in the United States in 1809, not "the confidential Minister of the President" (p. 86); the reference to Rose on page 185, note 2, should be to volume II, not volume XI; and on page 289, the memorandum drawn up for the use of Wellington at Verona after Castlereagh's death was drafted originally by Castlereagh himself for his own use and not by Canning as Mr. Dorman implies, since Canning wrote only that portion relating to the eastern question. The spellings Plesswig, Vitoria, and Plate are to say the least unusual, and Gourgand (p. 203) is certainly wrong. The colloquial form "Peninsular" used as a noun throughout this work is decidedly objectional.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

History of Andrew Jackson: Pioneer, Patriot, Soldier, Politician, President. By AUGUSTUS C. BUELL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. viii, 432; vi, 427.)

Life and Times of Andrew Jackson: Soldier, Statesman, President. By A. S. COLYAR. (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce. 1904. Two vols., pp. xvii, 419; xii, 425-855.)

It is something of a coincidence that two gentlemen who have nurtured as lifetime passions the purpose of writing a life of Jackson should have brought their plans to fruition in the same year. Both have been inspired with the same motive. Both have thought that the large and much-used Parton was lacking in sympathy for the great Tennessean. Both have written glowing, partial, and uncritical accounts of Jackson's career. Mr. Colyar is a lawyer; Buell was a newspaper man. Each has his own distinctive style. The former masses his arguments with an eye to securing the judgment of the average citizen on the jury; the latter writes with the alertness and human interest of the correspondent who works up an interesting incident for the Sunday edition. Neither is a historian. Neither knows deeply the history of the period in which Jackson lived, or estimates properly the forces which at the time bore our national life onward.

Let us see their own words: "I found", says Mr. Colyar (p. 6), referring to his first investigations in the subject, "that two lives had been written—one a book of more than 2,000 pages, written evidently by a man to make money, without any just appreciation of a biography which was to form a part of American history; the other was written by a New England professor, and by a man who evidently, as he shows in his book from the very start, was not a friend of the War of 1812, and that he could not do justice to a general who had been an important factor in that war." For this New England professor, the author has a pet dislike, and he comes back to him in the following words: "A Mr. William Graham Sumner, Professor of Practical and Social Science in Yale College, has tried his hand in what is known as 'The American Statesman Series'. . . . This Hartford Convention apologist is put forward by some concerted action to write for the 'American Statesman Series,' which goes into all the libraries, the life of democracy's greatest hero. Surely democracy is unfortunate in the selection of men to take care of the fame of its great idols" (I, 34-35). Mr. Buell did not live to write a preface for his work; but in the preface which the publishers have inserted he is quoted as follows (p. vi): "It is difficult to find a book on American history from the Revolution to this day which does not have something to say about General Jackson. As a rule, the more American a book is in spirit and feeling the more it will say about him and the more favorable its tone of comment will be." These sentences proclaim the purposes of their writers. They have both written "democratic" biographies. Of the two Buell's

is least biased, but neither attains the standard of fair and restrained historical judgment.

After saying this much, one may dismiss Mr. Colyar by mentioning two statements which illustrate his method. He asserts that the news of the American success in the campaign against the Creeks induced the British commissioners to sign the treaty of Ghent, thus "showing that General Jackson made the treaty of Ghent just as much as he fought the battle of New Orleans" (I, 10). Of the fact that the Creek campaign closed eight months before the treaty was signed he makes no mention. Again, one finds the assertion that Jackson was "the finest letter writer (take his letters in all their aspects) that this country has produced" (I, 12-13). This opinion is formed by the author after reading more than a hundred of his hero's letters. If one will examine the vastly larger collection of Jackson letters in the possession of the Library of Congress, he will perhaps come to a different conclusion. This collection, it must be added, has not been examined by Mr. Colyar. That Jackson was a forcible letter-writer no one will doubt; but his style as shown in the drafts and in those letters which did not get the polishing of another hand than his was plain, direct, and commonplace. Frequently his letters had many errors of grammar and spelling. He was, perhaps, of all our Presidents the least acquainted with, and the least fond of, good literature.

Against Mr. Buell's style of expression one cannot bring the charge of dullness. He has written with alertness and clearness. He has given us a personal biography in which an abundance of incident and many amusing anecdotes are introduced. He has a journalist's eye for color. He knows the value of a good story. He has not examined the Jackson manuscripts, but has relied, as he confesses, chiefly on "personal interviews with many eminent men and women" who were associated with Jackson. Among these are F. P. Blair, Sr., from whom he got extensive recollections, the widow of President Polk, and William Allen of Ohio, who came into public life while Jackson was President. All of these were interviewed by the author when they were very old. No student of history needs to be told that evidence like this should be treated with great discrimination. In addition to this we are assured that the biographer has consulted "books and pamphlets and public records almost innumerable"; but the absence of foot-notes gives us no opportunity to see what particular works have been used. Of two very important recent printed sources no use has evidently been made, namely, Professor Jameson's edition of the Calhoun correspondence and Professor R. C. H. Catterall's history of *The Second Bank of the United States*; and from the lack of these authorities his *History of Jackson* goes sadly awry.

Mr. Buell accepts the old story of Clay's influence in bringing on in 1832 the fight for the recharter of the bank. Professor Catterall, however, has shown by ample reference to Biddle's correspondence (*The Second Bank of the United States*, 215-223) that this conflict came

about through the entire knowledge and volition of the president of the bank, and that the matter was not primarily a party measure. It was undertaken after deliberate consideration by the bank officials because they thought that, all conditions considered, it was most likely to lead to a new charter. Moreover, it was not decided upon till early in January, 1832, which was a fortnight after the Baltimore convention had adjourned and a month after Congress had met.

Mr. Buell's facile narrative is full of errors great and small. For example, it is not true that Van Buren was responsible for the recall of Harrison from Bogota (II, 220). Harrison was recalled on March 10, 1829, and Van Buren did not become secretary of state until the last of the same month. It is not apparent that Mrs. Donelson, the mistress of the White House, "yielded to the influence of the Calhoun, Branch, Berrien and Ingham women" (II, 232). Her husband was not favorable to Eaton, and this may have had some influence over her views; but there is nothing to show that in regard to Mrs. Eaton she did not act on her own initiative. In view of the general opinion in Washington on the subject, there was certainly ground enough for her to take a stand without the influence of the cabinet ladies. Neither is it true that Mrs. Donelson returned to the White House after an absence of six months (II, 249). She left in the winter of 1829-1830 and did not return till September, 1831. It is not true, if one may credit the voluminous correspondence on the subject which one finds in Niles, that Ingham in the affair with Eaton used alleys and backyards in getting to his own house (II, 252). There are in the book serious omissions of facts. What shall we say to a narrative of this kind which dismisses the breach of Calhoun and Jackson in 1831 in eleven lines (II, 240); which gives to the break-up of the cabinet in the same year only sixteen lines (II, 251); and which gives only four lines to the Maysville road bill and nine to Jackson's relations with W. J. Duane? The reluctance with which Jackson broke with the South-Carolinians in regard to nullification receives little consideration (II, 238-240). Benton did not move to Tennessee with his aged mother in 1794. He was then only twelve years old. He left North Carolina in 1799.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Historic Highways of America. By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. Vols. XIII and XIV. *The Great American Canals.* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1904. Pp. 231, 234.)

THE first volume of this subseries treats of the Potomac Company's canal, the Chesapeake and Ohio, and the Pennsylvania canals. The omission of the many other canals constructed within the United States indicates the author's intention to select from the artificial waterways those which he considers historic instead of making an exhaustive treatment of ways of travel.

Prefacing his story proper with a sketch of the efforts of Robert Morris and other early promoters of improved internal navigation, Mr. Hulbert presents in detail the puny attempts of the "Potowmack Company" to harness the length of the great river as far as Fort Cumberland to the uses of navigation. By dredging channels and by constructing canals about the Great Falls it was hoped to use this rapid stream as if it had been another slow-moving Hudson. Experience soon taught that between low water in one season and ice and high water in another, few opportunities were left for the propulsion of craft. A legislative committee thought forty-five days of the year about all that could be depended upon. Notwithstanding the will power and the influence of General Washington given to its inception, the scheme proved a failure, and after thirty-six years of experiment and the expenditure of nearly \$800,000, the project was abandoned; or, rather, it was replaced by an artificial channel parallel to the river throughout its navigable length instead of employing the river proper. Searchers for historic remains who cross the Potomac at the Great Falls a few miles above the city of Washington will find the shallow excavation of the old canal and the foundations of the small locks by which the company hoped to circumnavigate the falls. At the lower falls may still be found iron rings set into the rocks, by means of which boats were to be warped over the rapids.

The history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, the successor of the "Potowmack Company", affords opportunity to contrast the commercial hopes which centered about the city of Washington with those indulged in by the people of Baltimore. The one port was the eastern terminus of the proposed canal; the other became the end of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, designed to offset the canal as an outlet for western trade. The long and bitter contest between the two companies and, incidentally, between the rival kinds of transportation is well brought out by Mr. Hulbert. His description of the embryonic railway and the crude attempts to master steam transportation is easily one of the most interesting parts of the series. The 185 miles of the canal, extending from Washington to Cumberland, Maryland, was completed in 1851 at a cost of \$11,071,176.21 and is still operated by the trustees under a mortgage. As Washington was fed by this canal and Baltimore by the railroad, so Philadelphia attempted to get her share of western trade by the Pennsylvania state canal.

The Pennsylvania Canal, which connected Philadelphia with Pittsburgh, was completed in less than ten years after work was begun. It included two portage railroads, the one between the Schuylkill and the Susquehanna and the other the famous "Portage Railroad" across the Allegheny mountains from Johnstown to Hollidaysburg. This was the greatest engineering feat of the day. It was accomplished by ten "planes" up which cars were drawn by steam power. The total length of nearly 400 miles of canal and railways between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh was built at a cost of ten million dollars, half a million more than the Erie canal.

An entire volume devoted to the Erie canal will probably be considered the most adequate treatment of the series. It embraces the various projects for improving the Mohawk, the dreams of the early promoters of an internal waterway between the Atlantic and the Lakes, the memorial written by De Witt Clinton and presented to the legislature of New York in 1816, the details of the canal construction, its local influences, and the later agitation for an enlarged waterway. Readers will miss the local color which lent a charm to the earlier numbers of this series. The chapter on local influences of the canal comes nearest to this need and is a bit of work really worth doing. It seems to be taken almost entirely from *The Influence of the Erie Canal upon the Population along its Course*, a monograph by Julius Winden in the University of Wisconsin series.

The various agitations for a half-century looking to the enlargement of the Erie canal to a ship-canal are fully described in the concluding chapter. The author thinks its possibilities would place New York in the lead in promoting water transportation in the inland region as she was when the canal was first built. However, it would come from the canalization of rivers rather than from building artificial waterways.

EDWIN E. SPARKS.

The South American Republics. By THOMAS C. DAWSON, American Minister to Santo Domingo. Volume II. Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama. [The Story of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Pp. xiv, 513.)

A History of South America, 1854-1904. By CHARLES EDMOND AKERS. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company; London: John Murray. 1904. Pp. xxviii, 696.)

WHEN Mr. Dawson's first volume appeared it had the field to itself, but with the second there comes a competitor. Yet Mr. Akers's new book is practically a history of his own times, while Mr. Dawson has given us a two-volume collection of historical primers, each primer dealing with a South American republic and being complete in itself.

This method of treating the subject was fairly successful in the first volume, for Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay have had but little common history. In the second, on the other hand, it has involved repetition and confusion, for the countries here treated have often been the scenes of different acts in the same drama. This is especially true of the period of the wars of independence. Two great generals, Bolivar in the north and San Martin in the south, gradually forced the Spaniards to make a final stand in Peru, where they were eventually defeated by the combined armies of north and south. The material for writing a reliable popular account of this great struggle is more accessible than that for any other period, and yet the method of treatment has so chopped up and distributed the campaigns as to make

the most reliable part of the book the most confused. Bolivar's campaigns are quite inverted. First one reads of their ending (p. 96); two hundred pages later we have the middle (p. 318); while still farther on the beginnings are told twice (pp. 364 and 433).

Of recent events in the states east of the Andes Mr. Dawson was enabled in the first volume to speak very clearly and comprehensively by reason of his long residence in Brazil and his personal acquaintance with many of the leading men in those countries. But in the second his exposition of contemporary history is disappointing. There are too many names and dates and too few explanatory remarks. There is a tendency to dwell on the period of the conquest and to leave untouched the difficult business of untangling the innumerable revolutions of the past eighty years. For instance, of the part devoted to Peru, less than half is given to the story of the republic, yet most persons will prefer to read the story of the Incas and their fall in the charming pages of Prescott, especially as Mr. Dawson has nothing to add to the old traditions of "that magnificent civilization which the Spaniards destroyed".

It may be claimed indeed that the book does not pretend to make any addition to our knowledge of South American history, but even as a collection of historical primers its value is seriously impaired by evidences of hasty or inaccurate compilation. Take for instance the account of the Scots settlement on the isthmus of Darien (p. 429). "Twelve thousand Scotchmen" are made to land on "the unsettled Central American coast north from the Isthmus". "Two small supplementary expeditions arrived in 1699 to find assembled a Spanish fleet and army", and after the colony was definitely abandoned the coast was "placed under the jurisdiction of the captain-general of Cuba, and the claim that Colombia set up after she became an independent nation has never held good against the Central American republics." Now in the first place there were only twelve hundred Scots; secondly they landed on the coast southeast from the isthmus; thirdly the Spaniards did not arrive until six months after the first "supplementary expedition" and three months after the second; and finally this coast has always been considered as a part of Colombia until very recently. As there are no foot-notes, one is left to wonder whence came these remarkable statements.

To attempt to read the volume through is sufficiently confusing, but the publishers have not improved matters. The illustrations do not illustrate. A picture of "native costumes in Chile about 1840" (p. 179) faces the account of San Martin's campaign of 1818. A fine picture of the "railroad bridge between Santiago and Valparaiso" (p. 169) is used to illustrate the story of San Martin's crossing the Andes, which is described as a very difficult undertaking, and yet the text gives a false impression, if he had a railroad and bridges like the one depicted! Moreover the maps are inadequate and out of date.

Mr. Akers's publishers, on the other hand, have made the use of an atlas unnecessary. Indeed any one who possesses an atlas with

better maps of South America than this volume contains may consider himself fortunate. They are clear, complete, and thoroughly up-to-date. One cannot help smiling, however, to see emblazoned on the cover of this excellent volume the coat of arms of Mexico! As an earnest of what is to be expected of the illustrations it is misleading, for the latter are well chosen and well placed. They consist for the most part of portraits of historical celebrities and add greatly to the value of the book.

The scope of the volume appears from the title-page to be the fifty years from 1854 to 1904. As a matter of fact, with the exception of the Paraguayan War, 1865-1870, little space is given to anything preceding 1875. There are, to be sure, thirty-four pages of historical introduction, in which the uninformed reader will be dismayed at the array of names and dates and misled by the generalizations. Such statements as this, that the colonists in Spanish America came "from the scum" of the population of Spain and that they were "outcasts in their own country" (p. 6), need great modification. Again it is hardly true that "The beginning of the nineteenth century found the Spanish colonies seething with discontent against the rule of the mother country, and so ripe for revolt that a spark only was necessary to fire the train" (p. 19). Surely Miranda applied several sparks in 1806 without causing any explosion, and San Martín almost had to force revolt down the throats of the Peruvians as late as 1822. But these defects are more than compensated for by what follows.

Practically the book is an endeavor to give a vivid picture of the South America of the generation just closing, and for this task Mr. Akers is exceptionally well equipped. As South American correspondent of the *London Times* for fourteen years, he acquired an intimate knowledge of men and events besides an ability to tell clearly and comprehensively just what one wants to know. It is a pity that he has not told us of what campaigns and revolutions he was an eye-witness, for it is not difficult to realize that no one but an eye-witness could have described many of the operations as he has done. In fact the chief value of the book is that it can be used as a trustworthy contemporary history. It has the defects that the account of an eye-witness must have, even when he has been able to get the perspective of a few years and to hear the other side. But it has the advantage of being written by a writer trained to see clearly.

The most welcome feature of the book is the comprehensive treatment of important events. Yet scarcely less valuable are the comments on existing conditions. A few extracts of this character with regard to the administration of justice may prove enlightening. In Brazil "corruption is common in all branches of the judiciary, and the cost of litigation is abnormally high" (p. 313). In Argentina "in the minor branches opportunities for corrupt practices are widespread, and complaints are heard in all quarters of the ignorance and venality of magistrates and minor officials." Even the Supreme Court is not with-

out taint of bribery and corruption (p. 125). In Chile, "while the courts are unsatisfactory, the condition of the police is infinitely worse, and protection for life and property can hardly be said to exist in any outlying districts" (p. 418). "The administration of justice in Perú could not be more unsatisfactory than it is. . . . To obtain a favourable verdict bribery must be practised, and it is a question of who has the longest purse when a decision is reached. To this widely sweeping assertion there are no exceptions, the Supreme Court being no cleaner than the lower tribunals, it differs only in that payment must be on a higher scale" (p. 536). In Venezuela "corruption is deep-rooted in both higher and lower branches of the Judiciary" (p. 636).

One reason for this deplorable state of affairs is illiteracy. More than half of the population of Brazil are unable to read or write (p. 312). "The importance of this vital national question does not appeal to the majority of Brazilians" (p. 313). Even in Argentina there is "little public interest shown in educational questions" and this "is responsible for the absence of an effective system of instruction" (p. 124). In Chile the trouble seems to be that "constant wrangling in Congress has so engrossed the attention of the Chambers that no time has been available for the consideration of the true interests of the country" (p. 411). The death-rate in Valparaiso is 67 per thousand and in Santiago 72 (p. 411). Furthermore "to such a height has the abuse of alcohol now grown in Chile that official statistics show the consumption to be nearly four gallons of raw spirit annually per head of population." "Spirit distilled from rotten wheat, potatoes, maize, and the refuse from the wine-making establishments, is the poison eating into the life of the Chilean nation" (p. 413). Politically, the most striking fact in South America is the paramount influence which each president has in the choice of his successor. "Official influence is the main factor in all South American electoral contests", and the fact that a candidate can count upon the retiring president and his friends is ample assurance that he will be elected (p. 304). Nothing could better illustrate the difference between the South American republics and the United States, unless it be the venality of the courts.

On the whole Mr. Akers fully realizes the enormous economic possibilities as well as the stumbling-blocks in the way of substantial progress. Although hopeful for the future, he declares that "what is necessary to consolidate peace is the adequate administration of justice throughout these republics, protection for civil rights, and a more liberal system of public education" (pp. 649-650). Rarely does one find a book at once so useful to the specialist and so interesting to the tyro.

HIRAM BINGHAM.

Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee. By Captain ROBERT E. LEE. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1904. Pp. xiii, 461.)

THESE recollections and letters of General Lee, by his youngest son,

fill a distinct place among the many works of which this remarkable man has been the subject. They give us side-lights upon his career from his return from the Mexican War in 1848 to his death in 1870. The letters given are for the most part addressed to the members of his family, many of them to the son who now edits them. They all reveal, as nothing else could, the wealth of affection that he treasured up for wife and children, as well as the moral and religious elements of his character. It has often been remarked that no son should write the biography of his father—such a work being likely to degenerate into mere eulogy. Captain Lee, however, has not cared to intrude, to any great extent, his own impressions of his father's character. His contributions to this work take the form of explanations which render the letters intelligible, or of such recollections of his relations with his father in times of war and peace as every one will be glad to read. Moreover, the character of General Lee was so nearly perfect that there is no extraordinary danger of overpraise even from the partiality of a devoted son. Certainly such comments as Captain Lee has added are delightfully told and in perfect good taste. The style is simple, but betrays a practised hand. Where there are *lacunæ* in the letters, the writer quotes from Professor Trent's *Robert E. Lee* or from Colonel Taylor's *Four Years with General Lee*.

Of the letters themselves, a few contain details of family life which have no significance and might have been omitted; but the great majority fill in the outlines of General Lee's life in a most satisfactory fashion. Among the first given is the one, written February 25, 1868, in which Lee speaks of his resignation from the Federal army and denies the charge that he ever "intimated to any one" that he "desired the command" of that army (pp. 27-28). "Nor did I ever", he adds, "have a conversation with but one gentleman, Mr. Francis Preston Blair, on the subject, which was at his invitation, and, as I understood, at the instance of President Lincoln. After listening to his remarks, I declined the offer he made me, to take command of the army that was to be brought into the field; stating, as candidly and as courteously as I could, that, though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States. I went directly from the interview with Mr. Blair to the office of General Scott; told him of the proposition that had been made to me, and my decision. Upon reflection after returning to my home, I concluded that I ought no longer to retain the commission I held in the United States Army, and on the second morning thereafter [April 20, 1861] I forwarded my resignation to General Scott. At the time, I hoped that peace would have been preserved. . . . Two days afterward, upon the invitation of the Governor of Virginia, I repaired to Richmond; found that the Convention then in session had passed the ordinance withdrawing the State from the Union; and accepted the commission of commander of its forces, which was tendered to me."

General Lee's war record is so well known that the most valuable

of these letters are those in which we catch glimpses of those deeper thoughts and feelings which he revealed to his family. His most marked characteristic is his religiousness—hardly less profound than that of Jackson himself. This is seen throughout the letters, but especially in those written in the trying times of war. "One of the miseries of war", he writes to his wife, "is that there is no Sabbath, and the current of work and strife has no cessation." In other letters is shown his intense belief in a special Providence. Speaking of his campaign in West Virginia, he writes: "I had taken every precaution to ensure success and counted on it; but the Ruler of the Universe willed otherwise, and sent a storm to disconcert a well-laid plan and to destroy my hopes."

When the war was over, Lee wished to seek a quiet home and to escape the hero-worship of the South; but he was soon called to the presidency of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University). Here he was to devote his remaining years to the education of Southern youth. Insurance companies and commercial enterprises wooed him in vain. "I am grateful", he wrote in answer to one proposal of this character, "but I have a self-imposed task which I must accomplish. I have led the young men of the South in battle; I have seen many of them die on the field; I shall devote my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life." During the period of Reconstruction no word of bitterness escaped his lips, though he felt deeply the degradation of his state. His advice to young men always contained a note of cheer. When one of his young cousins in 1870 was wondering what fate was in store for "us poor Virginians", Lee replied: "You can work for Virginia, to build her up again, to make her great again. You can teach your children to love and cherish her." His philosophy of life, moreover, was lightened by a canny humor, which he never lost even amid the hardships of war and which made him a favorite companion of children. These letters show that in play and conversation with children this great captain of the south found the deepest joy of his life.

The book is handsomely bound and printed, with fine portraits of Lee at different periods of his life. The last picture represents Valentine's wonderful recumbent statue. To the whole is added a good index of twenty pages.

JOHN R. FICKLEN.

A History of the Colony of Victoria, from its Discovery to its Absorption into the Commonwealth of Australia. By HENRY GYLES TURNER, F.I.B., F.R.G.S. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. Two vols., pp. xvi, 396; x, 389.)

In some respects Mr. Turner's history of the colony of Victoria recalls Kingsford's *History of Canada*, and in particular as regards the scale on which it has been written. Victoria to-day has a population

not much larger than that of the state of Connecticut. Its history goes back for little more than a century; yet such are the fullness and local and personal detail characterizing Mr. Turner's work that his volumes cover eight hundred closely printed pages. There is a lack of good histories of the Australasian colonies. Each colony has its own political, economic, religious, and social history; each colony has had to meet its own peculiar problems arising out of the circumstances under which it was first settled, or out of its connections with the mother-country; and a well-written and well-balanced history of any of the Australasian colonies should be of value. Mr. Turner's history, however, can scarcely be commended to non-Australasian students of Australasian history, or of British colonial enterprise; for it is so long as to tire the patience of any reader who is not deeply interested in the personal aspects of Australasian colonization, and in the ups and downs of Victorian ministers and the vicissitudes of colonial politicians in a colony in which political administrations have been invariably short-lived.

Mr. Turner intimates in his preface that he makes no pretensions to the science of history. It is well that he makes this avowal; otherwise he might be called to account for his bald and gratuitous statement that in 1787, when the first fleet left for Australia to found a permanent settlement at the antipodes, "George III was a recognized lunatic, but had not yet been superseded"; also for his inane remarks about the descendants of Penn in Philadelphia; for his misleading comparisons of Victorian achievement with the achievements of the Puritans in New England; and also for the loose and unscholarly way in which he refers to British ministries and to members of British cabinets who at one time or another held the office of secretary of state for the colonies, or its equivalent in the days preceding the creation of the Colonial Department. Mr. Turner's work is obviously that of an old settler—a labor of love on which many years have been spent. Regarded as such, his history of Victoria is well done, and far above the average of colonial histories written from this standpoint. It is written in a good, clear style, and generally carries the marks of much industry and care.

The history begins with the unsuccessful attempt to found a convict settlement at Port Philip, and carries the story of Victoria down to the end of the nineteenth century. Little that could be considered of importance in the political and economic history of the colony can have escaped Mr. Turner's vigilant attention and have gone unrecorded. Especial pains have been taken in narrating the political development of the colony—its separation from New South Wales and the various stages which marked its development from a crown colony to a colony with representative institutions and responsible government. The municipal history and the astonishing growth of Melbourne, the Chicago of Australasia, are also particularly well told. The same may be said of the chapters dealing with the discoveries of gold and with the political and social turmoil which the discovery of gold entailed; also of those

describing the various methods of parceling out government lands; and peculiar value also attaches to Mr. Turner's study of the causes of the panic and the financial disasters of 1890-1893, and to his sketch of the long-drawn-out agitation which finally led to the establishment of the Australian commonwealth.

Had Mr. Turner spent his long and busy life in England, he would apparently have been a Liberal of the school of Bright and Cobden. He has no sympathy with the protective policy of the colony of Victoria. He regards with grave distrust the system of payment of members of Parliament and other democratic innovations which have been made in the colony; and while he is unmistakably loyal to the British connection and writes with approval of the part which Victoria took at the time of the South African war, colonial militarism comes in for no commendation at his hands.

There is an admirable index. It extends to thirty-two pages; and surely there never was a book to which a good index was more necessary; for while few but specialists will be likely to read Mr. Turner's two volumes from beginning to end, they contain much that is of value and usefulness to more general students, and especially to students who are interested in the various new phases of democratic government as it has been developed in Victoria.

EDWARD PORRITT.

A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States. By DAVID YANCEY THOMAS, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Volume XX, No. 2.] (New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company; London: P. S. King and Son. 1904. Pp. 334.)

THE United States for over a century has been steadily adding to its possessions, and yet little attention has been given by investigators to the government that has been established in these new lands. Mr. Thomas is to be congratulated on being one of the first to cover this exceedingly interesting subject. Being a pioneer in the field of military government, for Birkhimer and Winthrop may be put aside as legal rather than historical writers, he has been forced to map out a new course.

The author divides his work into three parts. The first, comprising five chapters, gives the history of the annexations and governments of Louisiana and Florida. In both cases the history is carried down to the time when territorial government was established. Four-fifths of this part is devoted to the acquisition and government of East and West Florida. This is necessarily so, for there was little or no military government in Louisiana. The second part is devoted to New Mexico and California, with the greater attention given to the latter. The third division of the work, dealing with Alaska and our insular possessions,

is most unsatisfactory because of its insufficient treatment. One chapter of two short pages (pp. 279-280) is devoted to Alaska, and we are given but the barest outline of annexation together with a mere statement as to the extension of revenue laws and the time when territorial government was established. Some criticism might be offered on considering Alaska as a military government, but, if such a position is taken, more details of the government should certainly be given. Hawaii is discussed in a chapter of half a page (p. 281) with even less detail than that on Alaska. The third chapter treats of the Philippines, Porto Rico, Samoa, and the Panama Canal Zone. The greater portion of this chapter is devoted to the Philippines, but even here the treatment is very brief and not altogether satisfactory. The final chapter of nine pages, dealing with the constitutional questions arising in our new possessions, furnishes but a short summary. However, the conflicting cases on the subject are well shown, although there is a failure to quote from any of the leading decisions.

In the preface Mr. Thomas states his purpose to be the treatment of the legal status of new territory, the legal basis of military government, and an account of the actual management of new possessions from the time of their occupation until the organization of territorial government. In regard to Louisiana, Florida, New Mexico, and California, his plan involves a political as well as a military history of those parts during the period of transition. The author does not consider it necessary to treat Alaska and the insular possessions as fully as the earlier acquisitions. He uses them merely to demonstrate the development of military government since the Mexican War and to show how the constitutional questions were met. The character of the later governments is not touched, but is left, according to his own words, to the reader's memory of partizan accounts or to some later historian. From this statement it will be seen that the scope of the work is much larger than the title would indicate, involving a constitutional and political history. Frequently the author's interest seems to be more in the political than in the military side of the story. We shall try to see how far he fulfils the task which he sets himself.

Such a work as that of Mr. Thomas should give in its beginning a clear definition of military government, but no concise statement is found. In the introduction an attempt is made. He takes Chief-Justice Chase's definitions of military law, military government, and martial law delivered in the case of *ex parte* Milligan as a starting-point, but at the same time admits that the definitions of the last two are too vague for formulation; he then proceeds to cast aside military law altogether despite the fact that its regulations might be and were applied to non-military persons in conquered territory. In fact the first courts established by the conqueror often made use of this law. As regards martial law the author accepts the ruling of the Hague Tribunal, although that regulation is recent and does not apply necessarily to the century that has gone before. This is well illustrated in the treatment of New

Mexico (p. 113). There is failure also to give the general constitutional and legal basis of military government. Much more might be said upon the war powers of the Constitution and also upon the war powers of the President as discussed in *Martin vs. Mott* and in the Prize Cases. It is true that the writer makes good use of the cases that arise in reference to the particular territories under discussion, but he does not give the broad foundation of that government. He overlooks, also, acts that have been passed by Congress in regard to this matter; and certainly, regarding the military government of the later possessions, more attention or at least more reference could have well been made to the experience of the Civil War.

Individual statements often go without special reference. An example of this is found on page 26, where statistics are given and we are told that they are "from the latest documents obtainable". This absence of foot-notes is also shown on page 29 in speaking of the Catholic church of Louisiana and the powers exercised by its officers. The same fault is evident on pages 166, 238, and 263. The manner in which foot-notes are handled is open to serious criticism. At the end of the paragraph a single page reference will be used accompanied by "seq." This often covers a vast amount of reading and is unsatisfactory to one desiring to verify some special statement. An example of this is on page 29, where one paragraph treats of taxes, revenues, tariff, salaries, conveyances of real estate, fees, importation of money, and the deficit. The reference given is: "Ann., 8 Cong., 2 Sess., 1498 *et seq.*" A few statements have been taken from Martin, Gayarré, and from Stoddard." No definite reference being given to the authors mentioned, one feels that a long research is necessary. The existence of a monograph of this kind is of doubtful utility, if references are not plentiful and exact.

Frequently the details of military government are overlooked or cast aside. Referring again to the case of the Catholic church in Louisiana (p. 29), the author speaks of the officers of the church as having judicial powers and yet he gives no idea of their jurisdiction. In the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister he merely mentions their names in a foot-note and presents no details of the trial, which was by court martial in spite of the fact that the men were neutral foreigners. Again, in reference to the government of Amelia Island he fails to show the jurisdiction of the justices appointed by military authority and omits entirely the arbitration courts established there. The details of taxation are often overlooked; for example, in regard to New Mexico we are told that three pages of a military order were devoted to revenue but none of the details are given.

The best part of the author's work is that relating to Florida, New Mexico, and California. These acquisitions have been remarkably well treated and in general the judgment passed upon events is very fair and to the point. The taking possession of Florida, the attempt to form an independent state in West Florida, the seizure of Amelia Island, the manner in which Jackson overrode the local laws, the dispute over the

possession of the public records in the hands of the Spanish officials, the Callava and Fromentin incidents, receive most thorough treatment. Regarding New Mexico the comment on the scope of Kearny's action, especially upon his proclamation incorporating New Mexico into the United States, is very good. Mr. Thomas shows clearly the inconsistent position of the government established by Kearny under his so-called Fundamental Law. The uprisings against the United States and the treason trials growing out of them are given comprehensive treatment.

Turning to California, we reach the most satisfactory portion of the book. The Fremont incident is well treated, and the pettiness, not to say the dishonesty, of that officer is fully demonstrated. The conflicting orders of the War and Navy Departments in regard to California are brought out most clearly. The question of the Pueblos' lands was a most difficult one on account of the changing policy that the Mexican government had adopted in regard to them, but Mr. Thomas gives a good outline of the question. The court of admiralty with Alcalde Walter Colton at its head receives thorough discussion. He questions the action of levying forced contributions on the town of Santa Barbara, and inclines to take the later opinion on that subject, which is against such action. On the other hand he overlooks the fact that similar action was taken long after the Mexican War, and that it was frequently used in the south during and immediately after the War of the Rebellion. The awkward position in which the military commanders were placed in regard to the establishment of civil government is well described.

In conclusion it may be said that Mr. Thomas has given a comprehensive outline of the government of territory acquired by the United States before the Civil War. His work in that field will undoubtedly stand the test of time, and it is questionable if other writers can add much to the results obtained.

A. H. CARPENTER.

Jerusalem under the High-Priests. By Edwyn Bevan. (London, Edward Arnold, 1904, pp. ix, 170.) This work is a companion volume to the author's admirable *House of Seleucus*; the two books cover nearly the same period, but in the present volume the interest centers in Jewish history. The period between Nehemiah and the New Testament, almost unknown to the general reader, yields in importance to no other in Hebrew history; in it were composed the greatest books of the Old Testament and the whole of the Apocrypha, and in it were formulated the tendencies that have ever since dominated the Jewish people. Mr. Bevan's picture of the period, while popular in style, is thorough and accurate in matter. Into his attractive narrative of political events he weaves a sketch of the development of Jewish thought, including therein notices of the Book of Daniel and of all the great Apocryphal works of the time except the Wisdom of Solomon; it would have added to the interest of his description if he had included also the other canonical books (Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes). One of the

most noteworthy works of the period is Ben-Sira or Ecclesiasticus (about B. C. 190), a collection of ethical and other aphorisms and discourses, nearly allied to the canonical Proverbs, and much cited by the early Christian writers (it has a saying, XIII, 1, that may possibly throw light on Falstaff's reference, I Henry IV, II, 4, to "ancient writers" as authority for his observations on pitch); Mr. Bevan's account of the book is full and interesting. He properly devotes much space to the description of the great cultural event of the time—the invasion of Jewish society by Hellenism, including the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenize his realm. His analysis of this king's character differs a good deal from what has been the common opinion of him: Antiochus, he holds, was a statesman of no mean ability; his dream of unifying his world was noble and by no means absurd; if he wished to be worshiped as a god, this was nothing more than what the custom of the time conceded to kings; and, in fine, he was far from meriting the appellation "madman (Epimanes)" given him by his enemies. Other important points forcibly brought out by Mr. Bevan are: the character of Judas Maccabæus (whom he does not rate very highly), the results of the Hasmonean rule, the conflicts between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and the policy and character of Herod. The volume is provided with an index and tables of the Hasmoneans and the Seleucids.

C. H. Toy.

The Reverend Samuel G. Green's *Handbook of Church History from the Apostolic Era to the Dawn of the Reformation* (New York and Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904, pp. xii, 628) has some advantages for a student desiring a clear, well-defined outline of the subject with convenient chronological tables. The book can aid a learner in acquiring certain data, but will hardly furnish either a just view of persons who have fallen under ecclesiastical disfavor or a habit of search and construction which can be called scientific. The author is unnecessarily ready with suggestions of judgments, as, for example, in a comment on the fact that the persecuting emperors "rank in history among the best": "The reason is no doubt to be found partly in the false standards of excellence by which historians have judged."

F. A. C.

A History of England for Schools, from Earliest Times to Death of Queen Victoria. By Benjamin Terry, Ph.D., LL.D. (Chicago, Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1903, pp. xxvi, 622.) In point of scholarship, the merits and demerits of this volume are substantially the same as those of the author's previous *History of England* (1901), reviewed for this periodical in April, 1902 (VII, 543-545). Much of the same phraseology has been retained; but by a mingled process of omission, condensation, and careful rewriting, Professor Terry has succeeded in compressing his earlier and more advanced work into about

half its bulk, and thus producing for secondary schools a history both readable and useful.

Certain omissions were desirable to render the larger work available for secondary schools; others have been made at a minimum of loss. Among them are details concerning reigns and movements which were least influential in determining the final course of English history; descriptive passages which enhanced the vividness of the narrative but retarded its continuity and rapidity of action; military operations; and personal characterizations of unnecessary length. Continental conditions have been less fully described and the narrative made more purely English. The medieval period has been the most condensed.

The passages which deal with economic and literary subjects are practically repeated from the earlier work *totidem verbis*. Institutional history has also undergone comparatively few changes—a fact which makes the institutional element bulk even larger in the present book than in its predecessor. This is especially true of the medieval institutions, where the most important changes involve some simplification, a rearrangement of the chapter on feudalism, and the omission of certain technical details. The most serious defect is the absence of an adequate description of the way in which the House of Commons acquired its unique character and weight. The omission of an explicit statement of the Salic Law might also be challenged. In the realm of modern institutions changes are necessarily greater. Among the most important are the omission of the detailed account of papal legal claims on England, the explicit description of the Tudor administrative system, and certain details of the Act of Settlement.

In another edition the following points could be advantageously expanded: the relation of the battle of Bouvines to English constitutional developments; the danger to Elizabeth from assassination-plots; Burke's character and political importance; and, above all, an explicit statement of the Stuart theory of kingship. The volume contains some additional material in the way of special topics with bibliographies, and tables which illustrate the component parts of the modern cabinet and the modern Parliament, the judiciary system, and councils of local administration.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

Mediæval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire, by James Tait, M.A. (Manchester, University Press, 1904, pp. x, 211), is a welcome addition to the literature of English local history, not merely because it adds much to our knowledge of the early history of Manchester and Lancashire, but also because it displays a scientific method of treatment which is rare in this field of study in England, where most local histories are written by industrious antiquaries rather than by trained historians. The first four chapters give a succinct survey of the history of Manchester from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. The third chapter is particularly valuable, for here the comparative

method is adopted in a careful study of the charter granted to Manchester in 1301 by Thomas Grelley; the various clauses of this document are compared with the corresponding clauses of the charters of Salford, Stockport, and other boroughs. The fifth chapter traces the gradual process by which the county of Lancaster, one of the latest English shires, came into existence by the amalgamation of various districts; and the last chapter, which investigates the status of the Lancashire baronies, calls attention to the interesting fact that barons who held of mesne lords and not directly of the crown were commoner in the twelfth century than is usually supposed. Professor Tait shows that the first mention of a county of Lancaster occurs in the Pipe Roll of 1168-1169, and that its full recognition as one of the English shires dates from about 1194. His view that the term "baron", in the century following the Norman Conquest, may have been applied to all the military tenants of the great feudatories, though presented with diffidence, is worthy of careful consideration. Perhaps a study of the early baronage of France might throw some light on the subject.

CHARLES GROSS.

The Colchester Town Council display commendable zeal in making the ancient muniments of their borough more accessible to the public. With the sanction of the council the *Red Paper Book* was published in 1902, and by their order a volume was printed in 1904 entitled *The Charters and Letters Patent granted to the Borough of Colchester by Richard I and Succeeding Sovereigns*, translated by W. Gurney Benham (Colchester, R. W. Cullingford, 1903, pp. xv, 219). We are also informed that "the Red Parchment Book and other archives of Colchester are in course of publication". Mr. Benham gives a translation of the twenty-six charters of the borough. Of these, perhaps the most interesting is the grant made to the burgesses by Richard I in 1189. It allows them to elect their own magistrates or bailiffs, to be quit of toll throughout England, and to clear themselves in pleas before the king's justices by the old process of compurgation instead of by judicial combat. It also limits the power of the king to fine or amerce the townsmen, and anticipates a well-known clause of John's Great Charter regarding the determination of amercements by the oaths of the burgesses. Moreover, it empowers them to elect justices to hold pleas of the crown, and it has been contended that in this passage we have the earliest reference to coroners. The last royal grant, dated February 20, 1818, gives an interesting conspectus of various typical burghal privileges and institutions, such as existed in England before the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Much space has been wasted by reproducing certain medieval charters which are recited in the confirmations of later kings. Thus the translation of the charter of Richard I is printed in this volume eight times, and there are several translations of the charters of Henry III, Edward III, and Richard II. The money expended in these useless repetitions would have been much

better invested in the publication of the Latin texts of the medieval charters.

CHARLES GROSS.

Machiavelli and the Modern State. By Louis Dyer, M.A. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1904, pp. xix, 163.) None of the fundamental problems concerning the great Florentine's thinking is treated in these pages. What we have is a series of remarks, some of them on Machiavelli and none on the Modern State, grouped rather fortuitously about three topics: "The Prince and Cæsar Borgia", "Machiavelli's Use of History", "Machiavelli's Idea of Morals". Mr. Dyer's conclusions on these points seem to be: first, that Machiavelli's inability to judge character accounts for his admiration of the famous brigand; second, that he read his Roman history in the light of the contemporary history of the Swiss; and lastly, that he was willing to resort to atrocious and ignoble means for the redemption of Italy because he was misled by a metaphor—the comparison between a diseased body and a corrupt state.

If all these verdicts were true, they would still leave the question of Machiavelli's own interest in the state and the other question of his influence on the history of politics untouched. Thus, what Machiavelli chiefly admired about Cæsar Borgia was his success, and when that was at an end the Florentine's interest was at an end, also. (Cf. his letters from Rome, October and November, 1503.) Again, why did not the fatal metaphor of the state as an organism similarly mislead John of Salisbury and Nicholas Cusanus, who both employed it with all its pathological implications, with even greater system than Machiavelli. Of course Machiavelli's history is selective, and was so a decade before he became especially interested in the Swiss (see the pamphlet *Del Modo di trattare i Popoli della Val di Chiana Ribellati*, 1502). Why?

The "brilliant allusiveness" of the style, the great number of irrelevancies, and the florid overtranslations are, perhaps, more easily pardoned in three lectures than they would be otherwise.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

La Vita di Amerigo Vespucci a Firenze da Lettere Inedite a lui Dirette. Per Ida Masetti-Bencini e Mary Howard Smith. [Estratto dal vol. XIII e dal vol. XIV della *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi*.] (Florence, L. Franceschini e C., 1903, pp. 39.) This collection of seventy-one letters written to Vespucci by his family, friends, and business connections in the years 1483-1491 has been transcribed from the originals in the Medici Archives in Florence. The editors have prefixed a sketch which recounts what is known of Vespucci's early life and incorporates their deductions from these letters. Among their deductions is the conclusion that Vespucci was employed as a kind of steward of the Medici household and not in the banking firm. The letters re-

veal a Vespucci, the authors believe, "Who, if not a hero of the human race or a great genius, was on the other hand no mere adventurer, as some foreign historians, particularly Americans, will have him." Vespucci's name in the address most commonly appears as Amerigo although the spelling Amerigho is not infrequent. It is twice Latinized as Emericus. Almerigho is used once.

Although these letters do not add greatly to our knowledge of Vespucci's life, they may lead to a softened judgment as to his character. In other respects, they are chiefly interesting as illustrating Florentine business and domestic life.

E. G. BOURNE.

The Epistles of Erasmus, from his Earliest Letters to his Fifty-first Year, arranged in order of time. English translations with a commentary by Francis Morgan Nichols. Vol. II. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904, pp. xiii, 638.) This second volume of Mr. Nichols's translation of the letters of Erasmus contains the correspondence of the years 1509 to 1517, that is, from the writer's return to England from Italy to the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation. It maintains the level of excellence set in the first volume, which appeared in 1901 and was noticed in this REVIEW (VII, 548-549). But excellence of translation is not the chief claim of Mr. Nichols to the attention of Erasmian scholars. He is the first person to undertake, upon a basis of wide and accurate scholarship, a chronological arrangement of all the letters for this period which should make them more intelligible to the reader. In this attempt he had for parts of his work, it is true, two German forerunners, whose work he acknowledges and whose results he compares with his own; but his work has been done independently and his results vary considerably from theirs. The principles of his chronological order for all the letters in both volumes were set forth in the first, so that the second now before us is of less importance in this respect. The letters here given are those considered by Max Reich in his dissertation of the year 1896 with a few additions from English sources. They include the most important single letters, for example, that to Prior Servatius of July, 1514, and that to "Grunnius", which Mr. Nichols places as probably written in August, 1516. These two letters, on which pretty much the whole of the traditional biography of Erasmus is based, are brought into serious question by Mr. Nichols's criticism. He admits with hesitation the genuineness of the former and distinctly regards the latter as a genuine fabrication—if we may use the word—that is, he thinks it was written by Erasmus, but to a fictitious person and designedly so constructed as to gain a point in his suit for favor at the papal court. Its weight as serious biographical material is therefore obviously diminished.

The running commentary occupies proportionally less space in this volume, but is sufficiently full to show the relation of the letters to the general course of events which called them forth. An appendix

gives for the first time the original text of several short familiar letters to English correspondents on matters of no great importance. On the whole this volume fairly maintains the interest roused by the first and must be regarded as a highly important contribution to the whole subject of the New Learning.

E. E.

Bygone London Life, Pictures from a Vanished Past, by G. L. Apperson, I. S. O. (New York, James Pott and Company, 1904, pp. xii, 170), is an industrious collection of odds and ends illustrative of the life of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author has evidently depended for both matter and illustrations on Ashton's *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne* and other standard authorities. The especial value of Apperson's treatment is the literary point of view. The restaurants and coffee-houses, and their frequenters, the swells and beaux and macaronies, are depicted by aid of the memoirs, letters, and society verse of that day. The effect is much like that of a visit to one of the quaint old museums described in chapter iv. Fashionable London of two centuries gone is as alien to Londoners of to-day as are the wax figures of Madame Tussaud's collection. The life of a great metropolis is artificial at best, with a perversity that grows by what it feeds on. Existence beyond the city gates, the normal occupations and rustic joys of the provinces, are dull past endurance. The fashionable Londoner of Addison's day knew nothing of the spiritual awakening heralded by the Wesleys, nothing of the industrial revival consequent on the invention of the spinning-jenny and the powerloom. His horizon was bounded by the chimney-tops.

The latter-day Englishman is a peculiarly nature-loving creature, and his country house is a truer exponent of his intellectual and social life than the house in London. The young gentleman ambitious of social favor devotes himself to cricket, tennis, and politics, and gives more attention to conversational resources than to clothes. In nothing, perhaps, is the contrast between eighteenth-century and twentieth-century Londoners more clearly seen than in the attitude toward the unprivileged classes. Eighteenth-century literature concerns itself with the proletariat only as they served the needs of fashionable society—the drawers, the linkboys, the shoeblacks, the town-criers, the watermen. The development of a social conscience has rendered impossible the lawlessness and insolence of the "bucks and bloods" of Fleet Street. Concern for the order and cleanliness of the city has become the dominant note in London politics. A man like Charles James Fox would have been at home in the England of to-day. Born in the eighteenth century, a macaroni of the macaronies, the splendid Radical wasted his genius in senseless dissipation. Nothing in the gayety or charm of the London of the Georges can atone for the inevitable waste of human souls.

KATHARINE COMAN.

Le Grand Bureau des Pauvres de Paris au milieu du XVIII^e Siècle. Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Assistance Publique. Par Léon Cahen. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne. Volume I, Fascicule III.] (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1904, pp. 80.) The archives of the *Grand Bureau des Pauvres* were destroyed by fire in 1871, but there remain a number of documents illustrating its history among the Joly de Fleury papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Several members of the Joly de Fleury family filled the office of *procureur général* during the eighteenth century, and since public charity was a matter of police these papers were collected in the course of the official duties of the *procureur* as supervisor of charitable institutions. They form the foundation of the interesting study which M. Cahen has made of the organization, activity, finances, and abuses of one of the most prominent agencies for poor relief in Paris under the *ancien régime*. The *Grand Bureau* comprised three separate establishments: the bureau proper, which granted a weekly pittance as out relief to a limited number of aged persons; the *Hospice des Petites Maisons*, which received the very aged, some diseased, and the insane; and finally the *Hospice de la Trinité*, an orphan asylum which gave industrial training outside of guild control. The poor of the industrial and mercantile classes were the chief beneficiaries; the administration was inelastic and burdensome, since the services of the *commissaires des pauvres* were gratuitous but compulsory; the poor tax was inequitably assessed; the relief given was meager and the conditions of grant and discipline were strict. But the facts presented scarcely justify the epithet of "charité inique" which the author applies. The principles of relief and administration which to M. Cahen appear curious and unusual offer nothing unfamiliar to a student of the history of organized public charity during this period. Nevertheless this clearly written monograph is a useful contribution to the subject.

EDWIN F. GAY.

A Later Pepys. Edited by Alice C. C. Gaussen. (New York, John Lane, 1904, 2 vols., pp. xi, 425; ix, 414.) The letters included in these two handsomely bound and finely illustrated volumes have been selected from the correspondence of Sir William Pepys between the years 1758 and 1825. Sir William Pepys was a descendant of the elder branch of the family to which Samuel Pepys belonged, and was generally well-known in the latter part of the eighteenth century as a friend, and in some cases the intimate, of distinguished literary characters of the period. His letters are therefore primarily of literary interest, very little reference being made in them to ordinary political or social conditions of the times, even the stirring events of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars receiving but scant notice. As for the letters themselves, they have so little in common with the diaries of Samuel Pepys that the title chosen by the editor seems a misnomer. No doubt Sir William Pepys was "A Later Pepys", but the name of Sir William's

more distinguished relative has come to mean a body of historical source-material on the reign of Charles II, rather than the name of a man, while these letters practically contain no such material whatever for any period, save in relation to literature. The only direct historical interest is in the occasional references to contemporary historical writers and criticisms upon them. The naïve candor of the earlier Pepys is wholly lacking in these later letters, for they are very formally and painstakingly composed. Yet in spite of this they frequently do present some striking incident, or some intimate characterization of figures in the field of contemporaneous literature. In this connection alone are they valuable for the student of history.

E. D. ADAMS.

The Provincial Committees of Safety of the American Revolution. By Agnes Hunt, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Wells College, formerly Instructor in History, College for Women, Western Reserve University. (Published from the Income of the Francis G. Butler Publication Fund, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1904, pp. 180.) Every year it is becoming clearer that a satisfactory general history of American society must rest on the basis of a precedent monographic literature which shall exhaustively examine every part of the original evidence. In particular the dissertations and other academic monographs—the worthy product of the quarter of a century of American graduate study—are discharging a very important scientific function. Already through their aid the foundations of a true national history are being laid. Nowhere has such microscopic research shed more light or exposed more error than in the field of the American Revolution. We are really beginning to have some accurate knowledge of the origins of our national institutions.

To this class of investigations has now been added Dr. Hunt's careful examination of the committees of safety. It is significant of the slow progress of inquiry that hitherto these executive bodies, so vitally important in the organization and direction of the Revolution, have never received special treatment. The present work comprises five chapters. In the first three the committees or councils of safety in the New England, the middle, and the southern colonies respectively are dealt with; the fourth presents a general view of the character and work of these bodies; while the fifth and last seeks their origin in preceding English and colonial experience. The investigation rests almost wholly upon the sources; and the result is thoroughly enlightening for many important questions connected with the struggle for independence. Thus we are able to contrast the good results of the humane, even magnanimous treatment of the Tories in New Hampshire and Connecticut with the bad results of the contrary policy pursued in New York. Especially instructive is the disclosure of the close relation existing between these provincial and state executive bodies and the various town, county, or other local committees. "In the heat of common enthusiasm

and patriotism the parts were welded for a time. If the Revolution had been merely the plan of a few leaders, it would have been impossible for it to have made headway, since voluntary co-operation was the source of whatever unity existed." Moreover, after the commencement of hostilities, the committees of safety "replaced to some extent the old committees of correspondence"; and it is not the least service of this helpful monograph to have shown that "in a much larger degree than is often realized" the success of the Revolution depended upon their work.

The text is supplemented by a useful bibliography and a comparative "Table of the Powers of the Committee of Safety" for all the provinces.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

La Fayette dans la Révolution, 1775-1799. Par Henri Doniol. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1904, pp. 139.) This is a republication in book form of the author's article "La Fayette avant l'Année 1800", which appeared a few months since in the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* (XVII, 489-532); it comprises a brief study of two phases of Lafayette's career: his part in the American Revolution, and his attitude toward the French Revolution.

In reviewing Lafayette's part in the American Revolution, M. Doniol simply summarizes the conclusions he arrives at in his *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis*. Lafayette's desire to fight the English, "cette insolente nation" (p. 45), is emphasized as the motive of his American adventure, rather than enthusiasm for liberty (yet cf. *Mémoires, Correspondance*, etc., letter of May 30, 1777, to Mme. de Lafayette). Indeed, it is probable, according to M. Doniol, though not certain, that Lafayette intended to promote the Comte de Broglie's scheme of a stadholderate for himself in the revolted colonies. The attempts of the French government to prevent Lafayette's departure for America were so much pretense (p. 23). Lafayette was the author of Rochambeau's expedition in 1780.

The second part of M. Doniol's study was occasioned by the appearance of the *Correspondance Inédite de La Fayette, Lettres de Prison, Lettres d'Exil, 1793-1801*, by Jules Thomas (Paris, 1903). Upon his return to France during the consulate, Lafayette had set about collecting these fugitive bits of correspondence, with a view of publishing them. Thus would he justify himself to his countrymen, many of whom regarded him as a traitor to the Revolution; thus would he replenish his purse. The intervention of the empire removed the urgency of the former motive, and in 1812 Romeuf, to whom had been assigned the rôle of editor, perished at Moscow. The manuscript was not recovered for the *Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits* of 1837-1838, though much of its matter was supplied from other sources. M. Doniol is interested in the newly recovered documents because he thinks they refute the charge that Lafayette wished to keep the Revolution *bourgeois*.

and monarchical (pp. 66-67). It is doubtful, however, if the few sentences that M. Doniol is able to muster for his purpose (pp. 108-112) suffice to overthrow the impression created by Lafayette's conduct from May, 1789, to August, 1792. It might be wished that M. Doniol had connected the two parts of his study with an attempt to show the effect that Lafayette's American experience had upon his later career at home. The reference to "9 thermidor 1793" on page 74 is doubtless to 9 Thermidor, 1794.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Writings of James Madison. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. Volume V, 1787-1790. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, pp. xvi, 461.) Mr. Hunt's third and fourth volumes, consisting chiefly of Madison's notes of debates in the Federal Convention, brought us down to the date of its adjournment in September, 1787. The present volume carries us but two years and a half farther. So fully has this important period in Madison's life been already illustrated, that of a hundred and eight letters printed by Mr. Hunt there are only a dozen that have not been printed before. The old letters call for no comment here. Of the new, six come from the Madison Papers, two from the collections of the New York Public Library, two from the Virginia Historical Society, one from a North Carolina source, and one, a letter of some interest written to Philip Mazzei, was once the property of Guizot and is now in a private collection in Berlin. Those of the new letters which are addressed to the father and brother of Madison are not of much importance. Those to Archibald Stuart are distinctly interesting; e. g., there is a present-day interest in the judgment (p. 417, note), apropos of the writer's desire that senators should be better paid than members of the House, that "with equal emoluments the ablest men will prefer the House of Representatives, and the Senate will degenerate into an unfitness for the great dignity of its institution". Interesting also is a letter to Henry Lee setting forth the advantages of the town-site at the Great Falls of the Potomac (pp. 321-324). The letter to Mazzei (pp. 267-269), after a brief defense of Madison's support of the new Constitution, gently leads his correspondent away from the suggestion he had apparently advanced, that he might be usefully employed as minister of the United States to the Netherlands or Italy.

Madison's speeches in the Virginia Convention occupy nearly a fourth of the volume. His speeches in the first two sessions of the First Congress, running to nearly as great extent, are also given. They are reprinted from the *Annals of Congress*, though it seems likely that the sources used for that compilation are still available.

The journals of the House of Delegates for 1787 being in print, it is not necessary to search in manuscripts for the important resolutions of October 31, quoted here on page 51. Page 252, line 4, Gilpin's reading "unadvised" makes better sense than "unavoided". The letter

to Pendleton printed on page 405 is listed in the table of contents as addressed to Randolph. Mr. Hunt's annotations are apposite and intelligent.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

Wellington, Soldier and Statesman, and the Revival of the Military Power of England. [Heroes of the Nations.] By William O'Connor Morris. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, pp. xix, 398.) This is a hopelessly mediocre book. To do him justice, the author does not put forward any pretension to exact scholarship, and has apparently not even read Wellington's despatches, confining himself to Colonel Gurwood's selection. He is at his best when he contents himself with adopting a sound authority, as for instance between Vimeiro and Talavera, where he generally follows Professor Oman. The book has not even the redeeming feature that is to be found in some attempts to popularize history—a correct, agreeable, and lucid style. Judge Morris's account of the Peninsular War is not, even in that respect, to be mentioned in the same breath with that of Professor Oman. His looseness, superficiality, and inaccuracy appear at their worst in the account of the Waterloo campaign. As examples of his historical and literary methods, four short quotations taken from two consecutive pages (191, 192) may be cited; they refer to Napoleon's retreat from Russia and to his preparations for the campaign of 1813: "He left the wrecks of his army at Smorgone, conduct of at least a questionable kind, and gave the command to Murat, a bad choice; the retreat went on as before to Wilna. . . . Murat lost his head and had only one idea, flight. About the middle of December some 20,000 spectres crossed the Niemen in little knots. . . ." In all this nearly every detail requires correction: A little lower down the page we come to the following cryptic utterance: "York, a general of the Prussian contingent, abandoned Macdonald with his soldiers to a man." On the next page comes this astounding and totally false statement, referring to Napoleon's efforts to form a new army in 1813: "but he was earnestly seconded by the will of a united people, as strongly expressed perhaps as in 1792-93". Three lines lower we get this delightful Hibernianism: "At the same time he restored the artillery he had lost." To criticize a book of this character in extenso in this review is unnecessary; it cannot be recommended even for the instruction of the general public and school-boys.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

P. Coquelle's *Napoléon et l'Angleterre, 1803-1813* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1904, pp. iv, 295), is a diplomatic history based on unprinted material in the Paris archives and the British Foreign Office. The book is not without popular tendencies. A symptom of them is the division of the comparatively small volume into no less than thirty-seven chapters. The work in fact is not for students or scholars alone, it is addressed to all interested in the Napoleonic time. The characteristic feature of the book is that the author, unlike most French his-

torians, ascribes uniformly to Napoleon the failure of his negotiations with England. Without depreciating the author's case against Napoleon, one may note that converts have a tendency not absent here; the pendulum has swung too far. Even to English readers M. Coquelle at times, were he less convinced, would be more convincing. Concerning the rupture of the Peace of Amiens he adduces seven unprinted, confidential letters of Andréossy. The first was written in January, and the last in April, 1803. Repeatedly in them the ambassador assured Napoleon that England desired peace. These assurances may account in part for the rupture. They would tempt Napoleon, if not zealous of peace, to press claims that jeopardized a settlement. The negotiation of 1806 culminated in Lord Yarmouth's *projet* of July 31, which yielded Sicily. The *projet* was printed after sixty years, in the *Correspondance de Napoléon*. At the time it was omitted from the published papers of the negotiation by both England and Napoleon. Apparently they feared to admit, the one, that she had made so good an offer, the other, that he had refused it. With Napoleon the negotiation practically ended when he learned in September that Alexander would not ratify the separate peace with Russia signed by d'Oubril at Paris, against Lord Yarmouth's protest, on July 20. Lefebvre's view, that Lord Lauderdale's mission in Paris was to curb pacific tendencies in Yarmouth, the author rejects with reason. In Parliament Lauderdale had been a champion of peace, and to this fact was due his failure of reflection as a representative peer of Scotland. He was not a diplomat. As a souvenir of their failure to restore peace he offered the French negotiator a sword of English manufacture. Champagne, with almost as little tact, declined it. The Austro-Russian attempts at mediation in 1807, here discussed at length, ended in Starhemberg's withdrawal from London in January, 1808. England insisted, not unreasonably, that the proposed negotiation should take place elsewhere than in Paris. Ten months later Napoleon yielded the point in his overture after Erfurt. He even invited England to bring to a negotiation her allies. Canning's reply proposed to include delegates of the Spanish insurgents, an interpretation of the overture equivalent with Napoleon to its rejection. The book concludes with the secret negotiations of 1810 and the negotiations at Morlaix in the same year. The former, initiated by Fouché without Napoleon's knowledge, ended in the minister's disgrace; those at Morlaix were an unsuccessful attempt to arrange a general exchange of prisoners.

George Canning. By W. Alison Phillips. (New York, Dutton, London, Methuen, 1903, pp. xi, 185.) The author of this brief biography has drawn his information wholly from old and well-known sources and secondary works, and even in this field it is evident that his study has been but cursory for the earlier part of Canning's career. In particular he underestimates the importance of Canning's relations with America in connection with the orders in council, and makes

several absurd errors in fact and in generalization. Thus the *Chesapeake* appears as a merchant-vessel offering armed resistance to a British war-vessel; Erskine is confused with Rose as a special negotiator on points in dispute between the United States and England; and American purpose is depicted as "the playful policy of 'twisting the lion's tail'". Instead of recognizing, as have most English writers, the insulting arrogance displayed by Canning toward the United States, the controversies between the two countries are regarded as "annoyances arising from the aggressive attitude of a young nation as ignorant, as it was intolerant, of the traditional code of international courtesy" (p. 72). This sounds more like the judgment of a contemporary partizan than of a careful biographer. But when Mr. Phillips comes to Canning's last ministry, he manifests a very clear grasp of essential facts and purposes. The conditions of English and European diplomacy from 1822 to 1827 are here treated simply yet thoroughly, while the interesting thesis is maintained and apparently proved that Canning's actions in regard to Spain, the Spanish colonies, and Greece were dictated by no tendency toward liberalism, but by a peculiarly insular patriotism. Far from having any enthusiasm for the cause of Greek independence, Canning, Mr. Phillips thinks, would have deeply regretted the escape of that country from the domination of Turkey, had he lived to see it. His horizon was bounded by British interests. "Sentiment had but little place in his nature. It had none in his policy." In form, arrangement, and style the book is excellent.

E. D. ADAMS.

Several volumes, VII-XII, of *Early Western Travels*, edited by R. G. Thwaites (Arthur H. Clark Company) have recently appeared. The first of these contains a reprint of the original edition (London, 1849) of Alexander Ross's *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. Ross, as the editor tells us, was a Scotchman who, in 1804, set out to seek his fortunes in Canada. In 1810 he embarked with the Astorian expedition, and, upon arriving at the Columbia river, was assigned to a post in the interior. Here, for the three years (1810-1813) covered by his account, he studied the Indian language and characteristics and wrote much in his journal. The narrative, as we have it, was based on the journals kept at the time, but it was not published until 1849. It supplements, as a source for the history of the first attempt to colonize for the United States the northwest coast, the narrative of Gabriel Franchère, published in volume VI of this series. Ross's interest in topography was slight, but the account contains much of ethnological value. Its chief importance, however, is for the story of the Astorian expedition. Volume VIII contains two reprints: *Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of Tilly Buttrick, Jr.* (Boston, 1831), and *A Pedestrian Tour, of Four Thousand Miles, through the Western States and Territories, during the Winter and Spring of 1818*, by Estwick Evans (Concord, N. H., 1819). The first of these covers the years

1812-1819, and is the narrative of travels through New York, down the Allegheny and Ohio to Cincinnati; from Kentucky down the Mississippi to New Orleans; and north over the Natchez trail. The hardships of pioneers, the devastations of the War of 1812, the conditions of life along the rivers—all are vividly portrayed. Evans's tour led him from New Hampshire to Detroit, down the Allegheny, Ohio, and Mississippi to New Orleans, and home by sea. He was "keenly alert for all manner of information that bore upon the war, the state of agriculture, the topography and settlement of the country, and the general industrial conditions". Volume IX contains *Letters from America* (1818-1820), by James Flint (Edinburgh, 1822). Flint was a Scotchman of education who came to America for the express purpose of observing conditions. He was particularly interested in the middle west, and after stopping in New York and Philadelphia, he passed through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, and lived for several months in Jeffersonville, Indiana. He made a careful study of political and social conditions, but economic phenomena especially received his attention. His observations are discriminating, the criticisms dispassionate, the generalizations intelligent.

The accounts of the west that appear in the other volumes so far published, X, XI, XII, center around the colony of English emigrants that, promoted by two Englishmen of substance, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, was established in southeastern Illinois at a place known later as English Prairie. The agricultural distress and political unrest at the close of the Napoleonic wars had led to the establishment of the colony. The same causes kept the eyes of Englishmen upon the experimental community and involved it in a war of pamphlets, in which William Cobbett was a leading and hostile spirit. Some of the reprints in the three volumes are thus marred by rancor, but, discounting that, give good accounts of the crude but prospering west. Volume X contains four reprints. Thomas Hulme's *Journal of a Tour in the Western Countries of America—September 30, 1818–August 8, 1819*, is removed from its original setting as a part of William Cobbett's diatribe *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (London, 1828). The *Journal* is that of an honest English farmer bent on examining agricultural and social conditions, and his notes taken while he traveled over the Pennsylvania road and down the Ohio and through Illinois contain shrewd, useful, and, on the whole, favorable observations. Richard Flower, the father of the founder of the English Prairie settlement, who joined his son there in 1819, is represented by two reprints: *Letters from Lexington and the Illinois* (London, 1819) and *Letters from the Illinois* (London, 1822). He was "a man of culture and refinement" and his *Letters* are valuable on account of their sanity. He freely criticized slave institutions. Most of volume X however is devoted to *Two Years' Residence . . . in the Illinois Country* (London, 1822), by John Woods, a well-to-do English farmer, whose observations and impressions cover the years 1819-1821. He and his family traveled to Wheeling, thence took a flat-boat to Shawneetown, and thence walked to English Prairie.

He saw things in a favorable light, and his record on the life of the backwoodsmen and on the condition of the Ohio river towns is of distinct value.

Volumes XI and XII are devoted to William Faux's *Memorable Days in America* (London, 1823) and Adlard Welby's book, *A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a Winter Residence at Philadelphia* (London, 1821). According to the editor, these two books were chosen for reprint, "in order to show what English provincials, predisposed toward quiet, orderly, rural life in Britain, found to annoy and disgust them in the seething, turbulent frontier West". Faux's observations were made in 1818-1819. After visits to the coast cities he spent two months in Illinois. He was brutally frank, and generalized, to the disadvantage of the west, from exceptional cases of depravity and injustice. Welby's account was also unfavorable, due possibly to his conservative disposition. Both, however, throw valuable light on western conditions and, taken in connection with some reprints in earlier volumes of the same series, may form "an interesting contrast", and "a drastic corrective".

A Political and Constitutional Study of the Cumberland Road. By Jeremiah Simeon Young, A.M. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1904, pp. 107). The object of the author of this volume is to trace the origin, construction, administration, and surrender of the Cumberland road, keeping in mind two points of view: political influences, and constitutional bearing and significance. The treatment is in the main historical. About a third of the book is devoted to an account of the "early transportation difficulties", the "genesis" of the road, and the "location, construction, and administration of the road". Nothing new is presented here. It is, however, a clear and concise statement of the facts. The rest of the book is devoted to a discussion of the constitutional questions involved. The Cumberland road is treated as "a central thread running through the subject of internal improvements until 1856".

The main constitutional questions arising out of the building of the Cumberland road were: (1) Did Congress have the right to appropriate the money and build the road? (2) If Congress had such a right, did it have the right to take land for the purpose within a state by eminent domain? (3) The road being built, did Congress or the state have jurisdiction over it? Each of these questions the writer takes up and discusses in a logical manner, showing the views taken by the different Presidents and leading statesmen and the policy pursued by Congress. He misstates Monroe, however, I think, when he says (p. 68), "in his [Monroe's] opinion, the power to appropriate did not carry with it the power to construct". Monroe believed that Congress had the right to appropriate for, and with the consent of the state to construct, a national road. He did not believe that Congress had any jurisdiction over a road thus built nor could the states grant Congress any such

jurisdiction. For this reason he vetoed the Gate Bill.

The style of the author is both good and bad. It is clear, but marred by numerous repetitions of lines and even paragraphs, giving us the impression that the chapters were written at widely separated times. There is, moreover, an unfortunate failure of correspondence at times between the text and citations. In several instances the wrong volume of the Congressional documents is cited, and the writer is in error when he says that Franklin county, Ohio, still charges toll on the national road. The book is a very readable and logical discussion of a most interesting subject. It is marred, however, by certain faults of style and inaccuracies in details.

ALONZO H. TUTTLE.

The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in that State, 1719-1864. By N. Dwight Harris, Ph.D. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1904, pp. xi, 276.) This is a product of extensive and painstaking inquiry into the sources, and is a valuable contribution. Little attention is given to economic matters, but the questions of law, politics, and sentiment are treated with fullness. After showing the existence of downright slavery and quasi-slavery in Illinois, with their vicissitudes, down to about 1845, the author turns to the larger issues concerning slavery in the country as a whole, and discusses the part which citizens of Illinois played in the contests. Then, laying slavery aside, he concludes with a chapter upon the progress of sentiment in Illinois on the negro question from 1840 to 1875. In matters of detail Dr. Harris seems to be fairly unimpeachable; and as a repository of information his book will have its chief use. The generalizations, which are happily not many, are often weak; and the point of view is provincial. The author would probably be materially broadened by a sojourn in the blacker portions of the cotton belt or in the rice or sugar districts.

The book is not about the negro directly, but about quarrels about the negro. We are told (p. 242) that the negro in Illinois acquired certain privileges "only gradually, and after a struggle"; but the struggle was clearly a struggle by white men and not by negroes. The passiveness of the black man is everywhere silently in evidence.

The author summarizes (pp. 241 and 240): "The people of that region [southern Illinois], as we have seen, were largely Southern in blood and sympathies. . . . These people . . . were as narrow-minded and stubborn as they were kind-hearted and hospitable." "In the southern section . . . the question is still a vital one. The negro is despised and hated as of old, and if a vote could now be taken, it would doubtless be astonishing to find what a large proportion of our citizens—not only in the south, but among the more liberal residents of the centre and north of Illinois—would ballot to deprive the negro of the right to vote or to hold office. But why this long and persistent opposition to the poor colored man?" The author explains it on the ground of race antipathy;

but he barely alludes to the inherited inequality of the races and the unfitness of negroes to conduct white men's governments. The quarrels of which the book gives a history were concerned with ideas more than with realities. Hardly realizing this, the author at times hints at fundamental things. As a sermon the book is a failure; as a monograph it is fairly successful, in spite of its frequent changes of subject; as a collection and analysis of data it is distinctly meritorious.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

The sixth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association, being the second volume of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902* (Washington, 1903, pp. 527), contains the "Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase". This material was obtained by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart and others while Professor Hart was writing his life of Chase, and eventually passed into the Library of Congress. Only a selection of the correspondence has been used by the commission, and no attempt was made to obtain matter outside of this collection. Much of value and interest that was available is thus wanting, and this defect is not made good by a list of Chase's letters "elsewhere printed". It is unfortunate that a good opportunity has thus been lost. What is included in the volume is very good material, and shows Chase as the warm friend of the slave, the eager reformer, the critic of his superior, and the politician too eager for the highest office in the land. The gradual changes in his aims and character are only partially indicated, and certain phases of his career could easily have been treated in greater detail and with greater advantage to the work before us. But this defect is among the least important. Surely the American Historical Association should strive to attain the best results, if only as an example to other bodies or individuals engaged in the same line of study. The Calhoun Papers were a model of careful editing; the Chase volume has faults that are inexcusable, even allowing for the division of labor that a commission necessitates. The arrangement is very exasperating to the reader or student. The Diary (July-October, 1862) is first given; then follow Chase's letters (1846-1861); a separate section is given to Denison's letters to Chase (1862-1865); and finally come the letters to Chase from his correspondents (1842-1870). A chronological arrangement would have been more useful and consistent. This want of arrangement could in part have been made good by a fair index. The present index is so defective that we can only marvel at the publication. The omissions are really more numerous than the insertions, and in its present form it is practically useless. No attempt has been made to give the full names of individuals, and the notes, while good so far as they go, are not illuminating. To these faults of execution must be added one of taste. It is unusual for a gift to be publicly commended by the giver. Yet a member of the commission signs a report highly

praising his assumed liberality! Altogether the Association could have done better with so good material as the Chase papers offered.

G. U. E.

The Shenandoah Valley and Virginia, 1861 to 1865: a War Study. By Lieutenant-Colonel Sanford C. Kellogg, U. S. A. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1903, pp. 247.) Colonel Kellogg was not only a writer on military subjects but also a close military student. He was the confidential aide on the staff of General George H. Thomas during the war, and member of the staff of General Sheridan while the latter was general of the army. With these advantages of inside knowledge, he was further prepared for presenting the valley campaigns by spending several summers among its people and by visits to its numerous battle-fields. The volume opens with an excellent condensation of the Confederate movements against Harpers Ferry where Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston first came into prominence. The Patterson campaign receives concise and interesting treatment. This is followed by a clear and attractive account of McClellan's and Rosecrans's West Virginia campaigns. The use of the valley by the Confederates as a covered way for the notable advances of Lee, first into Maryland, and subsequently into Pennsylvania, and for Early's movement on Washington, well set forth its topographical importance on the Virginia theater of war. This fact, with the exceptional agricultural resources of the valley, is used to illustrate its vast military value to the Confederates.

Jackson's campaign of 1862 is vividly presented. Of its close, when Banks had been driven back to the Potomac, and Jackson was threatened on both flanks, Colonel Kellogg well says: "A more desperate situation, so successfully solved, would be difficult to find in the annals of war." A strong contrast is drawn between the "audacity and strategic eminence of Stonewall Jackson" and "the lack of capacity and want of cohesion on the part of his opponents". Till Sheridan came, this tells the story of the valley, as, till then, politics largely controlled the selection of those sent to command the Union forces. The difficulty of untangling the well-nigh countless and intricate movements of the campaigns sufficiently appears from the statement that Winchester was occupied or abandoned sixty-eight times by the troops of both armies.

The capitulation of Harpers Ferry presents in brief the features of the Antietam campaign; then follows a rapid review of the Jones and Imboden raid into West Virginia, the Gettysburg campaign, and the second battle of Winchester, the Averill raids of 1863, the New Market and Lynchburg campaigns, and Early's attack on Washington and return to the valley. Each of these movements, in a period which extended over two years from August, 1862, is sufficiently treated to give an intelligent view of a complicated and ever-changing situation. Then comes a lively history of Sheridan's brilliant command, including the battles of Opequon, Fisher's Hill, Tom's Brook, Cedar Creek, and the subsequent cavalry movements.

The absence of maps is a serious defect. These had been prepared with care, but were postponed to a second edition. There are, also, some minor errors which would have been corrected had Colonel Kellogg lived to revise the first edition. But he suddenly died while he had that work under consideration. Altogether, it is the most satisfactory presentation of the valley campaigns yet issued.

H. V. BOYNTON.

The Political History of Virginia during the Reconstruction. By Hamilton James Eckenrode. [Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series XXII, Nos. 6, 7, 8.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1904, pp. 128.) This work is what its title suggests: a political history of Virginia during the years 1866 to 1870. To what strange shifts are men sometimes driven by the force of circumstances! From 1861 to 1865 there were always two, and sometimes three, state governments within the bounds of Virginia, each claiming the allegiance of the people and requiring the payment of taxes. First there were the Richmond authorities with Governor Letcher at the head and supported by a legislature and regular court system—Jefferson Davis and the Confederate States recognizing this as organized Virginia; then there was during 1861 to 1863 Governor Peirpont's legislature, courts, etc., at Wheeling, claiming to be the legislative authority in the Old Dominion. Lincoln and the United States recognized this as organized Virginia; and when the western Virginians, finding themselves in a hopeless minority, seceded from the regular state government, with Peirpont's consent, the Washington government, then in a great war against the principle of secession, gladly recognized the seceders on the ground that a republican form of government did not prevail in Virginia. When Governor Peirpont finds the revolt complete he declines to be governor of the new state but still maintains that he is the lawful executive of the Old Dominion. He withdraws from Wheeling and makes the old town of Alexandria the seat of authority, the eastern shore of Virginia—two counties, Norfolk, Alexandria, and Fairfax county being the state, the governed. The President of the United States continued to regard this as Virginia.

It was this last-named nucleus of a government which came to be Virginia proper in 1865 when the seceders had been overthrown and when President Johnson began his plan of reconstruction. How this shadowy government finally came to command the allegiance of the people of the state, how the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the national Constitution received the sanction of Virginia, how, in a word, the Old Dominion was brought back into the Union on a new basis, is the task which Mr. Eckenrode sets himself. And right well has he performed it. The method of the author is truly critical, the use of the sources is satisfactory—the Richmond newspaper files being drawn upon to great advantage, and the conclusions arrived at are unquestionably justifiable and as accurate as the nature of the

subject will permit. Perhaps the most noteworthy features of the monograph are the accounts of the failure of the radical Republicans to control the situation in the *finale* of the long struggle; the manipulation of the conservative forces of the state by William Mahone, a brigadier in Lee's army; and the complete loss of prestige by one of the state's most masterful men, John Minor Botts. The author says in conclusion that the negroes gained the right to vote, to share in the public schools, to move freely from place to place, but that voting by them was so hedged about by the white race that the negro only once actually exercised potent influence on affairs. Thus the main object of the national government was not attained, as in the nature of things it could not be.

Two so-called lay sermons, by Amos Griswold Warner, dealing with important public questions, and a short biography of Warner by Professor George E. Howard, are also published in this volume.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Two very entertaining volumes that will prove of marked interest to the general reader, and may be of considerable service to the historical student, are the *Autobiography, Memories, and Experiences of Moncure Daniel Conway* (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1904). They give a detailed account of an eventful but not adventurous life from the time of the writer's birth in Virginia in 1832 down almost to the time of publication, discussing freely and intimately matters not only of personal experience, but of literary, social, and political concern. Their character is such, however, that they defy the ordinary arts of the reviewer, and, unless one could take the space to give a thorough description of their contents, he must content himself with a word of commendation for their general readableness and attractiveness. There seem to have been few movements affecting the welfare of mankind during the last sixty years in which the writer has not had his share or of which he has little or nothing to say.

The American Constitutional System: an Introduction to the Study of the American State. By Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Associate Professor of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University. (New York, The Century Company, 1904, pp. xvi, 323.) This is the initial volume of a new series entitled "The American State", and is the work of the general editor of the series. Volumes the primary object of which is the description of the organization and operation of the governmental agencies of the United States cannot be criticized if they do not deal at length with matters of history; but this introductory volume, the aim of which is to disclose "the constitutional character of the American State", is quite as important from the historical as from the juristic standpoint. The first four chapters are devoted to the much-vexed question of the nature of the Union. The writer traces the growth of nationality in the United States and sets forth briefly but accurately the various views of the Union put forward from time

to time. Adopting the view that the individual states were sovereign under the Articles of Confederation, the writer finds nevertheless that their sovereignty was surrendered when they ratified the Constitution and that a new union was established, the constituent members of which could not secede. The fourth chapter is a particularly clear statement in brief compass of the theory and practice of secession, coercion, and reconstruction.

In a series of illuminating chapters, the writer discusses such important phases of our constitutional system as "The Supremacy of Federal Law", "Federal Control of State Governments", "Federal and State Autonomy", "Federal and State Powers", and "Coercion of State Action". Throughout he sustains his argument by extensive citations from the opinions of the Supreme Court. Especially valuable are the chapters dealing with the questions growing out of the annexation of territory and the relations with our new dependencies. In treating the Insular Tariff Cases the argument of the dissenting justices is stated *in extenso*, since the writer shares with many the belief that the opinion of the minority is the better law and may yet prevail.

It is a pleasure to commend this little volume for its clear arrangement, its lucidity of statement, and its accuracy. In saying (p. 166) that Congress has exercised "to but a comparatively slight extent" its power to control the election of members of Congress, the author seems to have overlooked the fact that Congress has exhausted its authority over the election of senators (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIV, 243). The Dred Scott case was decided in 1857, not 1856 (p. 243); Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1803, not 1802 (p. 265); and Utah in 1896, not 1894 (p. 266).

LAWRENCE B. EVANS.

The Police Power, Public Policy, and Constitutional Rights. By Ernst Freund, Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Law in the University of Chicago. (Chicago, Callaghan and Company, The University of Chicago Press, 1904, pp. xcii, 819.) Professor Freund has chosen an elusive subject. What is the police power? The courts have been cautious in setting bounds to it by attempts at definition. In the License Cases (5 Howard's *Reports*, 583) Chief-justice Taney remarks that the police powers of a state "are nothing more or less than the powers of government inherent in every sovereignty to the extent of its dominions". Professor Freund would differentiate it from other governmental powers, as being that which aims directly to secure and promote the public welfare, and does so by restraint and compulsion with respect to the use of liberty and property (pages iii and 3). It may be doubted whether the distinctions thus suggested exist. Government exists legitimately only to promote the public welfare, and its laws are imperfect unless they carry some sanction tending to restrain the liberty or take from the property of those who may violate them. The essence of the police power, he says subsequently (pp. 6, 31), is

that it prevents wrong-doing by narrowing common-law rights through conventional restraints and positive regulations not confined to the prohibition of wrong-doing. This is a helpful suggestion. The object of the power is thus made the anticipation of a social wrong and the restraining of the individual in the interest of society from doing, under certain circumstances, what he would have a right to do under other circumstances. Its scope is presented as limited in the United States more narrowly than elsewhere by Constitutional provisions; thus excluding from it, in the main, moral, intellectual, and political movements, and whatever belongs to the realm of the ideal (pp. 9, 11, 13). Nevertheless, legislation for the special protection of the workman, in prescribing short hours, etc., may, he argues (p. 17), be vindicated as promoting a new conception of social justice, consisting in the neutralization of natural inequality by the power of the state. Little is said of the mass of police legislation in the colonial era, and comparatively little of the laws of either ancient or modern Europe.

As compared with Tiedeman's work on the same topic, Professor Freund's is both more elaborate and more philosophic. That of Alfred Russell (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII, 176) was mainly confined to American judicial decisions on measures of state police. The book treating the subject broadly from the point of view of a historical student is yet to be written.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL.

George Stephen Goodspeed, professor of comparative religion and ancient history in the University of Chicago, died in Chicago, on February 17, 1905, aged forty-five years. He was graduated from Brown University in 1880. For three years (1888-1891) he was assistant in the Semitic department of Yale University, from which institution he received the doctorate in 1891. In 1891-1892 he was a student at the University of Freiburg (Baden). He was associated with the University of Chicago from its foundation, first as associate professor and then as professor of comparative religion and ancient history. The task which he undertook, the teaching at once of ancient history and of the comparative study of religions, formed a combination unusual in the arrangements of American education. But his cultured mind and catholic sympathy enabled him not only to teach both with remarkable skill and efficiency, but to cause each to illuminate the other and both to serve in a high degree the diverse interests of the departments concerned. He was an accomplished scholar and a devoted teacher, and both as teacher and writer he exerted a large influence upon the teachers of the west by familiarizing many of them with the results of modern labors in ancient fields. He was a member of the editorial board of the *Biblical World* and of the *American Journal of Theology*. His most important writings include: *Outlines of Lectures upon the History of the Hebrews*, 1898; *Israel's Messianic Hope*, 1900; *Babylonians and Assyrians*, 1902; *A History of the Ancient World*, 1904.

W. Fraser Rae, known to historical students especially by his writings concerning Sheridan and by his attempt to identify the author of the "Junius Letters", died at Bath, England, on January 22.

Among the recent deaths which will be especially regretted by historical students is that of Paul Tannery, distinguished for his work on the history of the sciences, and that of Henri Michel, who occupied himself especially with the history of political doctrines. Both of these scholars were at an age when much could still be expected from them; Michel's doctoral thesis, on *L'Idée de l'Etat*, was published but ten years ago.

Edward John Payne, the well-known writer on early American history, was drowned December 26, 1904, at Wendover, England. His best-known work is his *History of the New World called America*. He contributed to the first volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* two chapters, "The Age of Discovery" and "The New World", and in other ways did valuable service in his chosen field.

It is reported that the French Geographic Society has awarded to Henry Vignaud, secretary of the American Embassy, the Jomard prize for historical and geographical researches.

Volume I of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1903* has just appeared in the government publications (58th Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 745). The volume published contains the address of the President, Henry C. Lea, on "Ethical Values in History"; several of the papers read and discussed at the New Orleans meeting; a contribution by William R. Shepherd of Columbia University on the "Spanish Archives and their Importance for the History of the United States"; the Justin Winsor prize essay of 1903, by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, entitled "The American Colonial Charter"; a list of 754 official Congressional papers issued between the years 1789 and 1817, the work of General A. W. Greely. Over one-third of the volume is devoted to the very valuable report of the Public Archives Commission, showing the condition and contents of the archives of Colorado, Georgia, Mississippi, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Virginia. Volume II, which is to contain selections from the correspondence of the French ministers to the United States, 1791-1797, has not yet appeared.

The *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, now entering on the third year of its existence, deserves to be more widely known in this country. Under new management since 1902, it takes the place of the *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, which, starting in 1893, aimed to create a center for monographs, literary reviews, and bibliographies on economic history. From the beginning, the number of foreign contributors to the *Zeitschrift* was considerable, and bibliographical articles on recent Dutch, Hungarian, French, Spanish, Italian, Anglo-American, and Russian literature were published. In the new periodical the cosmopolitan features have become more prominent. Four chief languages are admitted, and accordingly the review has acquired four permanent foreign representatives. Contributions in English and treating of English economic history should be sent to Professor P. Vinogradoff, 39 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford. The *Vierteljahrschrift* is divided into three parts: articles, reviews and bibliographies, and notes. Separate contributions cannot here be mentioned. They cover a large field of subjects; stretching chronologically from the later Roman empire to the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of them are of capital importance and in the list of contributors are many leaders of contemporary historical research. Discussions of theoretical problems of economics, as well as those of economic policy, are excluded, since the review desires to remain strictly historical, confining itself to economic history, the history of economics, and to what the Germans call *historische Methodologie und Erkenntnistheorie*—a sufficiently wide domain. A severe critic might make some strictures on the completeness and the selection of reviews and bibliographies, but he must recognize the generally high standard of the periodical; and he will welcome the fact that the *Vierteljahrschrift* makes for concentration of studies and methodical research.

The Story of Art throughout the Ages, by S. Reinach (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xi, 316), is a clever and valuable rapid sketch written by an authority. It is a handbook or general compendium, likely to be of great value as a guide to the inexperienced in the study of art. Scores of small illustrations add greatly to the usefulness of the text.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

The publication of a *History of Egypt*, extending from the earliest times to the conquest by Alexander the Great, has been undertaken by the Committee of the Institute of Archæology at Liverpool.

Seven studies relating to the economic history of Greece and Rome form a small volume lately issued by M. Paul Guiraud, through Hachette, Paris: *Études Économiques sur l'Antiquité*. They aim to set before the general public the importance of economic questions in ancient times, some things concerning the development of industry in Greece, the population of Greece, the conditions and problems confronting the Greeks and the Romans in matters of finance, and close with a treatment of Roman imperialism.

The edition of the Theodosian Code which Mommsen was able all but to finish before his death has begun to appear, through the house of Weidmann, Berlin. Volume I contains "Prolegomena" and part of the text.

The eighty-fourth fascicle of the "Bibliothèque" of the French schools of Athens and Rome is devoted to a work upon Roman Carthage, from 146 B. C. to 698 A. D.: *Carthage Romaine*, by A. Audollent (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Pichon, *Revue Générale. Littérature Latine (Les Textes et les Sources)* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); A. H. J. Greenidge, *The Authenticity of the Twelve Tables* (English Historical Review, January).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

The source of information utilized for the announcement in the January number of the REVIEW of two aftermath volumes by Freeman proves to be erroneous in one particular. These volumes relate to Europe in the fifth and eighth centuries, rather than in the fifteenth and eighteenth.

The publication of a medieval history of the same general character as the *Cambridge Modern History* has been decided upon by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. It is expected that there will be six volumes, and that the first volume will be issued shortly after the completion of the *Modern History*. Professor Bury has been asked to prepare a plan for consideration, and the names of the editors will be announced later.

Dr. Ludwig Pastor is following up his long work on the history of the popes since the close of the Middle Ages with a series of hitherto unpublished documents upon papal history, especially in the fifteenth,

sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries: *Ungedruckte Akten zur Geschichte der Päpste vornehmlich im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert*. The first volume, lately published, applies to the years 1376-1464 (Freiburg i. Br., Herder).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Fry, *Roncesvalles* (English Historical Review, January); W. Ohr, *Alte und neue Irrtümer über das karolingische Staatskirchentum* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, January); K. Wenck, *War Bonifaz VIII. ein Ketzer* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 1).

MODERN HISTORY.

The religious wars of the sixteenth century form the subject of the latest addition (volume III) to the *Cambridge Modern History*. The editors take the occasion of the issue of this volume to announce the intention of the Syndics of the University Press to supplement the twelve narrative volumes comprised in the original plan of the work by two volumes of auxiliary matter, one including maps and the other genealogies, tables, and a general index to the entire work.

The writings and activities of Voltaire against religious intolerance, with something of their aftermath, are the burden of a small octavo volume published recently through the Librairie Fischbacher, Paris: *Voltaire et l'Intolérance Religieuse*.

The rôle played by Philip of Bourbon, son-in-law of Louis XV, in the sundry details of French diplomacy in the eighteenth century, is treated in a small volume lately published by the house of L. Cerf, Paris; *Dom Philippe de Bourbon et Louise-Elisabeth de France*, by Henry Sage.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Willaert, *Négociations Politico-Religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598-1625)* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, beginning in January); A. Bourguet, *Les Débuts d'un Ministère. Le Duc de Choiseul et l'Autriche* (Revue Historique, January); G. Gautherot, *Un Casus Belli Franco-Helvétique en 1792 et 1793. La Neutralité de la Principauté de Bâle* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); G. Gallavresi, *Le Prince de Talleyrand et le Cardinal Consalvi. Une Page peu Connue de l'Histoire du Congrès de Vienne* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); W. Lang, *Die preussisch-italienische Allianz von 1866* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 2).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The *Genealogist* for 1904 contains the usual amount and variety of matter; some three hundred or more pages of articles, notices of books, notes and queries, and illustrations, and in addition two apparently exhaustive indexes of persons and places. Its pages bear constant witness of painstaking work and many of them will be of use to historians as well as genealogists. This periodical is edited by H. W. Forsyth Harwood and published by George Bell and Sons at London and by William Pollard and Company at Exeter.

It is hoped that a long-existing gap in literature upon the Great Charter may be filled by the exhaustive work which Dr. W. S. McKechnie, of the University of Glasgow, is just publishing through Messrs. MacLehose, of Glasgow: *Magna Carta: a Commentary on the Great Charter of John*. The last such book on this subject dates from 1829. Along with this work should be mentioned *The Magna Carta of the English and of the Hungarian Constitution*, a comparison and commentary, by E. Hantos (London, Paul).

A new edition of George M. Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wycliffe* has recently appeared (New York, Longmans). The book was well received when it was first issued, and the present revision will undoubtedly be welcome to scholars. Lamenting his inability to make all the alterations he would like to make, the author especially acknowledges in his preface his indebtedness to the articles by Mr. Kriehn on the Peasants' Rising that were printed in volume VII of the REVIEW.

A handsome reprint of "Leycesters Commonwealth", 1641, has been published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company: *Queen Elizabeth, Amy Robsart and the Earl of Leicester* (pp. xv, 242), edited by Frank J. Burgoyne, librarian of the Lambeth Public Libraries. This work was first printed in 1584, somewhere on the continent; attracted forthwith enough interest to be translated into French and into Latin within a year; and encountered vigorous proscription in England. The queen found it necessary to repudiate officially the assertions contained in the work; and Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, wrote an indignant answer to it. Its interest at least, if not its character, is sufficiently attested by Sir Philip's declaration that it was "one of the most inveterate and scurrilous libels which the religious dissensions of the times, prolific as they were, had produced."

The basis of *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, by Sidney Lee (Scribners, 1904), is eight lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute. The lectures, the author tells us, have been materially altered. The chapter most interesting to historical students is probably the one on the Spirit of the Sixteenth Century. The other chapters are biographical, but the historical setting is not ignored; they are entitled: Sir Thomas More, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Edmund Spenser, Francis Bacon, Shakespeare's Career, and Foreign Influences on Shakespeare. The book is a valuable, because a readable and thoughtful, contribution to the history of the times.

A German scholar, Albert von Ruville, has just brought out a three-volume biography of the elder Pitt: *William Pitt, Graf von Chatham* (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta).

The third instalment of four volumes, IX to XII, of the *Letters of Horace Walpole*, edited by Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Clarendon Press), has appeared. This set covers the period of the Revolution, 1774-1783, and contains naturally interesting material for the historian of the period. In spite of his maddening recurrence on the most solemn occasions to unimportant fripperies and to gossip, much of which has lost

its savor, Walpole was evidently thinking deeply and well on the great questions of those days. "The world is divided", he says, "into two nations—men of sense that will be free, and fools that like to be slaves." The volumes are full of references to the war and politics, showing his disgust with the folly of the ministry and throwing light on the political, as well as the social, conditions of the time. It is sufficient to say that there is no indication that the editor has become weary in her work, for the foot-notes still contain ample information and represent much labor.

The Macmillan Company is publishing a handsome reprint of the *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay* (1778-1840), with a preface and notes by Austin Dobson. Mr. Dobson's notes are very numerous, but, notwithstanding, his edition will contain only six volumes, while that by Miss Barrett, on which this new issue is based, had seven.

The January number of the *Scottish Historical Review* devotes two articles to Knox. In one, "Knox as Historian", Mr. Andrew Lang offers some critical notes on book II of Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. The other is a brief treatment of "The Influence of Knox", by D. H. Fleming. This number also contains articles on "Periodical Literature of the Eighteenth Century", by G. A. Sinclair, "Mary Queen of Scots and her Brother", by S. M. Rose, and "The Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1689", by S. Terry.

In a volume now in the press Professor J. B. Bury treats of *The Life of St. Patrick, and his Place in History*. Messrs. Macmillan are the publishers.

The department of "Notes and Documents" in the *English Historical Review* for January contains, with other matter, the Irish abridgment of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis, now for the first time edited, from a fifteenth-century manuscript, by Whitley Stokes. The edition is accompanied by an English translation, indexes of persons and places, and a glossary of words not found in Windisch's *Wörterbuch*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *The Tudors and the Navy* (Quarterly Review, January); *William Stubbs, Churchman and Historian* (Quarterly Review, January); *Bishop Creighton* (Edinburgh Review, January).

FRANCE.

M. Léopold Delisle has retired from his post as head of the National Library at Paris, and M. Marcel, director of the Beaux-Arts, has been appointed to succeed him. M. Delisle first became connected with the library in 1852 and has had the direction of it since 1874. It is to be hoped that his career as a scholar, already long and fruitful, may still be continued for many years.

The address delivered at the University of Chicago by Charles Victor Langlois in the course of his brief visit to this country last fall is published, in translation, in the February number of the *Uni-*

versity Record of the University of Chicago: "The Historic Rôle of France among the Nations." In it M. Langlois surveys from a high plane the general course of French history, and then inquires, in a generous and sympathetic but sturdy spirit, what constitutes the individuality of France among modern nations—what destiny may be hers in the collective life of humanity.

The "Bulletin" of publications relating to medieval France, which M. Auguste Molinier contributed to the *Revue Historique* for several years, is continued in a competent manner by MM. Charles Pfister and P. Lauer.

R. de Lasteyrie's very serviceable *Bibliographie des Sociétés Savantes*, the last instalment of which is appearing some twenty-five years after the first, closes, it will be recalled, with the year 1885. It is announced however that a supplement is in press which will cover the period from 1885 to 1900; and the first fascicle of a current list of such publications has already appeared, the time covered in this instance being the years 1901-1902: *Bibliographie Générale des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques Publiés par les Sociétés Savantes de la France* (Paris, sold by E. Leroux). M. Lasteyrie now has an excellent collaborator in this work, M. A. Vidier.

We have received from Professor H. Prentout, of the University of Caen, a pamphlet of seventy-odd pages in which he gives a critical study of the capture of Caen by Edward III: *La Prise de Caen par Edouard III, 1346*. Heretofore the recital of Froissart has been the chief source for most of the little that has been written on this subject. M. Prentout now finds it possible to get information from many sources which his predecessors did not utilize at all, and is able to write an account which is both trustworthy and more adequate.

M. Imbart de la Tour, who won recognition some fourteen years ago by his monograph upon episcopal elections in medieval France, has lately published, through the house of Hachette, Paris, the first volume of a history of the Protestant Reformation in France in the sixteenth century: *Les Origines de la Réforme*. Tome I: *La France Moderne*. In this first volume he sets forth, as the title suggests, the environment of the rise of Protestantism in France; with the idea that the social transformations at the end of the middle ages furnish one of the principal causes of the change in religion—"causes which lie less in the state of religion than in that of society."

Miss Sophia H. MacLehose has continued the work which she began in *The Last Days of the French Monarchy* with a general account of the Revolution, bearing the title *From the French Monarchy to the Republic in France, 1788-1792* (Glasgow, MacLehose and Sons).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. V. Langlois, *Notices et Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire de France du XIII^e et du XIV^e Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, January); P. Muret, *Les Mémoires du Duc de Choiseul* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, beginning in the January number); Ph. Sagnac, *La France en 1789 et les États*

Généraux, d'après les Travaux de M. Armand Brette (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, December); *The Fall of the Directory* (Edinburgh Review, January); Comte de Sérignan, *Le Maréchal Davout* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); H. Houssaye, *Les Intrigues Royalistes de Fouché et de Davout après le seconde Abdication* (1815) (Revue Historique, January).

ITALY, SPAIN.

The *Rivista Storica Italiana*, which lately passed its twentieth milestone, has issued an index of its contents for the years 1884-1901 which is not only a striking testimony of the success of the *Rivista* but also a distinct aid to the study of Italian history: *Indice della Rivista Storica Italiana dal 1884 al 1901*, compiled by the editor, Costanzo Rinaudo, and published in two volumes (Office of the *Rivista*, Turin, 1904). This periodical, as is known, differs from most historical reviews in that it devotes itself all but wholly to matters of bibliography. It has no articles, but gives in each number competent accounts or criticisms of the most important current books relating to the history of Italy, together with full lists of current books and articles in periodicals, and a chronicle of news in the form of "notices and communications". Thus in the course of a few years the number of pieces treated or cited easily runs to many thousands, and the mere listing of their authors and titles requires several hundred pages. But once a list is made, it necessarily holds less the place of a mere table of contents than that of a bibliography. The index compiled by Professor Rinaudo comprises 22,680 entries, distributed methodically under the five principal divisions of General History, Pre-Roman and Roman Times, Middle Ages, Modern Times, and the "Risorgimento". Following this classification of separate pieces is an exhaustive list of the names of authors, with cross-references to their several productions, occupying near a hundred pages. The range and thoroughness of the work done appears also in a list of the periodicals explored, which includes above six hundred names. There is no other such repertory of historical publications relating to Italy, and this one is worthy of the hope that it may have some influence in awakening, or at least facilitating, interest in a field which has been none too much cultivated in America.

An important contribution to a period of modern Tuscan history until now little known has been made by Ersilio Michel, *F. D. Guerrazzi e le Cospirazioni Politiche in Toscana dall'Anno 1830 all'Anno 1835* (Milan, Albrighi, Segati, and Co., 1904), published as volume V in the *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, series IV. It is based largely upon unpublished documents in the public archives of Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn.

The distinguished Neapolitan historian and ex-deputy, Raffaele De Cesare, promises to publish in the early autumn a history of the last days of the temporal power of the papacy, April, 1850-September, 1870, entitled *La Fine del Potere Temporale*. It is to be in two volumes,

similar in form and size to his *La Fine del Regno*. If, as is to be expected, the new work also resembles the latter in conscientious research and impartial criticism, it will be a publication of the first importance upon a portion of nineteenth-century Italian history which no historian has yet studied critically.

An enlightening general survey of work done so far on the history of Spain appeared in the October and December numbers of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*: "Revue Générale, Espagne", by G. Des-devises du Dezert.

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND.

The latest addition to the useful series of "Monographien zur Weltgeschichte" is an account, by Friedrich Koepp, of the Romans in Germany: *Die Römer in Deutschland*, illustrated in the same effective manner as the other volumes in this series.

The well-known Altmann-Bernheim collection of documents relating to German constitutional history in the middle ages, was lately issued in a revised edition (the third): *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Weidmann).

Der Hansische Geschichtsverein has in the press the sixth volume of its *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* and has just published the seventh volume in the third division of the *Hanzarezeesse*; and it announces the interesting news that after the society has carried out the plans already long in hand it contemplates turning its attention to the history of the towns and regions of Germany, with reference to their relations with the sea.

The Saxon Royal Historical Commission is just issuing, in its series of "Schriften", the first volume of a collection of acts and letters relating to the church policy of Duke George of Saxony: *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, edited by F. Gesz. The matter of this first volume belongs to the years 1517-1524. The commission is also publishing just now, in the same series, the concluding part of the second volume of E. Brandenburg's *Politische Korrespondenz des Herzogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen*. This work is thus carried through the year 1546.

The concluding volume of H. von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's history of Germany from 1806 to 1871 is among the newer books: *Deutsche Geschichte von der Auflösung des alten bis zur Errichtung des neuen Kaiserreiches (1806 bis 1871)*, Band III. This volume treats of the period 1849-1871 (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta).

A beginning was made last year upon the publication of the correspondence of the Zürich reformer, Henry Bullinger, with his Grison coreligionists: *Bullingers Korrespondenz mit den Graubündnern*, edited by T. Schiess. What has appeared so far applies to the period from January, 1533, to April, 1557. It forms volume XXIII of the "Quellen zur Schweizergeschichte."

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Zeumer, *Die böhmische und die bayrische Kur im 13. Jahrhundert* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 2); G. Bauch, *Flavius Wilhelmus Raimundus Mithridates. Der erste fahrende Kölner Hebraist und Humanist* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, III, 1); W. Stolze, *Zur Geschichte der 12 Artikel von 1525* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, January); H. Glagau, *Landgraf Philipp von Hessen im Ausgang des schmalkaldischen Krieges* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, January); C. Varrentrapp, *Meinungen in Kurhessen über das deutsche Kaisertum in den Jahren 1848 und 1849* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 1).

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE.

The sixth volume of Blok's history of the people of the Netherlands was published recently, at Groningen (J. B. Wolters). It covers the period from the death of William III in 1702 to the year 1795. Worthy of note also is the publication, through the same house, of the second volume of H. Blink's history of the peasants and of agriculture in the Netherlands: *Geschiedenis van den Boerenstand en den Landbouw in Nederland*. The first volume of this important work came down to the sixteenth century; the second volume brings the subject to the present time.

The Cambridge University Press has just brought out a history of the northern European states in modern times, by R. Nisbet Bain: *Scandinavia, a Political History of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from 1513 to 1900*, in the Cambridge Historical Series.

The Land of Riddles, by Hugo Ganz (New York, Harpers, 1904), is made up chiefly of a series of interviews which the author obtained during a flying visit to Russia, from various discontented people whose names cannot be given. There is thus no way of controlling the truth of their statements, and, however much we may at bottom be inclined to believe what we are told, it cannot be accepted as reliable evidence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. de Pelsmaeker, *Des Formes d'Association à Ypres au XIII^e Siècle* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, second series, vol. VI); J. Martin, *L'Eglise et l'État en Suède au Moyen Age. Des Origines à l'Union de Calmar* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Question in 1717*. Part I. (English Historical Review, January).

AMERICA.

Maynard, Merrill, and Company have issued a new edition of Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science*.

Colección de libros y documentos referentes á la historia de América is a new series of historical reprints published by Victoriano Suarez, Madrid, dealing with Spanish America. Three volumes are so far published. Volume I reprints the *Relacion de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesus en el país de los Maynas*, the work of a Spanish-American,

Francisco de Figueroa, prepared under Jesuitical direction. The remaining two volumes reproduce the manuscript of a layman and native, Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara, and recount the story of the earliest revolution in Peru (1544-1548) against Spanish domination, under the title *Quinquenarios*. The material will run over into the next volume in the series.

Most recent government publications of interest to the student of history and of public affairs are: *Compilations of the Acts of Congress, Treaties, and Proclamations relating to Insular and Military Affairs from March 4, 1897, to March 3, 1903*; *Sherman, a Memorial*, with a memorial sketch by DeB. Randolph Keim, and a bibliography entitled "Sherman in Books"; *Compilation of Annual Appropriation Laws from 1883 to 1904, including Provisions for the Construction of All Vessels of the "New Navy"*; *Report of Robert C. Morris, Agent of the United States before the United States and Venezuelan Claims Commission*; *Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal*; *Venezuelan Arbitrations of 1903*; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, volume I, published from the original records in the War Department on a requisition from the United States Senate; *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado, 1880-1904, inclusive*, prepared by Carroll D. Wright.

The January *South Atlantic Quarterly*, in addition to several present-day articles and suggestive book-reviews, contains contributions on "John M. Daniel and Some of his Contemporaries", and "Spanish Project for the Conquest of Louisiana in 1804". In this number John Spencer Bassett announces his retirement from the position of editor. He will be succeeded by Edwin Mims and William H. Glasson, of the Trinity College faculty, as joint editors.

The twentieth volume in the "Monographien zur Weltgeschichte", *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*, by Eduard Heyck (Bielefeld, Velhagen and Klasing, 1904), is evidently an effort to give in limited compass to German readers some notion of the growth and present condition of this country. It has no marked value for American readers.

The Kohl collection of maps relating to America was fully described by Justin Winsor in 1886. He accompanied his description by references to maps not mentioned by Kohl. This collection was in 1903 transferred from the Department of State to the Library of Congress, and, to increase its value to historical students, Mr. Winsor's list has been reprinted by the Library under the direction of Philip Lee Phillips, who has added an author list of maps and a dictionary index of subjects and authors mentioned.

In the Story of the Churches series there has appeared *The Episcopalians*, by Daniel Dulany Addison (New York, The Baker and Taylor Company). About one-half of the volume deals with the history of the denomination in America.

The list of early publications promised by the Macmillan Company

includes the first volume of Edward Channing's comprehensive *History of the United States*; lives of Bryant and Prescott in the English Men of Letters series; one volume of William Garrott Brown's *History of the United States since the Civil War*, to be completed in two volumes; a translation of five lectures on the modern science of history delivered by Professor Karl Lamprecht of the University of Leipsic, to appear under the title *What is History?*; and an instalment of *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Professor Albert H. Smyth of the Central High School of Philadelphia and to be completed in ten volumes.

The Unit Book Publishing Company has gathered together some of the important state papers under the title *National Documents*, so arranged as to illustrate the growth of our country from 1606 to the present day.

McClurg announces for early spring issue a reprint of Baron de Lahontan's *New Voyages to North America*, edited by R. G. Thwaites.

A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1609-1811, by Gerald Fothergill (London, E. Stock, 1904, pp. 65), contains 1,200 names obtained by a search in the Public Record Office through Money Books, King's Warrant Books, Treasury Papers, and Exchequer of Receipt Papers for those missionaries who were granted twenty pounds to defray expenses to the western colonies. Such a list will prove valuable to historians of the colonial period and to genealogists.

The attention of scholars should be called to the *Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*, selected and edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, and published in a limited edition of twenty-five sets by the Arthur H. Clark Company. The maps, as the name indicates, are photographs of maps selected from the Crown collection of manuscripts in the British Museum. The first volume, the only one as yet published, contains fifty maps of American rivers, most of them dating from about the middle of the seventeenth century; one is "a chart of the entrance to Chesapeake bay, with king James' River, Prince Henry's River and the Rappahanoc River" dated 1608. If the plan of publishing is carried out and all the important maps in the Crown collection made accessible to students in a few of the large libraries of the country, they will be of considerable service in the investigation of economic as well as of military history.

Historic Dress in America, 1607-1800 (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Company), by Elizabeth McClellan, is a bit of work in which an author and an artist have worked together to the great advantage of the reader. The text is accompanied by excellent illustrations in color, pen and ink, and half-tone, and by reproductions from photographs of rare portraits and original garments; 385 figures are shown. In an introductory chapter there is a brief description of dress in the Spanish and French settlements under Philip II and Louis XIV. The remainder of the volume is quite detailed. Its attempt at completeness and the care used in arrangement suggest that its greatest value is as a

book of reference. Therefore it is a matter of regret that references for the large number of quotations are not more frequent.

"What John Wesley was to Great Britain, Francis Asbury was to America", states Ezra Squier Tipple, editor of *The Heart of Asbury's Journal* (New York, Eaton and Mains). The work records forty-five years of labor (1771-1816) of a pioneer preacher and bishop, whose field of activity was only bounded by the confines of the country. Its chief interest is in connection with a history of early Methodism, with side-lights on manners and customs.

The United States Catholic Historical Society publishes two articles of general historical interest in the *Historical Records and Studies* for December, 1904. "The Waldseemüller Map of 1507", which is accompanied by a large folded copy of the map, deals with the work of the cartographer and its significance, while "The Earliest Jesuit Missionary Explorers in Florida, Maryland and Maine" follows these intrepid workers through their faithful but too often fatal labors.

A new sketch of Sir Walter Raleigh is by Sir Rennell Rodd. It appears in the English Men of Action series, published by Macmillan.

The Burrows Company have issued a reprint of John Eliot's *Logic Primer* of 1672. The *Primer* is an interlinear translation of the Indian text and the reprint is made from a photographic reproduction of the entire book (40 leaves) made in 1889 at the expense of the late James C. Pilling.

In *Great Britain and her American Colonies* (London, Finch, 1905), Mr. E. L. S. Horsburgh seeks to give in a readable and lucid way the principles which underlay the "unhappy contest" between the colonies and the mother-country. The volume is not unsuccessful, though it is not so much a presentation of principles as a simple narrative of the events of colonial history and the occurrences of the Revolutionary period.

A new edition of *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself*, which was originally edited by John Bigelow, is announced for early publication by the J. B. Lippincott Company.

A diary of twenty-eight pages, meager in historical material, but worthy of reprint because of its rarity and because it supplements or connects other accounts of prison life in Quebec in the intercolonial wars, is *A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How in 1745-1747*. It is reprinted from the original edition of 1748 and appears in the Burrows Brothers' series of Narratives of Captivities. The editing is well done.

The *Journals of the Continental Congress*, which were transferred from the Department of State to the Library of Congress, are just being published under the direction of Worthington C. Ford. It is expected that the entire work may comprise fourteen or fifteen volumes and that some five or six years may be necessary to complete the series. Only one volume is now published, in an edition of two thousand copies. One-half of the number will be offered to the public at the price of one dollar per volume. The copies will be placed on sale with the Superintendent

of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington. The Library has also issued, under the same direction, a *List of Vernon-Wager Manuscripts*, compiled by John C. Fitzpatrick. This collection once belonged to George Chalmers, passed to Peter Force, and then to the Library of Congress. It includes the correspondence of Admiral Sir Charles Wager and Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon, which throws light upon "the history of North America and upon British Colonial policy".

The Winslow Papers, 1776-1826, edited by W. O. Raymond and published under the auspices of the New Brunswick Historical Society, contain many letters to Judge Edward Winslow by noted loyalists, which are useful for the study of the attitude of the loyalists in the American Revolution.

George Washington as an Engineer, which was written by Henry Leffman and which appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia, October, 1904, has been reprinted in a pamphlet of about twenty pages.

A well-edited volume of letters selected from the papers of Major-General William Heath has been issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society. These letters are of the direct military type. They contain much of historical worth, dealing with Heath's difficulties while in charge of the convention troops at Boston, and throw light on Sullivan's expedition to Rhode Island in conjunction with the fleet of D'Estaing, and on the failure of the Penobscot venture.

Houghton, Mifflin, and Company have brought out in a separate volume *The Evolution of the Constitution of the United States of America and History of the Monroe Doctrine*, which originally appeared as a part of two memorial volumes, *History of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States*.

Among the volumes which have appeared very recently are to be noted: *The Civil Service and the Patronage*, by Carl Russell Fish, volume XI of the Harvard Historical Studies; *Cuba and the Intervention*, by Albert G. Robinson (New York, Longmans); *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, by Gardner W. Allen (Boston, Houghton).

An exceedingly valuable publication of the Library of Congress is entitled *Papers of James Monroe Listed in Chronological Order from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*. The list was prepared by Wilmer Ross Leech under the direction of Worthington Chauncey Ford and is intended to complement the alphabetical *Calendar of the Correspondence of James Monroe* issued as *Bulletin of Rolls and Library of the Department of State*, No. 2, November, 1893. An interesting feature of the publication is a reproduction in 12 pages, from the original manuscript, of Monroe's journal kept during the negotiations which led to the cession of Louisiana.

A lawyer by profession, Everett Pepperell Wheeler has essayed the congenial task of writing a volume on *Daniel Webster, the Expounder of the Constitution* (New York, Putnams). Nineteen chapters are de-

voted chiefly to those important cases and those momentous occasions in which the question of Constitutional interpretation was involved. The author in each instance gives an account of the circumstances which called forth the argumentative skill of Webster and then, by a free use of excerpts, makes clear the line of argument used. For instance, in telling of the Force Bill of 1833, the entire brief made by Webster is reprinted from the manuscript copy in possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

An interesting episode in American history is recalled by a monograph of which Joseph H. Benton, Jr., is the author. The volume, *A Notable Libel Case* (Boston, Charles E. Goodspeed, 1904, pp. 117), which is marked by a free quotation of documents and letters, refers to the criminal prosecution of Theodore Lyman, Jr., by Daniel Webster in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1828. The case grew out of political animosity and was Webster's opportunity of replying to the charge, which caused the indictment of Lyman, that he had conspired with other Federalists to dissolve the Union in 1807-1808 and to reunite New and Old England.

In the February number of the *Atlantic Monthly* appears a valuable article on the Jackson and Van Buren papers in the Library of Congress, by James Schouler, a well-written description, showing briefly how an examination of these papers may affect our estimates of these men. The writer rightly points out the value of the Van Buren collection, which is evidently a selected lot of letters, but perhaps he does not quite rightly estimate the importance of the fact that the materials are selected, not unlikely chosen by Van Buren himself, and that the thoughtful statesman probably cast away papers less contributive to his own fame. Among other things Mr. Schouler discusses entertainingly the episode of the Rhea letter, with the conclusion that Jackson was responsible in the crisis of 1831 for the fabrication. Possibly the value of the great mass of Jackson papers is not rightly stated; for it seems probable that they will prove of immense significance; but as to this Mr. Schouler's judgment is naturally not to be ignored.

The Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard originally appeared in a Pennsylvania newspaper, and was later reprinted (1839). Leonard was lured by a love of adventure into the wild country of the west and northwest. He became a trapper, and the reprint of his journal of his experiences, 1831-1836, now published by Burrows Brothers, shows clearly the life of hardship and danger led by this hardy class of men, who knew the trails of the vast forests as a modern inhabitant of a city knows its streets. The journal tells a great deal about western Indian tribes, and also adds somewhat to our knowledge concerning the Walker expedition to California in 1833, which he joined. The volume is edited by Dr. W. F. Wagner.

Certain aspects of a large subject are briefly treated by Humphrey J. Desmond in a sketch entitled *The Know Nothing Party* (Washington, New Century Press, 1905, pp. 159).

Foreign interest in the Monroe doctrine is attested by two recent publications: *Die Annexion von Texas; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Monroe-Doktrin*, by Benajah H. Carroll (Berlin, Universitätsbuchdruckerei von G. Schade, 1904, pp. 63), and *L'Impérialisme Américain*, by Joseph Patouillet (Paris, A. Rousseau, 1904, pp. 388). The second chapter of the last volume is devoted to the Monroe doctrine.

The evolution of a school system is worked out in Daniel Putnam's *The Development of Primary and Secondary Education in Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Mich., George Wahr). The writer, a school man of many years' experience, traces in the first four chapters the effect of territorial laws, fundamental enactments of 1838 and 1850, and acts of the state legislature in working out a general educational plan. And then he considers topically and historically the divisions of the subject. Some of the topical headings are: common district schools, high-schools, courses of study, school support, text-books, and school supervision. Two other late publications along the same line as this volume of Dr. Putnam's are *Education in Indiana* (Indianapolis, William B. Burford), by Fassett A. Cotton, and *The New York Public School, Being a History of Free Education in the City of New York* (New York, Macmillan), by A. Emerson Palmer.

John Brown, the Hero: Personal Reminiscences (Boston, J. H. West Company, 1905, pp. 126) is by Dr. J. W. Winkley, a Boston man and a Free State colonist, who came under the spell of the Abolitionist leader during a short residence in Kansas. In the course of his appreciative account he describes two of the Kansas fights in which Brown participated.

An interesting pamphlet in connection with Civil War history is that written by Major Caleb Huse, formerly of the Confederate army. Major Huse was commissioned by President Davis to purchase military supplies in Europe for the Confederacy. His pamphlet entitled *The Supplies of the Confederate Army, How they were obtained in Europe and How paid for* (privately printed) deals with his four years' service abroad.

Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry (New York, privately printed, 1905, pp. 563) depicts the share taken by the cavalymen of the Army of the Potomac during the closing eleven days' campaign before Petersburg. General Tremain, the author, was an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Crook. He made notes on the events marking the close of hostilities soon after peace was made, and these notes are now, with the editorial supervision of General J. Watts de Peyster, given to the public.

Two recent volumes dealing with the career of Jefferson Davis are Landon Knight's *The Real Jefferson Davis* (Battle Creek, Mich., The Pilgrim Magazine Company) and Colonel John M. Craven's *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis* (New York, G. W. Dillingham Company). The former is a reprint of articles contributed to the *Pilgrim*, while Colonel Craven's work originally appeared in 1866.

Among late publications dealing with the history of individual regi-

ments during the period of the Civil War may be mentioned *Trials and Triumphs: the Record of the Fifty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry*, written by Hartwell Osborn and others, and published by McClurg; *The Story of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry, July 15th, 1862, to May 30th, 1865*, Byron M. Cutcheon, compiler (Lansing, Mich., 1904, pp. 271); *North Carolina Regimental Histories: a Complete History of the North Carolina Troops in the War of 1861-1865*, published in five volumes by N. O. Sherrill, State Librarian of North Carolina; and *The War Between the Union and the Confederacy and its Lost Opportunities, with a History of the Fifteenth Alabama Regiment, and the Forty-eight Battles in which it was Engaged* (New York, Neale Publishing Company). The last-named volume is in part given over to charges of mismanagement on the part of the political and military leaders of the South.

Cyrus Townsend Brady has given a serial title, *American Fights and Fighters*, to the four volumes which have so far appeared in the narratives of warfare, beginning with colonial times. The subtitle of the last volume issued, the fourth, is *Indian Fights and Fighters*, in which are described the sanguinary contests with the Sioux from the time of General Carrington's Powder river expedition to and including the annihilation of General Custer's command on the Little Big Horn in 1876. Much of Mr. Brady's material was obtained from surviving participants, both Indian and American, and his volume has both gained and suffered thereby. His conclusion that Custer's disobedience was the cause for the Little Big Horn massacre has led to wide-spread discussion. The series is published by McClure, Phillips, and Company.

Courses in civics and government in schools and colleges will find valuable helps in four manuals of recent issue. William H. Siebert's *The Government of Ohio* and Evarts Boutell Greene's *The Government of Illinois* are both published by the Macmillan Company with the Handbooks of American Government, and are works of distinct merit. The other volumes are for use in more elementary classes: Roscoe William Ashley's *Government and the Citizen* (New York, Macmillan) and Frank David Boynton's *School Civics* (Boston, Ginn).

Henry S. Burrage's *History of the Baptists in Maine* (Portland, Marks Printing House) covers the period from about 1675 to the present time. It treats freely the educational and temperance activities of the denomination, its connection with the anti-slavery agitation, its missionary labors, and the growth of its church organizations.

The Diary of Matthew Patten of Bedford, N. H., from 1754 to 1788 has been published by the town (Concord, N. H., 1903, pp. 545). Patten was judge of probate, representative and councillor, and justice of the peace.

Hon. Redfield Proctor has found, in the Peter Force collection of manuscripts in the Library of Congress, several valuable documents relative to Vermont history, which have been published in facsimile under the title *Records of Conventions in the New Hampshire Grants*

for the Independence of Vermont, 1776-1777, with accompanying notes and comments (Washington, 1904).

A bibliography of the Massachusetts House' Journals, 1715-1776, by Worthington C. Ford, is reprinted from the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volume IV.

The Bostonian Society presents, as a frontispiece to its *Proceedings* for 1904, a view of State street, Boston, about 1842, and includes, with the annual reports of officers, two historical papers: one by Walter Kendall Watkins on "Boston One Hundred Years Ago", and one by John Howland Crandon, "Colonial and Revolutionary Social Life".

The History of Fairfield, Fairfield County, Conn., from 1700 to 1800 (New York, J. J. Little and Company), by Mrs. Elizabeth Hubbell Schenck, is a second volume. The first volume, covering the earlier period, was given to the press by Mrs. Schenck some nine years ago. The entire work contains much of historical worth, thrown in with a mass of extraneous matter. Another volume of local town history recently issued is the *First History of Bayonne, N. J.* (Bayonne, N. J., privately printed), by Whitcomb Royden Page.

The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut (New York, The Grafton Press), is in two ponderous volumes, edited by Henry M. Stiles from the manuscript of the late Judge Sherman W. Davis. The second volume is entirely genealogical, but in the first, which is really a series of brief historical monographs, occur chapters on such interesting topics as Wethersfield's share in the French and Indian War, Wethersfield's share in the American Revolution and maritime history.

A mingling of fiction and somewhat delusive fact gives the text of *Wadsworth, or the Charter Oak* (Hartford, Conn., privately printed, 1904, pp. 399), by W. H. Gocher, a doubtful historic value. The footnotes, the lavish illustrations, and the genealogical references may make the book worth while.

Old Ulster, a historical and genealogical magazine, made its appearance in January under the editorship of Benjamin Myer Brink, Esq., whose labors in the field of historical research and Knickerbocker folklore in the state of New York have earned for him an enviable distinction. The aim of the magazine is to collect and preserve in permanent form the historical facts and incidents, as well as the genealogical records, relating to Ulster county, New York, as it existed in its earliest days. This territory—originally called The Esopus—covered an immense extent of country included in the present counties of Ulster, Orange, Greene, Delaware, and Sullivan. Its chief town is Kingston, the oldest settlement in the state north of New York city, Albany alone excepted. It was the scene of a horrible Indian massacre in 1663; became the first capital of the state in 1777, and was totally destroyed by fire the same year by the British under General Vaughan. Articles of considerable historical importance have already been printed in this magazine, among others a facsimile and translation from the Dutch of the earliest transfer of land in the Esopus county from the Indian

to the white man. This original document, only recently discovered, is a conveyance to Thomas Chambers, on the fifth of June, 1652, of a tract of land in the present city of Kingston, N. Y., which subsequently became a part of the manor of Fox Hall, of which this Thomas Chambers became the lord. The magazine is printed monthly, and is published in a dainty, old-fashioned style upon deckle-edge Moorish paper, in a form that at once appeals to the taste of the historical and literary connoisseur.

Old Schenectady (Schenectady, N. Y., Robson and Ade), by George S. Roberts, carries the reader back to 1682, when the Dutch Van Curlers, the Vedders, the Tellers, and other Dutch families settled there. The author does not attempt a historical narrative, but gives a series of pictures of the quaint town in the early days: its pioneer settlers; its defenses against Indian attack; its French and Indian massacre; its Dutch heirlooms. The value of the book is much enhanced by appropriate and well-executed cuts and half-tone illustrations.

In its *Year Book* of 1904, the Holland Society of New York prints the records of the Reformed Dutch Church at Albany from 1683 to 1700, and two "plots" of Albany in 1695 and in 1794.

A Group of Great Lawyers of Columbia County, New York (New York, privately printed, 1904, pp. viii, 264) is by a lawyer of Hudson, N. Y., Mr. Peyton F. Miller, who fills a volume with interesting reminiscences and gossipy personal sketches of such men as Martin Van Buren, Samuel J. Tilden, Robert Livingston, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Edward Livingston, and others. It also contains a brief account of the Antirent war.

In addition to *A History of Columbia University* noted in the last number of the REVIEW, there has also appeared, in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of King's College, *Columbiana: a Bibliography of Manuscripts, Pamphlets and Books Relating to the History of King's College, Columbia College, Columbia University* (Columbia University, 1904, pp. 48). The work of preparation was done by Charles Alexander Nelson.

In the University of Pennsylvania *Medical Bulletin* for December, 1904, Dr. Charles W. Dulles finds that the foundation of that institution was made in 1740 instead of 1749, the usually accepted date. He bases his contention on the fact that when Benjamin Franklin and other leading men came to establish the academy, which grew into the university, they took over the plant and the aims of a charity school, which had begun its existence in 1740, under the spell of Whitefield's eloquence. The paper is reprinted in a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages, entitled *The Charity School of 1740*.

"Congress Voting Independence" is the title given to an article in the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, which attributes this famous painting to Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage. "Excerpts from the Papers of Dr. Benjamin Rush" show his dissatisfaction with the governing powers during the progress of the Revolutionary

War. A few *bons mots* of Franklin are included. Other documentary material is given in "Some Revolutionary Correspondence of Dr. James McHenry", and several pages are devoted to "David Edwin, Engraver".

The *Report of the State Librarian of Pennsylvania*, 1903, recently published, contains a chronological list of provincial assemblies and state legislatures, and a valuable "check list of laws, minutes, journals, and documents of the state of Pennsylvania, 1682-1901".

A quaint Quaker love story is that of *Hannah Logan's Courtship* (Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach), which is told in a diary by the man who wooed and won her. John Smith, a Philadelphia merchant and assemblyman of Pennsylvania and a King's Councillor of New Jersey, met his "charmer" at the home of her father, James Logan, colonial governor of Pennsylvania, in 1744. His suit was marked by vicissitudes, but ultimately the marriage was solemnized "in an awful and intelligible manner". There is little in the volume on public affairs, but the genealogical notes of the editor, Albert Cook Myers, and the illustrations of the Stenton home and of Pennsylvania personages are of distinct interest.

Of the reprinting of early pamphlets bearing on American history there seems just now to be no end; and the historical scholar has no anxiety to see the flood cease. Among the recent reprints published by the Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, is a very attractive edition of Thomas Hutchins's *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina*, from the original edition of 1778, edited by Frederick Charles Hicks, who has written a biography much more elaborate than the biographical sketches usually accompanying such reprints, and has supplied a careful and extensive bibliography of the writings of Hutchins. Several maps are inserted in the text, and a pocket holds a large folded copy of Hutchins's map of 1778. The biography of the "Geographer to the United States" was of itself well worth writing, and Mr. Hicks has taken his task seriously, using good source-material and collecting his information with commendable care.

Descriptions of Maryland, by Bernard C. Steiner, is a new volume in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. This is a chronological bibliography, preceded by brief notes regarding the travelers who published their descriptions. *The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina*, by John Porter Hollis, in the same series, has introductory pages on the condition of the state after the Civil War, followed by a study of the effects of plans of reconstruction.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* continues the publication of important papers under the headings: "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, 1759-'70"; "Vestry Book of King William Parish, Va., 1707-1750"; "Virginia Militia in the Revolution"; and "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia". There are several Jefferson letters in the number.

In the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for January there is a continuation of the very interesting "Journal of the Meetings of the Presidents and Masters or Professors of William and Mary College".

Virginia County Records, Spotsylvania County, 1721-1800, volume I (New York, Fox, Duffield, and Company, 1905) marks the beginning of a very important undertaking. For this volume, W. Clayton Torrence, of Fredericksburg, made "transcriptions from the Original Files at the County Court House of Wills, Deeds, Administration and Guardian Bonds, Marriage Licenses, Lists of Revolutionary Pensions". Other resident genealogists are to do the same work for succeeding volumes. The work so far seems to be done with great accuracy, the index is excellent, and the form in which the matter appears is neat and attractive. The general editor for the series is W. Armstrong Crozier.

The chief material in the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is documentary. "Correspondence between Hon. Henry Laurens and his Son, John, 1777-1780" is a series of letters on Revolutionary matters; "Records of the Regiments of the South Carolina Line, Continental Establishment" is a continuation from the previous issue of the magazine.

The first two volumes of *The Colonial Records of Georgia*, which have quite recently been issued under the authority of the state legislature, suggest that a valuable piece of historical work is being done. We have in these early volumes a reprint of the colonial charter, and the documents showing the course of administration from 1732 to 1752. Among these papers are the laws and by-laws adopted by the trustees, along with the journal of their proceedings and minutes of the Common Council. Later volumes promise to contain documentary material of even greater value. The private journal of Lord Percival and the diary of Colonel William Stephens, proceedings of legislative and executive bodies down to and through the Revolutionary War, the account of the first Constitutional Convention, and the lists of proscribed royalists and rebels are to be reprinted. There is so far no annotation. Allen D. Candler is the compiler and editor of the volumes.

Illinois Railway Legislation and Commission Control since 1870 is a monograph by J. H. Gordon (published by the University of Illinois). An introduction by Professor M. B. Hammond deals with the attempts of the state of Illinois to control railway rates before 1870.

Houghton, Mifflin, and Company have published a revised edition of *Indiana* in the American Commonwealths series. The author, J. P. Dunn, Jr., has increased its value in the revision by adding a chapter of about fifty pages on the history of the state since its admission to the Union. Otherwise, the changes made are slight.

There are three Civil War articles in the January number of the *Annals of Iowa*. The titles of the articles are: "Fort Dodge Soldiers in the East"; "The Battle of Athens, Missouri"; and "Voting with the Soldiers in 1864". Other articles of local interest appear.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an article, "The

Genesis of Popular Sovereignty", by Allen Johnson of Iowa College, which, claiming the authorship of the doctrine for Stephen A. Douglas, attempts to prove by illustrations that the tap-root of popular sovereignty "was the instinctive attachment of the Western American to local government".

Small, Maynard, and Company announce the publication of *A Report on Colonial Administration in the Far East*, by Alleyne Ireland. There are to be ten volumes, or possibly twelve in all, the first to appear soon and the others to be issued successively at intervals of about four months. The edition is limited. The volumes will contain much original material as well as description and comment. The Philippines will naturally receive full attention.

The sixth volume in the Makers of Canada series (Toronto, Morang and Company) is by Lady Edgar on *General Brock*. Another volume on *Champlain*, by Narcisse E. Dionne, is in press. The entire series is to be completed in twenty volumes.

The January *Acadiensis* gives, under the title "The Proces-Verbal of Andrew Certain", a translation of a document in the French archives, an account of the circumstances attending the taking of Fort Latour or Fort St. John by the Sieur d'Aunay in 1645. The number also contains the early chapters of *The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times*, "from the manuscript of the late Joseph Wilson Lawrence".

There is a continuation of the Cheverus letters in the December *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, and extracts from the journal of Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who in 1815 visited eastern Canada, the maritime provinces, and the chief eastern cities of the United States.

Rev. A. G. Morice has contributed to our knowledge of the northwest in *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* (Toronto, William Briggs, 1904, pp. xi, 349). The author describes the pre-European conditions, Alexander Mackenzie's land voyage to the Pacific in 1792-1793, the first trading-posts established by Simon Fraser, William Harmon, and others before the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company. The volume is carried down to 1880.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Captain A. T. Mahan, *The War of 1812*, II, "The Campaign of 1814" (Scribner's Magazine, January); Amasi M. Eaton, *The Development of the Judicial System in Rhode Island* (Yale Law Journal, January); Francis C. Lowell, *George Frisbie Hoar* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March); William Wirt Howe, *Law in the Louisiana Purchase* (Yale Law Journal, February); Judge E. P. Gates, *The Lawyers of the Revolution* (American Law Review, January-February); F. C. Wade, *The Surrender of Sitting Bull* (Canadian Magazine, February); Adrian H. Joline, *Martin Van Buren, the Lawyer* (Green Bag, March); Gaillard Hunt, *The First Inauguration Ball* (Century Magazine, March); A. G. Bradley, *The Fight for North America* (concluded in Canadian Magazine, January); A. F. Bandelier, *The Truth about Inca Civilization* (Harper's Magazine, March); Sena-

tor S. M. Cullum, *The Treaty-Making Power* (North American Review, March); *Old Fort Massac* (American Monthly Magazine, March); Frederick Austin Ogg, *The Growth of Population in the Mississippi Valley* (World of To-Day, February); Agnes C. Laut, *The Discoverer of Alaska* (Leslie's Monthly, March); Docteur Magnac, *L'Expédition du Général Leclerc à Saint-Domingue* (running in Le Carnet); Pascual Santacruz, *Clínicas de la Historia* (La España Moderna, February).

The
American Historical Review

HISTORY AND MATERIALISM

I.

IS history losing its human character and interest? Is it becoming more and more a natural science, a mere record of natural causes and effects, less and less a story, artistic and dramatic, of what men and nations by dint of the will and might and coursing blood within them have now and again achieved? Is it no longer a humanity, a great human document, a stirring, living picture of what living, breathing, failing, and triumphing men are and do, but instead a gathering of just so many puppet illustrations from the manifold happenings and doings in human experience for some natural law or philosophical formula? Some people have detected such changes as these, and certainly the historian's growing emphasis on material conditions, on climate, geographical location, natural resources, and the like, would give color to the idea, while his resort to prosaic minutiae of all sorts, to statistics and to psychological laws, that seem human only through the accidents of association, would greatly deepen the color already given. In short, in the opinion of many, who appear to be at least not without some justification, history is in great danger of materialism, even of gross materialism. Moreover, its indifference to ethical values, which is surely increasing and which doubtless springs from the companionship, fortunate or unfortunate, of history with the natural sciences, is very often thought itself to be quite enough to make this opinion a conviction.

But materialism is an epithet that demands most careful scrutiny. It may be wholly just; it may be even unqualifiedly opprobrious; yet its easy use and its wide use at the present time, though possibly emphasizing its justice, at least suggest that there may be, if not

also that there must be, something besides opprobrium in it. Surely history has the comfort and assurance of a large company in its misery. Education; for example, is also charged with materialism; the mechanical arts are crowding the pure sciences, and the pure sciences the humanities and culture-studies; college presidents, instead of being the moral teachers and great spiritual leaders of fifty or seventy-five years ago, either are not filling their places or are hardly more than financial agents and business managers. Again, politics has lost its quondam patriotism and turned to individualism, that often becomes sordid selfishness, and to cosmopolitanism, that serves as an excuse for the declining devotion to country. Religion has set class against class, has made much of fine music and various other forms of sensuous display, very little of true piety, or, abandoning church and creed and ritual altogether, has turned in theory to nature and in practice to settlement-work, to slumming, and—with apologies to Professor Cooley and others for this use of the word—to “sociology”. Fiction is realistic even to the point of being sensuously offensive; problematic and prurient to indecency. Poetry, even if we forget the verse of Whitman, has abused its great privileges, turning freedom into flagrancy and license. And against them all, education and politics and religion and literature, as well as against history, we hear the people raising the alarm of materialism. Yet, as was said, a charge so easily and so generally made calls for close scrutiny, since a well-nigh universal fault may, if not must, have some praise mingled with its opprobrium. To say the least, all creatures, among whom I would boast myself one, who have an abiding faith in the so-called human “verities”, must believe that what is general or universal has some positive virtue in it, and in particular that this commonly resented materialism of history, so thoroughly up-to-date, so well in line with the movement of things all along the front of man’s experience, can be after all only the entrance of the human element in history into a rich and a full inheritance.

But materialism—what is it really? What is it quite apart from the hue and cry with which as an epithet it has been cast about so promiscuously? What is it, when relieved of the relative, partizan meaning from which, like any other epithet that has become a fad, it has undoubtedly suffered? I suggest the following definition. Materialism is the tendency, which may have all degrees of expression, in life or in thought to treat what is only a part as if in itself it were an independent, self-supporting, originally active, and originally constituted whole. Thus the great test for reality that materialism employs as it walks up and down the world hunting

for real things is what the logicians know as self-identity, but what here, not unappreciatively, we may call lonesomeness or isolation or touch-me-not existence; in a word, unrelatedness or the character of being and acting wholly to and in oneself. True, ordinarily, even by the sophisticated, the term materialism has been applied only to the lonesomeness, the lonesome reality of matter, but no term can ever be held, for its full meaning, to its ordinary application. Idealism, spiritualism, supernaturalism, are also virtually materialistic. The mere names which they have chosen to give to their selected protégés in the realm of reality do not avoid, they only very imperfectly conceal the real materialism of their standpoint. The head of the ostrich may be hidden, but more than enough is still left exposed to disclose the animal and its true character. God may be a "spirit", but if the spirit that he is is something off by itself, something independent and quite *sui generis*, being and acting quite to and in itself or when to and in other things then only miraculously and arbitrarily, and if what is material, physical, worldly, is wholly external to his spiritual nature, being at most or at best only temporal and mediate and dependent, then to all intents and purposes he is as material as the matter that so spiritually he, or his worshipers for him, would once for all reject. Again, man may have a "soul", but if his soul is, so to speak, only one more ingredient of his nature, only one more of the many things in his body, if it is, as sometimes considered, the peculiar, distinctly localized function of just one of his organs, say the much overworked pineal gland, then it too is physical in fact, whatever it may be in name, and the materialism which fosters it can even give points to the materialism which disdains its only verbal disguises. The hidden thing is always more flagrant than what is open and avowed.

So, as was said, materialism is the tendency, having all degrees of expression and, to add to the definition, having also all degrees of candor or concealment, to treat what is only a part as if in itself it were an independent, self-supporting whole. In illustration, this definition makes materialism include, among many other things, the miser's habit or anybody's miserly habit of taking the means to action for its end, and the spendthrift-reformer's habit or anybody's reckless if not fanatical habit of taking the end of action for its means; but it applies also to a standpoint, very general in its nature, that without mention might go quite unnoticed. Thus, over and over again men have obstinately regarded the whole of anything as if somehow it were external to its own parts. They have, for example, treated society and its individual members; nature—witness the doctrine, as often rendered, of natural selection—and all

living things; reality, which is said to be absolute and eternal and all-inclusive, and the component parts of reality, which are only relative and transitory; the personality of God and those human persons who are supposed to live and move and have their being in God; finally, history and the people or the nations of history; all these wholes, I say, and their parts they have treated as exclusive of each other, as representing different orders of being, as having different relations to space and time, to character and activity. Such a view, however, clearly comes under the definition of materialism, since it does but make the separate whole, the whole that like society or nature or reality or history is so distinct from its own constituent parts, only one more part in some still larger whole. Accordingly, to make the definition safely explicit, materialism is hypostasis of the part, that is, elevation of the part to the dignity of an independent whole, or—and in the end this comes to the same thing—hypostasis of the whole, that is, treatment of the whole as if it were something quite by itself, in short, as if it were only another distinct part.

And with this simple, yet certainly very inclusive as well as very significant idea of materialism in mind it is now possible, in the first place, to determine in just what ways the study of history may be materialistic, and then, in conclusion, to decide in just what measure the charge of materialism against the tendencies in the historical study of the present day can be sustained. Before entering, however, upon these two undertakings, let me say that I shall claim the privilege of being at times quite commonplace. Especially, I shall not be discountenanced or embarrassed if anybody is prompted to accuse me of attacking only straw-historians or only a straw-history. In general, straw-men, or at least men so described under the storm and stress of criticism, have in the past been attacked not without great profit, and in particular my own present interest is primarily a logical one. I am not taking up a cudgel against anybody or anything. The mere logic of a situation, however commonplace in some of its details and however apparently vain or empty in some of its implied criticisms, is to my mind always well worth careful formulation.

II.

So, to begin with the general question as to how under the definition history may be materialistic, I would mention and at greater or less length discuss the following marks. For the first, according to a popular idea, which even the professional, sophisticated historian has sometimes allowed himself, history is said, or, if not said, is supposed to repeat itself. Witness, not of course the real, but the

imagined, univocal use of such terms, so necessary to all historical study, as monarchy, democracy, individualism, labor, property, money, city, country, people, nation, and the like indefinitely. Down through all the ages these terms are often applied, now here, now there, with little if any regard to the qualitative variation that history can hardly fail to induce in all its incidents, in all the things to which the terms themselves refer. The historian, whose history thus repeats itself, will doubtless have a great variety of different elements out of which to construct his historical edifice, but he can produce at best only a scaffolding, not a real history, if he is blind to the truth—is it not a truth?—that here and there, now and then, on larger scale and on smaller scale are more than mere distinctions of space and time and quantity. To assume, then, that they are not more is plainly materialistic, since it is to give fixity, independence, isolation, to each and every repeating thing, to each thing and everything that is manifolded in space or time or that in its numerous manifestations has now one size and now another. What would we, nay, what do we think of the novelist whose characters only move about, get older, and become larger or smaller in body perhaps or in property or number of exploits, and then die or get married? We may not call him names, being—as always we should be—personally charitable, and being ready to congratulate him on the momentary increase in his bank-account, but his novel we call wooden. And with the same meaning an only self-repeating history, though compositely very complex and though put together with the ingenuity of a master-mechanic and though with samples of its peculiar wares in all sizes, we call materialistic.

Yet do not misunderstand me. I am far from intending to say that there can be no meaning in the idea that history repeats itself. Among others, Professor Gabriel Tarde¹ has succeeded in giving a very rich meaning to the repetitions or imitations of history, but his meaning and in general the meaning is not materialistic; also it is not the common intention of the adage, or the principle, that history repeats itself.

A subtle form of the historian's use of this principle has been his judgment of absolutism or wealth or progress or general prosperity or anarchy from some assumed standard, naturally the standard determined by his own life and time. Here, instead of the present being a repetition of the past, the past is taken, so to speak, as ideally, if not actually, repeating the present. The past is judged,

¹ *Les Lois de l'Imitation* (3d ed., Paris, 1900); translated into English from the second French edition by Elsie Clews Parsons: *The Laws of Imitation* (New York, 1903).

and in consequence is naturally found very much wanting, as if it could have been and so should have been what the present has become. In ethical judgments of historical periods this form of the offense, if offense I ought to call it, has been especially common and of course has been frequently recognized and ridiculed, but the judgments of such other repeating or recurrent incidents or movements as democracy, the labor question, centralization, empire, and the like have been given to the same practice.

The highly logical historian, moreover, who being formula-bound sees history as only a gathering of illustrations of the working of his special strait-jacket, is guilty of the same materialism; and so also is his counterpart for whom history is only a multiplication of facts that may have no other unity save their association in space or time. A history of merely numerable differences is not less a monotone than that of the logician's formula.

But, secondly, the history that repeats itself has usually if not always been also a history of the swinging pendulum type. Its repetition, in other words, has been double-striped. Religion and irreligion, prosperity and depression, government and anarchy, socialism and individualism have followed each other with commendable regularity and perfect rhythmical precision. Day and night have not been more regular nor, as most people regard their coming and going, have they made a more thrilling historical progression. Vibration such as this is doubtless a great thing and it shows a great law, but all the more, because it is vibration as well as repetition, it really changes that upon which it acts or through which it is expressed. A new day is the day past neither in its time or date, nor in its content of life and event; the light that seems to return with its dawning is not the same and makes vision for eyes that are not the same. A return from socialism to individualism, in like manner, or from depression to prosperity, or from irreligion to religion, is always, so to speak, an advance, or at least a positive change, as well as a return. Even a pendulum never swings back to its old position. If it did, perpetual motion would be a possibility, and qualitative variation, which is as important in physics as it is in history, would become at once impossible. Moreover, the pendulum historian materialistically forgets, or is certainly very likely to forget, that both swings, both movements of the vibration, are bound to be throughout as coincident and as contemporaneous as day and night. The most that can be done, in order to keep them apart, is to distinguish between the visible and the invisible, the presented face and the antipodes of the globe of experience, the actual and the potential; yet, even so distinguished, they are constantly changing

places, and neither one, however hidden and only potential, can ever be unreal. Do real realities only take turns at being real? I suppose nobody enjoys paradoxes just for their own sake, but a pendulum-swinging history forces attention upon them. Thus, with a meaning that must be felt and recognized, just as back and forth or day and night are intimately involved in each other, both always real and active, both parties to one and the same unity of action, so in history government and anarchy, prosperity and depression, religion and irreligion, individualism and socialism, are actively present in each other; they are not the separate events of different years or decades or centuries. When any one of these movements is most apparent, say in the institutions of the day, then look carefully and confidently for its opposite. Even when the night is darkest the day prepareth; when the day is brightest the night cometh.

As a third source of materialism in history I would mention the disposition to explain great changes as "reactions". That the reactions of history are naturally incident to the vibrations and the repetitions hardly needs to be said, except in so far as it serves to indicate what on the whole is meant by a reaction. So often we are told that when things get so bad that they simply cannot get any worse, or so good perhaps that they have become unearthly and therefore unbearable, then a reaction sets in, the pendulum simply swinging the other way, and that with this change there appears what is purely negative with reference to things as they have been and positive only in terms of its own internal, self-centered making, but what at some earlier period had had a vigorous career upon the stage of reality. Thus the idea seems to be that a reaction in the first place wholly supplants something and in the second place without change or loss restores something else. Extremes, in other words, are supposed to beget their opposites—with all due apologies for the change of metaphor—out of a clear sky. Doubtless for such an idea there is some excuse. Is it not quite natural to identify the life of a society with its visible forms and establishments and through thick and thin to hold to the identification just so long as the forms and establishments appear to be unimpaired? And with this natural habit of mind when a change transpires, must it not seem sudden and reactionary, as sudden, be it said, and as reactionary as the revivalistic "conversion"? Again, is not the reaction, when it appears in power, impairing or even demolishing the forms and establishments which have stood so long, always the special labor of some distinct class or party? Accordingly must it not be as distinct and independent as the class that initiates and conducts it? Witness such commonplace illustrations as the French Revolution or the

injection of Christianity into a pagan civilization. What veritable "reactions" both of these were! Only—and here the error or at least the materialism of this standpoint is disclosed—these illustrations are too commonplace for a safe argument. Of all the reactions in history they certainly were not begotten out of a clear sky. Actual conditions never so naturally precipitated results as the conditions in France and Europe and the conditions in the Roman world precipitated those two great upheavals. A materialist may find only revolutions and only independent parties or factions carrying them on, but the facts are against his findings. Revolutions may be "reactionary", but also they are always evolutionary, the new which they bring being only an outgrowth of the old which it supplants, the manifestation of something that had been only implicit; and as for the parties that incite and direct them, suffice it to say that in society classes seem to exist only to expose each other's hidden ways, to make explicit each other's implicit thoughts and deeds, and that the factions which have managed revolutions have always learned all their best lessons from those whom they have attacked.

So, to resume the counting, a fourth mark of materialism in history is the idea of progress. I almost said the conceit of progress. At least what many mean, or think they mean, by progress is materialistic. Thus, consciously or conventionally, the historian is a perfectionist. Either he is actually conceiving or he writes and thinks of things in general as if he were conceiving a far distant goal of political peace, industrial integrity, and moral righteousness, say a heavenly kingdom to come, toward which a still—perhaps an always?—imperfect humanity is making its slow, so very slow, and uncertain, so very uncertain, pilgrimage. But why destroy the worth and power of perfection by such a hypostasis of it? Why, so materialistically, separate the ideal and the real, the end and the means of life? Again, the historian thinks, or writes as if he thought, history in its past achievements a record of mere eliminations and accretions, a growing out of and away from some things and toward and into other things. Possibly by so doing he compensates for the vibrations and repetitions that in themselves are so unproductive; one offense is often protected by another; but can a vital, organic history proceed in such a way? Also can such a process, however manifold its successive stages, have any substantial worth? Surely, if a man set out to walk from one town to another with a heavy load on his back and changed his burden at every cross-roads, no one would care very much whether he ever reached his destination. And, once more, the historian makes, or writes as if he made, invidious distinctions among the different periods of his history.

Consider the conceit, or the convention, of modernism, of civilization, of occidentalism, of the ism, whatever its full name should be, that glorifies the period of the supremacy of the life and people of the north temperate zone.

Consider also the more inclusive invidious distinctions between the present and the past or even between the future and the present. Perhaps no one thing is more the cause or source of these distinctions or for that matter of the general notion of progress than the well-known though frequently overlooked illusion of retrospection. Here, of course, is not the place for a psychological discourse on the perception of time or of the relations of the periods of time, but let it be said simply that the past of consciousness can never be the past of reality. No man can ever know the living past; one's very knowledge vivisects it to death; one's knowledge, too, not only makes it dead, but also renders it the mere storehouse of the present, the different values of its wares being determined only by their changing relations to interests that are more or less narrow and standards that are arbitrary as well as narrow in the life of the present. But, in view of these facts, how rash it is to derive an idea of progress from distinctions between the known past and the present! When the knowledge of the past and the peculiar characterizations that are its burden are, as plainly they must be, part and parcel of the progress, how strange it is to take the known past for the real past, and through such a confusion to get a case for a progress of things outgrown and discarded or acquired and for a time appropriated!

So often and so wisely the historian himself exclaims that with every new period, almost with every new year, history needs to be rewritten. And why? Because the visible past, materially and ideally, that is, as to its constituent data and as to its meaning or value, is as changeable a thing as the restless present that views it. How, then, can one outgrow the past? Surely only as, or if, he can outrun his shadow. In short, the materialistic idea of progress, what with its perfectionism, its eliminations and accretions, and its invidious distinctions, is not only materialistic; it is also very like a superstition. Certainly, if real at all and substantial, progress must be an ever-present and a wholly present thing; not something to be measured by a dead past or an unborn future, but instead something in which both past and future have their present living parts and so escape the ignominy or the flattery of the pharisaical epithets of less and more, worse and better, that a superstitious, unappreciative, self-deceived present would cast upon them.

But, fifthly, the period, era, or epoch, as usually treated, whether consciously or conventionally, is materialistic. Of course, this is

not to say that any one will seriously advocate a history of mere dates. Dated beginnings or endings of periods are no longer so much stressed as perhaps they have been in the past. Dates are now for man, not man for dates. The date-bounded period, or era, on the whole has lost vogue, if vogue it ever had, since materially and ideally it has always broken down its own fences. The ubiquity of the forerunner has been fatal to it. The certain growth of insight has given it only a relative value, turning its barriers into merely temporary structures set up merely as a means to new intellectual conquests over the domain of time. What has insight not done for the time-duration of paganism, Christianity, medievalism, modernism! Everything in history has indeed had its forerunner; and insight, discovering the universal forerunner, without destroying the significance of the periodic differences has made the periods themselves all but, if not quite, temporally coextensive, each period expanding to cover the whole duration of history. So much has evolution done, or is it doing, for a date-ridden history.

But the retirement of dates, or temporal boundaries, has not always brought escape from the merely date-bounded period. The ghost of the departed still haunts many a historical record, and any ghost that really haunts the life which its bodily progenitor is supposed to have left is always more than a mere ghost. In some rarefied form, a ray of moonlight perhaps or a gust of wind or a habit of mind, it still has flesh and blood. Thus the date-bounded period continues to haunt the study of history in the following flesh-and-blood ways; subtle, if you please, but real and concrete too. To begin with, merely to lengthen a period may bring escape from the letter, but it cannot in itself bring escape from the real spirit of the period that begins and ends with a date. It may, of course it must increase indefinitely the material content, the manifold of events, which the period comprises, but more or less of a thing is not the last word to be said about it. Vital appreciation, for example, requires something besides the interesting discovery that America had figured in European history before 1492, or that Anaximander about 600 B. C. said something concerning the importance of a prolonged infancy to human evolution which so brilliant a thinker as John Fiske discovered only thirty or forty years ago. To lengthen a period, then, though it makes more room, and so admits more cases, admitting as long a line of forerunners as you please, is not to avoid the evident materialism of mere length. Nor, further, does the historian necessarily escape the materialism of the date-bounded period when he seeks to relate a man or an event, a great thought or a great deed, to the environment, to the "times", in which the one

or the other has appeared. The "times" themselves may be without set time-barriers; usually in a loose way they are so made use of, their component factors or influences always having a value close to that of a timeless nature in organic evolution; but only formally to relate a man or an event, a thought or a deed, to the "times", however much the view may be broadened by so doing, though undoubtedly an advance materially, is not necessarily a real escape from a date-ridden history. It is so easy to see and treat the environment as if after all it were not the life of all time acting upon or through the life of the particular time. Thus, for illustration, in the statement that the trade-winds, not Columbus, discovered America, some might see—falsely, I think—a reflection on the originality of the great navigator, but signally fail to see that temporally there was any difference of meaning between the two ways of describing the famous voyage. Yet the trade-winds presumptively are more than an event of 1492; they were blowing at least a year or two even before Columbus was born, and rumor has it that they are sometimes active even at the present time.

To leave the historian's use of the "times", there is one more way in which he is capable of failing to free himself from the merely long—or short—period, and this perhaps is the most ghostly of the three. It is, then, the way of the would-be philosopher of history, who would relate human characters and events, laws and thoughts, institutions and movements, to underlying "presuppositions", "concepts", "*Zeitgeist*", and the like, but who forgets, or certainly seems to forget, that such agents as these are doubly transcendent of their dates, exceeding or overreaching them at both ends, being, so to speak, at once ahead of and behind their times, and having accordingly a value very like that which has been seen to belong to environment. Possibly environment and the concept or the *Zeitgeist* are but the real or actual and the ideal expressions of the same fact, both being the medium in which past and future not only meet but also live and move in the present; and if this be true of them, for the historian to treat either as only one more thing or fact to be cited in company with the other material data which his labors have unearthed from the period under examination is to be materialistic, date-ridden, and all that, and is also almost ignominiously to miss the golden opportunity of his great industry.

It fell to me recently to review a history of political theories of the ancient world. The author, as I fully appreciated, had made an important addition to the literature of his subject, but though claiming to supplement the work of an objective historian who had limited himself "to an account of political theories as they are to be

found crystallised and explicitly stated in literature", and seeking accordingly beyond these bare facts to expose the theories as "pre-suppositions", particularly as the "ideas implicit in the systems of governments and laws of the times and peoples considered", and even striving after what should "resemble in some respects a philosophy of history", he seemed to me to fall far short of his goal. It is true that the theories which he examined were shown with fair success to be only the formulated presuppositions of their times, but what I will call the dynamic value of such formulations received little if any attention. The theories, as presented, although apparently the presuppositions of the institutions of their times, were theories without the movement and vitality which every true presupposition upon formulation must have. A theory as the explicit rendering of an implicit idea must exceed its dates at both ends; it must always be a solvent by which what has been becomes a party to what is to be, by which a passing view or manner of life or civilization is taken up into a rising view or manner of life or civilization. Its self-consciousness, its conceptual character, makes it in this way transitional, because through all the conditions of its formulation it has and holds the value of an exhortation, to individuals or to a people, really and fully to be henceforth what they have been, to be Greeks, perhaps, or Christians or Americans or in general to be men or to be really natural, and such an exhortation is plainly at once deeply reminiscent and provident or prophetic. At a time of great theories a lost and forgotten Golden Age and a Kingdom of Heaven to come vie with each other for the control of men's minds. Again, formulation of theory is only to do more or less deliberately what, so we are told, the drowning man does at a flash, namely, bring a long, in a sense a whole, past into the presence of the future. Consider, too, how all theorizing implies skepticism, and how skepticism, instead of destroying things, as people have sometimes imagined, only transforms them, turning objects of human worship, human treasures and devotions of all sorts, into mere natural or physical utilities; and what can be more serviceable to history than such a transformation? Yet of this, and in general of the distinctly mediate function living in every theory, of the dynamic value and the time-transcendent character of every responsible formulation of real presuppositions, of the historical movement in every explicit rendering of an implicit idea, the author of the book in review gave only the merest hints. What, however, could be more essential to truly historical study? Events and ideas and ideas of ideas are always valuable data, but they do not necessarily make history; or they too often make only a materialistic history, a history that in

fact, if not in conceit, is still under the bondage of the date-bounded period. Real history must have life, movement, dramatic character.

Five marks of the possibility for materialism in history have now passed before our view, as follows: the self-repetition; the swinging pendulum; the external or arbitrary, wholly revolutionary reaction; the progress that depends on absolute gains or losses and on invidious, pharisaical distinctions; and the date-bounded period. One more, a sixth and perhaps the most important of all, remains to be considered, before the direct charge of materialism against the history of the present day, which will be remembered as the other special interest of this paper, can be examined. To this last mark of a materialistic history, then, I now turn, on account of its importance and peculiar interest giving it special treatment and special prominence.¹

III.

Sixthly, the historian is materialistic in that, or in so far as, he confuses what is merely a class-character with a well-rounded, all-sided, self-sufficient experience, that is to say, with the real, all-inclusive, vitally indivisible though perhaps indefinitely differentiable unity of experience. But what exactly does this mean? Apparently it is in form only a special rendering of the general definition of materialism with which this paper was introduced; yet a class-character and the unity of experience—just what are these? And how much does their confusion, the habit or tendency of taking one for the other, really involve?

To speak first of the unity of experience, we have here an idea that properly is intended to be very comprehensive. The same comprehensiveness might be claimed for the unity of life by a biologist or for the unity of force by a physical scientist or even for the unity of God by a theologian—at least by a theologian who had really studied both history and nature. The unity of experience is, quantitatively, the totality of all the relations, actual or possible, of man to himself or to his world. Man comprises, as we are so often told, a physical self, an intellectual self, and a moral and spiritual self. He comprises, again, feeling, cognition, and volition. He comprises, under still another analysis, a life that is natural, industrial, political, educational, esthetic, moral, and religious, and socially has developed institutions in which these different sides of his nature are especially

¹ Of course even a list of six marks of materialistic tendencies in history is by no means exhaustive. Perhaps, among others that might be named and discussed here, no one is more noteworthy than the idea of parallel histories. Political history, industrial history, ecclesiastical history, history of philosophy, history of art or science, may not be treated as independent, though parallel, without materialism.

and distinctly expressed. The unity of experience, then, quantitatively, is the totality of all of these relations, phases, parts, or functions of human nature, and, qualitatively, the mutual dependence, interaction, and determination among them all—in short, the vital, organic character, in distinction from the merely composite or aggregate character of the unity. In general, unity is qualitative as well as quantitative, and the unity of experience can be no exception to this general rule.

Now, with regard to what is meant by a class-character, it is first to be observed that the unity of experience *in its entirety* is actively present in every individual. In fact, its active presence is, or seems to me to be, what chiefly constitutes personality. Furthermore the unity of experience *in its entirety* is also actively present in the general environment. Environment might well be defined as the visible, material exemplification of all the different and various elements comprised in the unity of experience. True, between the person and the environment a great distinction exists. Thus, on the whole, that is to say, except for some one particular part or function, the unity of experience is present in the former only impulsively, implicitly, or potentially; or, to be perhaps more accurate, though there is really no difference in the meaning, only in an undeveloped form; while in the latter it exists explicitly or actually or more or less highly developed. But, in spite of this distinction, in both the unity of experience is present and is entirely real, its activity and reality in both being not at all incongruous with the suggested difference of form between potentiality and actuality, between implicit and explicit expression, or between low and high development. Moreover, this first observation should apply to any of all the possible analyses of human nature; to those already given here of course, and to any other that might be given.

But, in the next place, it is to be observed that between the person's potential and undeveloped and the environment's actual and developed expression of the unity of experience a class-life, a particular social affiliation, which the person enjoys or suffers under, is always mediating. This class-life, however, or the class-character, upon which this life is based, from which it gets its peculiar form and interest, always does violence to the unity of experience. Class-differences are wide and deep-set; a class-character comprises but one among the many different parts or phases of experience and, except for the constraint provided through the wholeness, or all-sidedness, of the person on the one hand and the environment on the other hand, tends strongly to exclude all the others, so that, as perhaps the best way of recounting the situation now under analysis,

class-life is nothing more or less than a hotbed of specialism. Conclusively, then—and just this is the point to be emphasized in the present discussion—the *relation of a class-character to the unity of experience is always the relation of the particular to the general or more exactly of the part to the whole*, but of the former in developed to the latter in a generally undeveloped form; and, as was said, history is therefore materialistic in so far as it confuses the two.

In illustration of what is intended by this account of the relation of the class-character to the unity of experience, the individual is personally emotional, cognitional, and volitional; or physical, mental, and spiritual, or natural, industrial, political, educational, esthetic, moral, and religious, or conservative and radical, honest and dishonest, *all in one*, but socially, that is, in respect to his particular class-alliance, he is only one of the things comprised in any of those groups. Moreover, what he is socially he is under conditions of some special training or special development; and also whatever he is socially gives direction and mediation to all the other relatively undeveloped sides of his nature. Does he belong, for example, to the class of mechanics? Then, while receiving the advantages of such association in the way of traditions, prestige, institutional support and education, technical skill, and the like, he will also, though without the same skill and without the other special advantages, be religious, intellectual, political, in his life of a mechanic or with reference to the instruments that make that life possible. Does he belong to the class of thieves? Then, while practising the talented arts of the thief's calling, he will also, though without training and ethical sophistication, be honest at least toward his companions. Does he belong among the natural scientists? He will make, so to speak, a religion or an industry of his science, though he will lack and possibly even resent, as he sees it in others, the professional manner of any member of the distinctly religious or the distinctly industrial class. Finally, for just one more illustration, is he socially conservative? Then, though not deliberately and certainly not with any avowal of intention, he is also given to temporizing with the established law, not merely to slighting it, but even to transgressing its provisions actively. However law-abiding any individual may be socially or institutionally, personally every individual is in some measure a lawbreaker; or, conversely, however radical and anarchical any one may be socially, personally every one is loyal to some principle of control.

In short, as these illustrations all indicate, any one of all possible class-characters shows, not what some have and others in society have not, but what all have, some however in developed, others in

only undeveloped form, some actually and conspicuously, others only potentially and in a sense privately. When the personal and the social are both taken into account, every creature in human society is seen to belong, either actually or potentially, publicly or privately, to all the classes of society. All men are all things together: all are scientists and mechanics and politicians and worshipers; good men and bad; conservatives and radicals; hedonists and rigorists; wise men and fools; thinkers and artists and road-menders: either personally or professionally all are all these things together, and if some class-alliance be a condition of every man's existence, then at least one thing every man is socially and professionally. Also, as the new term just used, and I think properly used, will suggest, the special materialism of history here in review may now be said to consist in failure to distinguish between the personal and the professional expression of experience. The personal expression of anything comprised in experience is never without some direct constraint from, or immediate vital relationship to, the other things comprised in experience, while the professional expression of the same thing is, or always strongly tends to be, under conditions of isolation and assumed self-sufficiency. Witness, with regard to the latter, the professional ideas of "business on strictly business principles", "art just for art's sake", "science as pure science", "religion as a sacred, unworldly cult", with which personal interest is always in conflict. No class-alliance, no connection with an institution, no professional life in itself, can ever fully satisfy all the demands of personality. Also, even the persistent, private, personal expression of such sides of life as the special profession neglects is not enough to make up the deficiency. It is not enough because of the coincident conflict between the developed and the undeveloped sides of the person's nature. But, this latter point aside, for history to assume that a profession is self-sufficient, the profession of conservatism perhaps or of radicalism, of science or of politics, of labor or of any particular nationalism, such as the Greek, Russian, English, or American, or of any particular religionism, such even as the Christian, is to be, under the definition, materialistic.

Perhaps all this is too simple and commonplace to need so much attention. Perhaps a straw-history will seem more than ever to be in possession of my mind. But, be this as it may, my logical instincts lead me boldly on. One or two conclusions or corollaries that may not be hopelessly commonplace are pressing for recognition, and with brief reference to them I promise to bring the examination of this sixth mark of materialism to a close.

History is plainly an affair of the whole; it is nothing more nor

less than the self-maintenance and development of the unity of experience; and this maintenance involves with equal necessity and significance the person, the class, and the totality—under whatever name, society, humanity, nature, or environment—to which the person and his including class belong. Without all three of these, taken of course in connection with such other divisions or subdivisions as they are types of, the maintenance would be impossible; history would and could have neither vitality nor continuity, neither real movement nor real unity.

History is an affair of the whole, and at least to avoid materialism it should feel itself in this character. To accept any form of an isolated individualism, personal, factional, or national, as for example in the notion that the individual has anything like a freedom of indifference to conditions, or in the idea that any nation has a really indivisible or inalienable sovereignty, or that the natural state is not a universal state, is to lose sight of its real character and to miss its greatest chance for real vitality.

And just because history is an affair of the whole I think, and I wish especially to say, that above all else the person is necessary to history. The class, or the totality of the classes, is indeed conspicuous for insuring a high technical or professional development for every side of human nature. Also the conflict of classes insures a constant check upon the disruption of experience which the class-specialism must always threaten. But in such conflict the check has an external, apparently arbitrary character, and the life which it serves lacks in consequence direct, positive integrity. Only through the person, who is himself the living, urgent unity of experience even to the inclusion of all its differences and conflicts, can human history ever secure its ever-accruing inheritance. Perhaps between the person and society, or the environment generally, there is such a difference as division of labor always induces. Perhaps personality is peculiarly organizing in its function, having in its nature more unity than difference, while the environment, on the other hand, as manifested in its social classes or let me even say in its different kingdoms, is peculiarly differentiating, having more division than unity. On such a plan the two would ever work together for the maintenance and productiveness of experience. But this is only a suggestion, that may seem too philosophical for ordinary consumption, and it will suffice if the person is seen to have a real place in history.

History, I say again, needs the person. The movement of the whole of experience, of all its actual and possible relations, within

the compass of the single personal individual makes natural and necessary, directly and vitally necessary, the application of any special attainment, which some class-affiliation has accomplished, beyond the particular sphere of its development. That such application is born of what essentially is genius will doubtless occur to every one. What is genius but just the capacity of translating one side of life, with its special attainment of skill and insight, into other sides or all sides of life?—and this capacity lies at the very heart of personality. This capacity, too, makes leadership, the partial or the complete liberation of the unity of experience, on the plane of some special development, in the life of a single individual. The person, in short, is born to translate and lead. All persons have some part in the genius of leadership.

History, I must say just once more, needs the person. Personality as a living, integral expression of the whole of experience, as possessing a natural capacity or genius for leadership, bridges all the chasms of history; the chasms of race, of caste, of epoch; of nationality, of party, of any form of division of human nature. Can leadership be anything else but the breaking down of the social barriers, geographical or historical, spacial or temporal? Has it ever failed to make one out of two? Personal leadership renders opposition, as manifested in the "vibrations" and "reactions" of history, only the competition of different sides or relations of human nature, not the struggle of classes and interests that have independent existence and that are not in consequence parts of a real unity of experience. Socially, as war of class with class or time with time, no conflict may seem solvable, but personally no conflict is unsolvable. Personality, sphere as it is of the whole differential operation that makes human life at any time and that has made human history, can even translate enemies into friends, victors into the vanquished, slaves into masters. Again, class-life may feed on difference, but for the person analogy is the staff of life, and to him accordingly, even when the constraints of his own class and time are strongest, all classes and all times, all parts and all sides of human nature, speak, different dialects perhaps, but the same language. More directly, then, than the common, natural environment, and more vitally than any abstract thought or formula, personality links the differences of history together in a truly living whole. What class has not had its leader? What people has not had its prophet? What great period has not had both its personal forerunner and its reformer? And leader, prophet, forerunner, and reformer have all shown how personality ever bridges the chasms of history.

If here some one objects that bridging the chasms of history

makes for continuity and so gives meaning to the idea of history repeating itself, it is only necessary to reply, or rather to repeat, that no denial of meaning to this idea was made or intended. History is not continuous in the sense of the monotonous repetition of any one thing or of any number or series of different things, but only in the sense of single, persistent activity whose movement through its differentiations is always one of positive growth, of qualitative, not merely quantitative variation. So to speak, no new period can ever be more or less than analogously or metaphorically a reproduction of what has preceded it. Class and person acting together secure the development, that makes the metaphors, to the unity of experience, with whose maintenance or constant realization history has been identified.

And, for a last word under this sixth topic, a word that may be quite uncalled for, clearly the person is never a being outside and apart. Self-sufficiency can come to him only in so far as he lives and moves and has his very being in and with the life at large. How could the unity of experience or of nature, which is always alive in the person, ever be external to its parts in the classes that make up society or, for that matter, that make up the environment as a whole? The whole trend of what has been found here in regard to the relation of the person to separate class-characters, of the unity of experience to its professional developments, that are only parts or phases of experience, is strictly against any such idea. Emphatically the person, necessary to history, is personal in and with the life that encompasses him, not outside of it, not over and above it. To treat him as by himself, as outside, would be, not perhaps apparently to take a part for a self-sufficient whole, but—in the end the same thing—to make of the whole only another part.

IV.

And now, having completed the exposure of some of the ways in which history may be materialistic, having even allowed myself from time to time to imply that in certain of those ways history to-day at least conventionally, if not actually, is materialistic, I turn at last to the special charge of materialism as it is issued against the current study of history. Curiously enough, this special charge hardly has directly in mind any of the six marks of the offense that I have given; on the contrary its attention has been largely to the emphasis which is being put on prosaic details, natural laws, material conditions, and the like; so that at first thought I shall doubtless seem to have gone needlessly out of my way, bothering my head with what nobody appears ever to have meant by materialism. But the fact

is, as has indeed been suggested already, that just such an excursion is always necessary, whenever the real meaning, in distinction from the ordinary understanding or application of anything, is in question. Such an excursion brings returns that have a peculiarly effective utility for the end in view. Nor is the situation altered at all by the circumstance that the excursion leads into the jungle, into the region where the enemy has his lair. Nothing is ever so near to being well understood as when even its critics are found, however pettily, to be guilty of it.

Thus, for the case in hand, the various marks of materialism which have been dwelt upon here have represented what on the whole have been the idea and the practice of those who are most ready to cry out against the materialistic historian of the day. Certainly the up-to-date historian has been less openly given to them than those who attack him. His critics, boastfully idealistic, have held quite tenaciously to just such things as the literal repetition, the sudden clear-sky reaction, the isolated period, the exclusive class or caste, the unearthly, heaven-sent genius, and the immaterially free common person. They have thought of progress, in just the way that all these things imply, as moving on in jerks and starts of accretion and rejection and as temporally only a series of periods that have no natural dealings with each other. And so, although their heads may have been in the sphere, perhaps the clouds, of the ideal, their feet have been planted squarely and firmly on what, at least under the definition, has the moist, earthy odor of materialism. But, over against his critics, the up-to-date historian has managed largely to free himself from their special conceits. Progress seems on the whole indifferent to him. Reaction and class and period and the rest are little if anything more than forms of thought, conventions, useful points of view with the value of working hypotheses rather than of fixed, objective realities. So far, then, he would seem even to have some advantage over his detractors.

But the up-to-date historian has a materialism of his own, which, though not always in full, open expression, is at least very real as a tendency with him, and taken for what it tends to be it is related to that of his detractors very much as the general to the particular or as the whole to its parts or special cases. In the first place, his useful forms of thought or hypothetical standpoints have at least the reality of conventions or ghosts, and, with these ghosts about, the moist, earthy odor, though possibly much attenuated, must still persist—perhaps, if I may extend the figure, not without suggestions of the tomb. But especially, in the second place, he makes hypostasis, not indeed of a class or period or person, but of the substance which is

called matter. Often in the world of his thinking this substance travels incognito. Now it is nature; now the universal environment; now natural law—whether physical or psychological; and now fate, or even history—in the sense of a single, all-inclusive, self-perpetuating process that stampedes everything happening in its way; but in fact, if not in name, it is always matter. And because it is matter and because before matter all things are equal, prosaic details of the minutest sort are studied with great patience and with an amazing lack of humor and perspective. Because it is matter, too, and because as matter it is made to stand off and apart in an arbitrary independence, the up-to-date historian, though not in the smaller ways of his boastfully idealistic critics, is given to materialism. True, with only matter to consider, this being single in process and in law, his history can really have only one period and be the history of only one class of beings, but it is still materialistic, because it treats the great whole as if it were only another part, as if something were still outside of it, as if it were a fatal process imposing itself upon human life and robbing mankind of the last vestiges of interest and initiative. In a word the materialism, real as a tendency if not as a fully developed practice, of present-day history, is only the great materialism that has taken into itself all the others; the great beast or leviathan, that has swallowed all the smaller beasts, and has taken them in or swallowed them without assimilating them, without—could anything be so lacking in sense of humor?—learning the simple, easy lesson of all-inclusiveness. The ghosts of all it has devoured still look out through its unnatural eyes.

Why unnatural eyes? Because of the ghosts? Doubtless; but especially because of the lesson unlearned though so obvious. Those eyes are looking at what they refuse to see. They are looking at the whole without seeing that the whole cannot be outside of anything; at natural process, or history, without seeing that, if really all-inclusive, it cannot possibly be fate to anything; at material data or conditions, without seeing that the conditions can show only what life is, not what it has to be in spite of itself; or at necessity, without seeing that a recognized necessity cannot be more or less than a well-developed opportunity, that just because known the law that suggests necessity is evidence only of a real, substantial freedom already developed in the life of the knowers.

The special charge of materialism against history, then, is not without point. Moreover, it is true to the definition that was given here, for history has tended to treat its whole as if only another part. But the chief reproach in the charge is not so much the materialism as what I will call the superstition of materialism, the

illusion of the independent, arbitrary whole, from which it shows the historian to be suffering. Thus, in my opinion, the up-to-date history has been more superstitious than genuinely materialistic; perhaps because under the hypnotic influence of its critics, it has taken its materialism of the whole too seriously, assuming in consequence a false position, seeing or fearing to see what has no reality in fact, supposing fate, necessity, outside compulsion, or determination, where none can possibly exist.

I have no desire to be needlessly subtle, although for a moment I may now appear so. Under the definition of materialism, a materialism of the whole should somehow end in what a scientist might call the precipitation of something new or different, and only the persistence of the illusion or superstition referred to above can possibly prevent such an outcome. Thoroughness or wholeness, so to speak, constitutes a state of saturation; it makes the materialism too inclusive to remain intact, and under such conditions a precipitate should be looked for. The precipitate of a materialism of the whole, then, is—in lack of a better name—idealism; not of course the illusive idealism of the critics and detractors of history, not the idealism whose strength has lain in an opposition to materialism, but the idealism that comes with and through materialism as a natural consequence of real wholeness supplanting partiality.

Details, material conditions, and natural laws are all pertinent interests of history; but the materialistic illusion of the independent, arbitrary whole, before which all details are equal and conditions and laws mean external necessity and blind fate, has threatened to rob history of its proper interest and vitality, making it materialistic, when just by reason of its present tendencies, just because of its thoroughness, its regard to details, and its study of laws, it has a right to be deeply and genuinely idealistic. Recognition of this right would lead, I venture to believe and I have written this long article chiefly to say, to such a change in history as the stereoscope works upon a flat picture; it would give perspective where perspective has been lacking; dramatic movement—without loss of scientific virtuosity, where there has been only process or law.

The idea of the experience-whole, of the unity of experience, made much of in a preceding section, here comes to my aid, as I conclude. It led, as will be remembered, to emphasis of the importance of the person, in whom all the elements of experience were moving with greater or less power, with higher or lower development, and now, as the materialistic illusion of the independent whole is dispelled, as its precipitate, idealism, comes to view, the same emphasis is again possible. Thus, the idea of the unity of experience

suggests very clearly that in experience matter—under its own name or under any of its disguises—may have either one of two meanings. It may be a special thing, a distinct group of phenomena, or a general function capable of as many applications or expressions as there are relations in experience. Let me explain.

As to the first of the two meanings: if human nature in its unity does indeed include a physical part, then the outside physical or material world, details, conditions, laws, and all, can be but the special, isolated, why not say with real appreciation even the factional and technical and professional development of just that part, and as in general so here the genius of personality, ever quick with the whole unity of experience, or of human nature, is constantly reaping for its whole self the advantage of this particular professional development and association. How else justify natural poetry or art? or natural religion? How explain mechanical invention with its wonderful applications of material, natural resources to all sorts of human ends and purposes? How account for the sails and ships and the navigator's devices in general that enabled the trade-winds to discover America?

But, secondly, matter may be, and I think in actual use has had all the value of being, something more relative or more general, and therefore less tangible and specific than this. In my opinion it has often stood, not for a distinct thing, not for a specific and more or less independent group of phenomena, the so-called outer, material world, but rather for a very general relationship, in a word, for so much of reality as is concerned with maintaining, relatively to any one side of life, all other sides of life in the unity of experience. So regarded, it has the character of the general restraint that the unity of experience is always putting upon each and every expression of specialism and, as was suggested, it will have as many specific expressions as experience shows tendencies to specific development. Also, in this character, to recall the distinction that was used before, matter will be directly vital and personal—just for being such a general function in the unity of experience—rather than professional and fixedly specific as under the first meaning remarked here. So to speak, it will be a rôle in which every element of personal experience will have some part. Perhaps the fact that even the outer material world as men think of it is a decidedly ambiguous thing, being now the special world of technical physical science and now the world that includes, relatively to any one human being, all other human beings as well as all other classes and races, all other animals, all other things that live, and all other merely existent objects, may be cited in illustration and evidence of what is intended by the

idea of matter as of double meaning, as now a distinct, separate thing, specially and professionally developed, and now a general function vital to and in personality. Perhaps, too, it is worth while to add that in environment, nature, natural selection, the biologist must recognize, and to a certain extent has recognized, the same distinction between specific thing and general function, between the separate group of external phenomena and the vital function that belongs within every organism. Such an addition seems especially worth while because the historian and the evolutionist are bound to have a common interest.

But we now have before our view the two meanings of matter which the idea of the unity of experience has suggested. There is matter as the profession, class, or "kingdom", and there is matter as the function in personality; and it is hardly necessary to say that these two meanings are not at all incongruous. Simply they are both involved in the maintenance and development of experience. With apologies for the repetition, they are only a very general, perhaps the most general and most inclusive expression of the important difference, noted above, between the class-character and the unity of experience, between the technical and the personal expression of anything; and they show that a materialism of the whole not only precipitates idealism but also restores the person to history.

The person, member of all classes, or kingdoms, possesses vitally the whole; this whole permeates his entire nature. Materialism may deny him such membership and such possession, but idealism, coming with removal of the illusion of the independent whole, restores them. In the person history is seen to be an affair of the whole and to be at the same time vital, not fatal, not mechanical. And so history may gain anew the humanity and dramatic interest that to many it has appeared in serious danger of losing.

ALFRED H. LLOYD.

A CONTINENTAL CONGRESSMAN: OLIVER ELLSWORTH, 1777-1783.¹

OCTOBER 8, 1778, "Mr. Ellsworth, a delegate from Connecticut, attended and took his seat in Congress."² Occupied at home with so many other duties, Ellsworth had suffered nearly a year to elapse from the time of his first election before he took his place among the civil rulers of the loosely joined confederacy of states. Six years a delegate, he went to Philadelphia but five times in all. His first attendance, lasting a little over four months, ended February 19, 1779, when leave of absence was granted him. Beginning again in the middle of December, 1779, his name appeared on the roll-calls until the latter part of June, 1780; on July 3 another member was appointed to his place on a standing committee. Absent nearly a year, he reappeared at Philadelphia at the beginning of June, 1781, and sat until September. Returning on December 20, 1782, he sat until near the close of January. His final attendance was from April 1 until midsummer, 1783.³

Unfortunately, this sort of spasmodic membership was not exceptional. None of the states kept its full quota in constant attendance. Even the standing committees whose work was of an executive character were subject to incessant changes in their membership. It is no wonder that Washington, after pointing out in one of his letters that short enlistments were the cause of the worse embarrassments in the military line, promptly added, "*A great part of the embarrassments in the civil flow from the same source.*" So far as Congress

¹ This is the continuation of an article in the REVIEW for April, 1905, 534-564: "The Early Life of Oliver Ellsworth."

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 583.

³ *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut*, 459-460; *Journals of Congress*, V, 65, 451; VI, 103; VII, 118, 171, 177, 192-193; VIII, 45, 111, 124, 170, 291. Letters of Ellsworth, in the Trumbull collection and elsewhere, confirm certain of these dates. A letter written from Philadelphia to his brother David is dated January 9, 1778; but it seems clear that this was a slip, Ellsworth forgetting that a new year was begun. Another letter to the same brother, written from Philadelphia on November 10, 1779—more than a month before the journal record of Ellsworth's second appearance in Congress—is harder to explain. That he should have been there and yet not have taken his seat is scarcely credible. He speaks in the letter of the ill health of his father, and the only conjecture I can offer is that this or something else suddenly recalled him to Connecticut.

alone was concerned, the practice is in part attributable to economy, but in part also to the plain fact that the colonies, though they had united in declaring and in striving to achieve their independence, were as yet scarcely started on the road to a real union, to nationality. The members of Congress were delegates, hardly representatives. They were responsible collectively to their several states, rather than individually to their constituents. They were, in fact, held to a regular accounting with the governments of their states. Ellsworth's letters from Philadelphia to Governor Trumbull might almost be despatches from an ambassador to a secretary of state.¹ Ordinarily, he and his colleagues for the time being collaborated in joint epistles. All votes in the chamber were taken by states, and the vote of a delegation evenly divided on any question was lost.

Nevertheless, Ellsworth's work in the Continental Congress is not negligible, either from the point of view of a biographer or in a broader study of the times. It began before he went to Philadelphia. On December 11, 1777, Congress appointed him one of the five members of a committee to investigate the causes of the failure of an expedition into Rhode Island,² and Van Santvoord states also that he and two of his associates took a mass of testimony and presented a report.³ But the report led to no action by Congress, which was doubtless far too busy with other expeditions to carry out its purpose, announced in 1777, of accounting for all the expeditions that had failed.

In the autumn of 1778, when Ellsworth went at last to Philadelphia, the first fine ardors of the Revolution were long since spent. Both sides had come to see clearly the nature of the struggle, and that it was bound to be long and difficult, whichever side might win. For the leaders of the patriot cause there had been many bitter disappointments: from the loss of battles, from the falling away of the weaker-hearted in their own party, from convincing proofs of the enemy's superior strength in wealth and discipline and numbers. But at least, on the other hand, the cause they fought and worked for was now by the Declaration of Independence, and by many other acts equally significant and irrevocable, completely blazoned to the

¹ Most of these letters, probably all, are in the Trumbull collection in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The more important are printed in the society's *Collections*, fifth series, IX, X, seventh series, II, III. Some are also to be found in Flanders's life of Ellsworth in his *Lives and Times of the Chief Justices*. Through the kindness of the society's librarian, however, I have been permitted to use the originals, and my references are to these.

² *Journals of Congress*, III, 545, 571-572.

³ George Van Santvoord, *Lives and Judicial Services of the Chief-Justices*, 199.

world. They were no longer fighting for a mere redress of grievances; they were trying to keep alive a new member of the family of nations. France had already recognized them, and was aiding them with money, with ships, with soldiers. Nor had success in arms been wholly wanting. Save in the desperate counter-strokes at Trenton and Princeton, Washington's army, it is true, had never won a decided victory in a pitched battle; but Burgoyne and his army were captives, and the grand strategy of the enemy for the year 1777 had undeniably failed. Emerging the next spring from his supreme ordeal at Valley Forge, Washington had been cheered by the news of the treaty with France, and then by Sir Henry Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia. In June he had fought at Monmouth a pitched battle which was at least indecisive, and which, but for the misconduct of Charles Lee, might well have been a victory. That he and his little armies could do no more was the fault—so far as it was a fault at all—of the states, which did not adequately recruit or arm or supply them, and of a central government which was still but little more than a government by consent. The Articles of Confederation, which would serve, so soon as they should be ratified, to give the authority of a written agreement to such concessions of power as they made to Congress, had been laid before the legislatures of the states; but these were slow to ratify. Meanwhile, through its standing committees, Congress was discharging as best it could the various functions of a proper government; by requisition on the states and borrowing abroad it was doing what it could to procure the means to keep the armies in the field.

The Continental legislature, which had been, at its first session, the ablest group of men ever at one time gathered under one roof in America, had naturally lost to the new state governments and to foreign courts a number of its most illustrious members. Franklin and John Adams were in Europe. Jay and Henry and Jefferson and John Rutledge were occupied with high services to their several states. Washington, of course, was in the field. At the first roll-call after Ellsworth took his seat, only thirty-two delegates answered to their names. But some of the names that were answered to would have shone on any list. To that particular roll-call Samuel Adams and Gerry, Roger Sherman, Witherspoon, Richard Henry Lee, Laurens, and Drayton responded. Gouverneur Morris was a member, though not then present, and, for a little while longer, Robert Morris also. In a few weeks, John Jay took his seat from New York.

It is doubtful, however, if any of these men surpassed in wisdom,

or in experience and influence, the colleague whom Ellsworth found awaiting him, and whose name is signed with his to several letters which were despatched to Governor Trumbull in the next few weeks. Roger Sherman was by this time a veteran in continental politics, and we know that Ellsworth profited to the full by the older statesman's counsel and friendship. He once declared that he had taken the character of Sherman for his model; and on this confession John Adams, it is said, made comment that it was praise enough for both.¹ They worked together on many occasions for the interest of Connecticut and the good of the whole country, and though they frequently differed, and their names appeared on opposite sides on various questions, no jealousy or personal antagonism of any sort between them has ever come to light.

The dry and meager *Journals* of the Congress reveal but little of the human quality of the debates, which were always secret. To read them seems a tiresome and not a particularly profitable sort of historical delving until, dismissing the notion that our American political system was "struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man",² the student comes to understand that he is groping among the roots of institutions which are now grown to a colossal power and reach. Ellsworth, for example, was soon assigned to three standing committees which may be regarded as the rudimentary forms of three great departments of our present government. One was the Marine Committee, which a little later became the Board of Admiralty; by another change, its duties were later devolved upon a sort of department of naval affairs, headed by a secretary or manager whose counterpart under the Constitution is the secretary of the navy. The second, already styled the Board of Treasury, attained, through much the same succession of changes, a like ancestral relationship to the present Department of the Treasury. The third was the Committee of Appeals; and that, it is now quite clear, was the first forerunner of the present Supreme Court of the United States; its work was the beginning of all our federal jurisprudence. Naturally, in view of what came after, Ellsworth's membership in it has been singled out as the most significant fact of his first term of service.

¹ Longacre and Herring's *National Portrait Gallery*, IV, sketch of Ellsworth, 8 (108).

² Yet Gladstone's famous sentence is not deserving of the ridicule and the downright contradiction which it has occasionally drawn forth. It is only by contrast with the British Constitution, "the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and the long gestation of progressive history", that he attributes to the American Constitution so instantaneous a birth. *North American Review*, CXXVII, 185.

And the *Journals*, indeed, supply us with no great mass of facts to choose from. They inform us¹ that he voted aye on two sets of resolutions, of a distinctly New England flavor and opposed mainly by delegates from the south, proclaiming the necessity of a very strict morality among a people fallen on such evil times, and condemning, in most pointed terms, the evil amusements of playgoing, gaming, and horse-racing. They also tell us how he voted on a few other questions, none, however, of a nature to indicate his general views. With R. H. Lee, Bartlett, and Samuel Adams, he served on a special committee to attend to a memorial from Governor Trumbull calling attention to the unrewarded services and sacrifices of his son, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, who had been the commissary-general of the army.² He was on another special committee to look into certain seizures of property at the time when Philadelphia was evacuated by the British³; and he was also on the committee which, after investigating fully Robert Morris's management, through the firm of Morris and Willing, of certain large purchases for the army, not merely exonerated Morris from all the charges against his integrity, but praised him highly for ability and patriotism.⁴ This report may very well have opened the way for the later determination of Congress to put Morris in control of the Continental finances. *Per contra*, when charges were brought against Benedict Arnold, who was at this time in command at Philadelphia, living beyond his means, consorting most with an aristocratic and decidedly Tory set in the society of the gayest of all colonial cities, and about to be married to the beautiful daughter of a prominent Tory family, Ellsworth voted against a motion to postpone investigation.⁵ Another important assignment was to a committee of all the states, charged to investigate the disputes among our agents abroad and to consider the whole subject of our foreign relations. When it reported, Congress voted to recall several of our representatives at European courts and adopted rules intended to prevent disagreements and conflicts of authority such as that which had arisen between Silas Deane and Arthur Lee.⁶ His last assignment was to a committee which conferred with Washington about the office of inspector-general.

Unfortunately, too, his letters do not greatly increase our knowl-

¹ *Journals of Congress*, IV, 590, 602-603.

² *Ibid.*, 597.

³ *Ibid.*, 614.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 28, 49-51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶ *Secret Journals of Congress*, II, 517, 525 ff.

edge of the clearly active and varied part which he was already playing at Philadelphia. The letters to Trumbull for this term of service are all joint epistles; the first two signed by Sherman and Ellsworth, the remainder, written after Sherman had gone home, by Eliphalet Dyer, Ellsworth, and Jesse Root. Like most joint letters, they are dry and matter-of-fact; but if they had been written by Ellsworth alone they would not, in all probability, have been much more readable. Three or four letters which he did write at this time to his younger brother, David, have been preserved.¹ The first of them² begins with a "Dear Sir", and another "Sir", with a comma, precedes "your affectionate brother" at the end. It runs:

Neither the business of Congress, nor amusements of this gay City have been able to make me forget my friends at Windsor. Among others of them you in particular have my most constant remembrance and continued good wishes. If in anything at this distance I can serve you, you will oblige me by letting me know it. Do you want any [thing] that I could purchase for you here? Almost everything is to be bo't here tho' at exorbitant prices. A principal object under consideration of Congress at present is if possible to establish the credit of the currency, and so to reduce prices. The best time to have done this is indeed past. I do not, however, despair of its being affected yet. My little family I suppose are now at Windsor and doubt not they have your particular care to make them comfortable in my absence, and the rather as you have none of your own yet to be concerned for. I desire a suitable remembrance to all our family.

It is not a particularly unfavorable specimen of Ellsworth's epistolary style during these years of absorbing work. As he grew older, more signs of culture began to appear in his rare letters, and also—for in this, too, he was a New England type—a bit more of himself and his human interests and affections, and even, here and there, mild displays of humor. But the Revolutionary statesmen were not, as a rule, amusing correspondents. As a group, they strike one as uncommonly serious-minded and self-contained.³ Such high spirits as Gouverneur Morris sometimes displayed were rare among them. Ellsworth's allusion to his brother's lack of any family of his own may have been meant for a sly hint of a suspicion that the other was soon to be married. A little later,⁴ the fact of an engagement being announced, he wrote his congratulations. But the nearest he came to a joke on an occasion which might be con-

¹ For copies, I am indebted to Mr. G. E. Taintor, of Hartford, Conn.

² October 25, 1778.

³ Professor Barrett Wendell has somewhere amiably described them as the group of "grave and learned obstetricians who presided at the birth of their country".

⁴ January 26, 1779.

sidered somewhat favorable for a bit of teasing was to wish that Goshen, the town in which the young woman lived, might prove to be flowing in milk and honey. "Everybody", he again breaks off from his brother's affair to say, "is now thinking and talking about the paper currency." No doubt the pleasure-loving set in Philadelphia, which Arnold preferred to his sober Whig acquaintance, found Ellsworth and his fellows less to their liking than André and the other young English officers whom these preoccupied patriots had displaced.

The letters to Trumbull also are largely devoted to the currency. That problem, and the almost equally discouraging delay of the states in ratifying the Articles, were at this time causing the greatest anxiety among all thoughtful Whigs. The Continental issues of paper money were depreciated to such a point that it was seen clearly that something radical must be done to give them higher value, or else some other medium must be contrived. Meanwhile, led by Maryland, certain states which had no claims to western lands were insisting that the states which did have such claims ought to surrender them to the general government, and were demanding that concession as a condition of their acceptance of the Articles.

In October Sherman and Ellsworth wrote to Trumbull¹:

The affair of finance is yet unfinished; the arrangement of the board of treasury is determined on, but the officers are not yet appointed. To-morrow is assigned for their nomination. The members of Congress are united in the great object of securing the liberties and independence of the States; but are sometimes divided in opinion about particular measures.

New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, they reported, had not yet ratified the Articles. These states were asking, not merely that the western lands should be ceded to the confederacy, but that out of those lands grants should be made to the soldiers of all the states. Sherman and Ellsworth added:

Perhaps if the Assembly of Connecticut should resolve to make grants to their own troops, and those raised by the States of Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, in the lands south of Lake Erie, and west of the lands in controversy with Pennsylvania,² free of any purchase money or quit-rents to the government of Connecticut, it might be satisfactory to those States and be no damage to the State of Connecticut.

¹ October 15, 1778, Trumbull Papers.

² Meaning the Susquehanna lands, claimed by Connecticut and by Pennsylvania; the dispute was now pending before a tribunal established by Congress. The "lands south of Lake Erie" included, of course, the region later known as the Connecticut Western Reserve.

This was doubtless one of the first suggestions looking to that qualified cession of her western claims which Connecticut made a few years later. It was also with gifts of western lands that the state finally compensated her soldiers and other of her citizens who had lost or suffered by the war.

In January,¹ Trumbull having made inquiries about the progress of confederation, Ellsworth, Dyer, and Root replied that Delaware and Maryland still held out, and that it was a question whether the assent of the other eleven was binding without theirs. Early in February,² they could write that only Maryland now held out; but the little state, as the event proved, was stubborn and resolved enough to hold out two years longer, and until, by extorting from the claimant states the cessions she demanded, she had accomplished for them all a long step toward the real union they were all so sadly in need of.

As to the finances, the Connecticut delegates had the pleasure to inform the governor, early in November,³ that his son had been unanimously chosen to the head of the new arrangement of the treasury; and at the beginning of the new year they transmitted the measures adopted by Congress "to relieve its sinking credit and possibly gradually to appreciate its value. A portion of every day", they added, "was set apart for that purpose, and [it] was not closed till Saturday night last. We thought it prudent to detain Brown⁴ till we could transmit to you the proceedings of Congress on that subject, lest his return without any intelligence might fix the impression on the minds of the people that Congress was only amusing them with bare pretences, while in fact they meant to have the bills die in the possessors' hands."⁵ Detaining the messenger another day, they sent on the apportionment of a tax of fifteen million dollars which Congress had voted to request the states to raise. Connecticut's quota was one million seven hundred thousand dollars, and her delegates pointed out that it could be paid more easily at once, while the Continental bills were sunk so low, than later, when, it was hoped, these would rise in value. Of other not unimportant matters they also wrote, and always with both ardent patriotism and good common-sense; and from time to time they communicated tidings from various quarters of moment to the great cause.

¹ January 4, 1779, Trumbull Papers.

² February 11, 1779.

³ November 10, 1778.

⁴ A messenger who was constantly traveling backward and forward between Philadelphia and Hartford.

⁵ January 4, 1779, Trumbull Papers.

But there is nothing of the Committee of Appeals. Quite probably, Ellsworth did not divine that of all his duties in the Congress that was the most distinguished. It may well have taken him years to perceive how truly constructive was the work which he and his fellow-committeemen happened upon the chance to do. He does not seem to have moved very fast in the direction of nationalism and the advocacy of a stronger government. Perhaps the zeal of his own state, up to this time, in all that pertained to the cause, kept him from seeing how inadequate the independent action of thirteen states in the management of their common interests must in the long run prove. As to the necessity of some sort of federal court or courts to sit on cases which it would be obviously unfair to submit, for final decision, to the courts of any one state, only the actual coming up of such cases, and not the forethought of any state or statesman, first made it plain. One such controversy was that which had arisen between Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the ownership of the Susquehanna country. But the class of controversies to which this belonged was not large enough to create of themselves a clear necessity for a permanent tribunal. The system of privateering which Congress early authorized, and the beginning of a navy, soon, however, led to disagreements that were numerous and clearly of a nature to demand adjudication by some Continental court. Prompted by Washington,¹ Congress, after some delay, set up a standing committee "to hear and determine upon appeals brought against sentences passed on libels in the courts of Admiralty in the respective States."²

By the time Ellsworth became a member of it, this committee had disposed of thirty-eight appeals,³ and there had been no resistance to its authority. It sat in the state-house at Philadelphia,⁴ and appeals were coming in regularly. But when he had been about a month a member one was received which led very quickly to a questioning of the power of the committee and of Congress. The cause is therefore deservedly celebrated, and Ellsworth's sitting on the somewhat anomalous tribunal which tried it may well be accounted one of the accidents which help to shape even the least haphazard of careers.

It was the case of *Thomas Houston versus* the sloop *Active*,

¹ *Writings of Washington* (Sparks's ed.), III, 154-155.

² *Ibid.*, 196-197; *Journals of Congress*, III, 43, 174.

³ J. C. Bancroft Davis, 131 *U. S. Reports*, appendix, xxiv, xxv, xli.

⁴ J. Franklin Jameson, "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court", in his *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States*, 31.

appealed from the Pennsylvania Court of Admiralty,¹ where it had been tried before a jury. The committee reversed the decision; but when the case was remanded to the state court the Pennsylvania judge, though he acknowledged the committee's jurisdiction, was unwilling to disregard the jury's award. Instead, he ordered the marshal to sell the sloop and cargo and bring the proceeds into court. The claimants who had been worsted before the jury thereupon moved the committee for an order to the marshal to execute its decree. This motion was pending when the committee, receiving a warning from Benedict Arnold that it must act quickly if it would assert its authority, and urged also by the claimants, assembled one morning at eight o'clock and granted an injunction to restrain the marshal from paying into the judge's hands the sum obtained by the sale. The injunction was, however, disregarded, and in this way there arose the first clear conflict between the judicial authority of a state and of the United States. The committee found itself as powerless to enforce its decree as Congress was to enforce its requisitions. Fearing to endanger the public peace by prolonging the controversy, it merely entered in its minutes that it would take no further action in the matter "until the authority of the court be so settled as to give full efficacy to their decrees and process".

But that was not the end of the case. Nearly thirty years later, it came in another form before John Marshall and his associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States,² and there was another collision with the authorities of Pennsylvania before the decision of the court, sustaining the committee, was finally carried into effect.

Nor was it the end of the Committee of Appeals. When it rendered its report, Congress referred the matter first to a special committee and then to a committee of the whole house. It was debated for two entire days, and a series of resolves was passed, over the opposition of the Pennsylvania delegates, insisting that Congress and the committee were within their powers in all that they had done. These resolves were later transmitted to the legislatures of all the states, that they might "take effectual measures for conforming therewith".³ Several states did make formal concession of the right of appeal to Congress in cases of capture.

Ellsworth had left before these steps were taken, but he was back in his seat, and again a member of the committee, when the

¹ 5 Cranch's Reports, 115 ff.; 131 U. S. Reports, appendix, xxix-xxxiv.

² United States vs. Peters, 5 Cranch's Reports, 115 ff.

³ Journals of Congress, V, 43, 86-90, 217.

next stage of this institutional development was reached. That was in January, 1780,¹ when Congress resolved "That a court be established for the trial of all appeals from the courts of admiralty in these United States, in cases of capture, to consist of three judges, appointed and commissioned by Congress". A week later three able lawyers were named for this first federal court, one of them Ellsworth's colleague, Titus Hosmer.² Once or twice thereafter Congress had occasion to defend the course it had taken on the question of prizes, but the Articles of Confederation conceded the authority it had already exercised, and the court remained in existence until 1786, when it ceased to sit merely because there were no more cases on its docket. By his share in creating it Ellsworth—no doubt unwittingly—had been training his hand for the noblest task it ever found to do; and in his membership of the committee which preceded it he had had an experience which must have proved of value in the highest office he was ever to hold.³ Characteristically, however, he has left no record of these things in any of his letters.

But, even if he had been a more voluminous letter-writer, this would not be surprising. Other needs of the struggling young government were much more imperative than the need of a judiciary. In the winter and spring of 1779-1780, it was again the finances that absorbed the attention and activity of Congress; and Ellsworth, even before he returned to Philadelphia, had been occupied with a scheme of betterment—albeit a bad one. The eastern states were trying to unite on a plan to remedy the evil of a depreciating currency, and they hit upon the hopeless and vicious plan of a limitation of prices by law. Massachusetts taking the lead, a convention for that purpose was held at Hartford in October, 1779, and Ellsworth was one of the four Connecticut delegates. It was agreed that Connecticut and New York should pass laws to limit prices similar to those already passed by the three states to the eastward; resolutions were adopted in favor of raising more money by taxation and of repealing certain state embargoes; and all the states as far "west" as Virginia were invited to send representatives to a larger convention for limiting prices, to be held at Philadelphia in January. To this

¹ January 15, *ibid.*, VI, 14.

² *Ibid.*, 17.

³ The history of the Committee of Appeals and the Court of Appeals is carefully given in J. F. Jameson's "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court", in his *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States in the Formative Period*, and by J. C. B. Davis in the "Centennial Appendix" to 131 *U. S. Reports*. These two writers have left little to be discovered on the subject. See also Hampton L. Carson's *History of the Supreme Court* (Philadelphia, 1892), 48-64.

also Ellsworth was a delegate. When it met, however, four of the invited states failed to appear. There were adjournments from day to day, an adjournment without day, a reassembling on the arrival of delegates from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, more adjournments from day to day, a call on New York and Virginia, which had not yet acted, and then an adjournment to April, in hope that they would act.¹ But they never acted, and the convention never reassembled. Congress had been brought to favor the plan, but it could not bring the states into agreement.

It was as well that they never did agree. No such expedient as this would have done any good of itself, and it might have delayed more hopeful measures. The Continental currency could not be saved by anything short of peace and the lodging of the power to tax in the government which had issued it. It had sunk so low by this time that those who held supplies would hardly exchange them for the notes at any price. In January Ellsworth wrote to Governor Trumbull that in the neighborhood of the army meal was selling at eight dollars the quart, and corn at half a dollar the ear.² Congress had in fact already decided to abandon the old method of obtaining supplies, to issue no more bills of credit, and to make no more money requisitions on the states. It was trying, instead, a plan of requisitions for specific commodities. Washington had led the way by calling on the state of New Jersey for food for his army, and naming the kind and quality of provisions which he expected from each of the several counties. His demand was met with an unexpected promptness, and about the same time Connecticut also sent on to the half-starved troops a supply of beef.³ To superintend the new method, Congress—as was its wont when there was executive work to do—appointed a committee; and to this committee Ellsworth was assigned the day after he took his seat.⁴ The service was doubtless as laborious as it was obscure. It brought him neither fame nor any other compensation. Indeed, the time when distinction could be won in the Congress seemed to be past. The famous names on the roll of members were fewer than ever. In March Madison took his seat as a delegate from Virginia, but the young man was as yet scarcely known beyond the boundaries of his native state. Ellsworth, it is clear from his letters, had no desire to linger at Phila-

¹For both conventions, *Connecticut State Records*, II, 414-415, 562-579; letters from Ellsworth, and from Sherman and Ellsworth, to Trumbull, in the Trumbull Papers.

²January 14, 1780, Trumbull Papers.

³*Ibid.*

⁴December 17, 1779, *Journals of Congress*, V, 452.

delphia.¹ Yet this was the longest of all his attendances. Just historians can only deplore their inability to paint in glowing and attractive colors the sober, silent, uninviting labors for great causes which deserve, but cannot win, the highest celebrity and praise. A single brilliant exploit in the field, a single eloquent sentence on some dramatic occasion, would doubtless have done more to keep alive the memory of a man like Ellsworth or his colleague, Sherman, than all the patience, judgment, energy, and devotion with which, through many weary weeks and months, they gave themselves to the things which no one wished to do, yet which must be done, and could only be done by men of first-rate ability.

The new plan for supplies seemed for a while to be working fairly well. Late in January, Sherman and Ellsworth wrote to Trumbull, telling of the failure of the scheme to limit prices, but ended cheerfully: "It is with pleasure however we can add, that there appears to be in the states generally a good forwardness to furnish their quotas of taxes and other supplies, which, aided by measures now under consideration, it is hoped may produce effects equally salutary."² A few days later, Ellsworth wrote again, "The supplies and prospects of the army are now comfortable."³ But the business affairs of the Confederation could never be kept in a good train until the currency should be reformed. About the same time, Ellsworth was writing to his brother David, "I cannot tell you when we shall have peace or good money."

The outcome of the long and anxious debating of Congress over

¹ A letter to his brother David, dated March 24, 1780, shows how little ambition had to do with his being there, and in what spirit he consented to remain:

"I still continue to be favored with good health", he wrote. "I hope you and sister enjoy the same and that you have a great deal of pleasure in tending your baby, which I suppose by this time is beginning to talk so that you can almost understand it. As to the old horse, for I conclude that next to the baby you still think of him, having so often tended and combed him, and so often rode him forth in courting and in war, I have him yet on hand, and now and then I mount and ride him—for a long time he gained no flesh and was much swelled in his legs and other parts but he now thrives and prances well and I shall probably sell him well by and by.

"When I came away I expected to have returned home before this time, but nobody is yet arrived to take my place, tho' I have encouragement that there will be soon. It would be both more pleasing and more profitable to me to return home to my own family and business than to remain here any longer at this time, but you know when a soldier goes forth in publick service he must stay until he is discharged, and though the weather be stormy and his allowance small yet still he must stand to his post. All this you understand well by experience."

² January 26, 1780, Trumbull Papers.

³ January 30, 1780, *ibid*.

the problem of the currency was a determination to abandon the Continental paper already in circulation. The plan agreed upon was to sink the Continental bills of credit and issue new bills on the credit of the several states. These, it was thought, would be effectually secured against depreciation by keeping the quantity of them down, by providing funds for their redemption, by the shortness of the period, by paying interest, and by adding to the credit of the states the guaranty of the United States. Six-tenths of the issue was to be turned over at once to the several states, which could then purchase for cash the specific supplies for which they were requisitioned.

These and other details of the plan were communicated to Governor Trumbull by Sherman and Ellsworth. Hastily written as their letter was,¹ dry and matter-of-fact though it is, it would probably be hard to find another contemporary document, unless it should be some letter of Robert Morris himself, setting forth more correctly the state of the finances at this time and the actual working of the new government in that department. Taken with a letter of Trumbull, then on its way to the delegates, telling what Connecticut had done of her own motion—that is to say, no doubt, of Trumbull's motion—to establish the credit of the state by "*the efficacy of honest truth*" in dealing with the public creditor, it well exhibits the sort of patriotism in civil office that alone made possible the final victory of the armies.² The crisis weighed so heavily on Ellsworth's mind that three days later he wrote again to the governor, and in a style that was, for him, uncommonly moved and personal. This letter runs:³

Permit me as a private citizen to express my wishes that the late resolutions of Congress on the subject of finance may meet your Excellency's approbation and support. Your Excellency must have long seen with alarming apprehensions the crisis to which a continued depreciation of the paper currency would one day reduce our affairs. It is now, Sir, just at hand. Without more stability in the medium, and far more ample supplies in the treasury than for months past, it will be impossible for our military preparations to proceed, and the army must disband. The present moment is indeed critical, and if let slip the confusion and distress will be infinite. This, Sir, is percisely the point of time for the several Legislatures to act decidedly and in a manner that the world will forever call wise. It is now in their power by a

¹ March 20, 1780, Trumbull Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, seventh series, III, 26-28.

² For a somewhat gloomier view of the situation, see a letter from Madison to Jefferson, written one week later. *The Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 59-61.

³ March 23, 1780, Trumbull Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, seventh series, III, 28-29.

single operation to give a sure establishment for publick credit, to realize the publick debt at its just value, and, without adding to the burdens of the people, to supply the treasury. To furnish one common ground to unite their exertions upon for the accomplishment of these great purposes, your Excellency will easily perceive to be the spirit and design of the resolutions above referred to. They speak a language too plain to need any comment. I will only add concerning them that they have been the product of much labor and discussion; and tho' some States may have reason for thinking they are not the best possible, yet they are the best Congress could agree upon; and should these be rejected I confess I do not well see on what ground the common exertions of the several States are to be united and continued hereafter.

Never eloquent on paper, Ellsworth here reveals, more fully than in any earlier writing that has come down to us, how deeply his reserved, cautious, but constant nature was moved by whatever affected the cause he was toiling for in such unshowy ways. Washington might have written very much in this fashion; indeed, there are letters of his to governors and to Congress that are not dissimilar in tone. Biographers of Washington are not wrong in praising his incessant wrestling with Congress and the states for the means to carry out his plans; but they sometimes, one feels, fail to remember that Congress could not do more than it was doing. Throughout the spring and well into the summer Ellsworth was still occupied with the baffling task of Congress to secure money without taxation. At last, in June, as a member of another committee, he helped to carry through a plan which proved to be the beginning of better things.¹ It was Robert Morris's scheme of a subscription to secure supplies for the army, with the guaranty of Congress that the subscribers should be repaid; and it took a form which made it, if not precisely a bank itself, the predecessor of the first of the national banks. Ellsworth's committee having reported in favor of the proposal, it was hastily indorsed, the guaranty was given, and a standing committee, with Ellsworth at its head, was appointed to coöperate with the officers. The relief it gave to Washington can scarcely be overestimated.

Meanwhile Ellsworth's letters, taking a wider and wider range, had been keeping the governor informed of many things which he might otherwise have been slow to learn. For the enemy were now transferring their activities to the south, and the wiser heads were also looking, more and more hopefully, to Europe, where diplomacy was much engaged with American affairs.

Ellsworth watched the movements of our allies and the general

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VI, 95.

European situation with a clear understanding that the outcome of our struggle did not depend on our own exertions alone¹; and he was also not unmindful of the work of the Spaniards along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico—an episode of the conflict which historians have generally underestimated or neglected—but followed with an interest justified by the outcome the expedition of Galvez against the British province of West Florida. In a letter written in May, he discussed, with what was for him unusual fullness and freedom, the state of England and the general character and prospects of our struggle.²

England, he declared, could not obtain in Europe any help whatever in her warfare with America. She was, therefore, going on with a pretense of self-sufficiency—"much perhaps as a merchant sometimes on the eve of bankruptcy makes an uncommon parade of wealth and business, in order to keep up the delusion till chance may have had time to achieve something in his favour." Moreover, England was, he thought, ready to be crushed with debt. Her revenues being fully charged with the interest, she could only hope to reduce the principal "by a sponge or revolution". Meanwhile, county conventions in various parts of the kingdom were forming, under the first characters, bent upon reducing within proper bounds both the public expenditures and the powers of the crown. He argued from all this that Great Britain would soon "cease from troubling us".

Ellsworth was here deceiving himself, as were others also, concerning the imminence of a collapse of England's credit. Her marvelous powers of endurance and recovery, and the soundness of her financial system, were soon to bear the test of wars far longer and more costly than the war in America. But he was wise to draw encouragement, even at a time when all the news from the southward was bad news, from England's international isolation and from the temper of the English people themselves; an admirable English historian of the period³ is making it clearer than ever that from first to last a great part of the people of England, possibly the greater part, opposed the policy of the king and his ministers with the colonies. Ellsworth had soon to announce to the governor that Charleston had fallen early in May, and before he returned to Connecticut the enemy were overrunning the Carolinas. Gates's defeat at Camden and Arnold's treason at West Point were still to

¹ January 26, 1780, Trumbull Papers.

² May 9, Trumbull Papers.

³ Sir George Otto Trevelyan.

follow. Yet the chances are that during the long period which elapsed before he was again in Congress he remained—and not without reason—hopeful of a final victory.

Perhaps his entering on the duties of yet another office was one of the reasons why this time he stayed so long away from Philadelphia. He was this year chosen a member of the governor's council, and the governor's council in Connecticut, besides its merely advisory function, was the upper house of the legislature; and the legislature was still the supreme court of errors. Membership in the council, therefore, was not a sinecure, but imposed activities that were now executive, now legislative, and now judicial. As Ellsworth remained a member until 1785, and was still district attorney for Hartford county, he held, from this time until the end of the war, apart from whatever share he still had in the work of the Pay Table, three public offices. It should be added that in 1779 he had been chosen to the Connecticut council of safety for a year. Few Continental Congressmen can have had better excuses for their absences.¹

When he did go back, in June, 1781, it was for the least important, as well as the briefest, of his terms of service. Ill health was his reason for cutting it so short. As early as the first of August he wrote to Trumbull that he found himself too unwell for a constant attendance in Congress, and that his family and business also called him home. He urged, therefore, that some other member of the delegation be sent on by the first of September.

Meanwhile Sherman was again his colleague, and they wrote somewhat more cheerfully than the year before concerning the state of the finances and the outlook for the cause. For one thing, the Articles of Confederation were now in force. Other facts of the situation, hopeful and discouraging, are set forth in a letter from Sherman and Ellsworth to Trumbull, written early in July.² They reported that in the market at Philadelphia the prices of many articles of country produce were nearly as low for hard money as before the war, but that the new Continental and state bills were no better than five for one in specie. Robert Morris had lately entered into the office of Superintendent of Finance, and much was expected from his abilities. No journals of Congress had been printed since December, for want of money to pay the expense. The regulation of the clothing department had been lately altered, and the several

¹ *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut, 1776-1781.*

² July 12, 1781, Trumbull. Papers.

states excused from procuring any accounts of the United States after the first day of September. The Connecticut delegates had opposed this change, fearing lest the army suffer by it, and feeling that the people could supply many articles of clothing much more easily than they could raise the money to buy them. It was expected that the emperor of Prussia and the empress of Russia would soon offer to mediate. Military affairs to the southward were also much more hopeful.

Still, there was work enough to do, and Ellsworth had his share of it. Morris's management of the finances had doubtless convinced Congress by this time that all the departments ought to have single heads, and Ellsworth served on the committee to apply this principle to the marine.¹ Other subjects with which he dealt as a member of various committees were General Greene's conduct of the southern campaign, the pay of delegates from several southern states too poor to sustain their representatives, the traitorous commerce of New-Yorkers with the enemy, and a proposed convention with France concerning the interchange of consuls, vice-consuls, and agents.² On several of these committees Madison, now by long continuous attendance risen to much influence, was also a member. Van Santvoord, closely studying the motions and the roll-calls on questions of a sectional nature, finds that on all such issues Ellsworth stood with his New England colleagues, sometimes clearly opposing the interests of South Carolina and other southern states, which were now championed in Congress by John Rutledge. It is true that on a motion to send some arms into South Carolina for the use of the militia Ellsworth moved to amend by leaving the disposition of the arms entirely to Greene.³ He also wished to postpone, perhaps to kill, a motion to relieve certain wretched inhabitants of South Carolina, recently released by a cartel from a cruel imprisonment.⁴ Georgia and the Carolinas having furnished supplies to the armies in that quarter, it was proposed to credit them with a proportionate allowance on their quotas of taxation, and this too he opposed. Unquestionably there was in Congress at this time plenty of sectional feeling and a lively bickering among the states. But these facts are not enough to prove that Ellsworth was ever governed by merely sectional devotions and antipathies. He did support the motion to provide for the unpaid southern delegates.⁵ Slow as

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VII, 141, 152.

² *Ibid.*, 157, 158, 165, 168, 177; *Secret Journals*, III, 20.

³ *Journals of Congress*, VII, 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

he was to follow Madison and Hamilton on the road to nationalism, he seems to have been rather exceptionally broad in his patriotism, keeping always first in his desires the objects that were common to men of the patriot party everywhere.

Before he came again to Philadelphia, the greatest of these objects was substantially secured. Peace had not been declared, but the fighting was over. Commissioners at Paris were negotiating with the envoys of England and of France treaties which, whatever else they might contain, would, it was soon quite certain, concede the independence of America.

Notwithstanding that it was fifteen months from his last appearance in Congress, it is clear that Ellsworth took again, and at once, a place among the leaders. Madison and Rutledge were still members, and in November, 1782, Alexander Hamilton had joined them. The *Journals* afford material for the inference that these three, with Ellsworth and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, were the foremost men in the chamber during the following winter and spring. Their names appear again and again whenever really important subjects are dealt with. Fortunately, also, we are no longer dependent entirely on the *Journals* for our knowledge of the proceedings. During the autumn, Madison, an admirable reporter, had begun to take down the substance of the speeches. Some months later the house voted down a motion of Hamilton to open its doors to the public whenever the finances should be up¹; but Madison's notes went far to open them for later generations.

There was at this time a distinct revival of energy in Congress. The end of the fighting, which had released some able men from military service to share in the debates, had also, of course, brought new questions to decide; and there were other questions, equally pressing, which had been held back until the peace should be achieved. Foremost of them all, however, was still the old and unsolved problem of how the general government was going to sustain itself and meet its obligations without the power to raise money either by customs duties or direct taxation. Morris had exhausted all his skill in borrowing; to pay the loans he had contracted, to redeem the still outstanding paper currency, to devise a sure and steady inflow of revenue—these things were beyond his power unless the states, as well as Congress, should hold up his hands. The Articles had left the right of laying taxes with the states; and these, now that the crisis was past, were sunk into a

¹ Ellsworth voted against this motion when it was renewed in April. *Ibid.*, VIII, 252.

stolid inactivity worse than that of two years earlier. Morris had to report that on the requisition of 1782 only South Carolina had paid her quota in full, and that was in supplies to troops within her borders. The proportions of their several quotas paid in by the other states ranged from one-fourth by Rhode Island down to one-one-hundred and twenty-first by New Hampshire. From three states nothing whatever had been received.¹ "Imagine", Morris wrote to Franklin in January, 1783, "the situation of a man, who is to direct the finances of a country almost without revenue, (for such you will perceive this to be) surrounded by creditors, whose distresses, while they increase their clamors, render it more difficult to appease them; an army ready to disband or mutiny; a government, whose sole authority consists in the power of framing recommendations."² It is no wonder that a fortnight later he wrote to Congress: "If effectual measures are not taken by [the end of May] . . . to make permanent provision for the public debts of every kind, Congress will be pleased to appoint some other man to be the Superintendent of their Finances."³ Nor is it any wonder that Congress did not accept his resignation. He yielded, and kept his office, perhaps in hope that through a change in the system something might be done to relieve both him and the country from their humiliating plight.

That was the pressing business of the hour. A few saw also beyond the hour and strove to turn the situation to such account that the system might be fitted for the permanent and constant duties of a real government in time of peace. Of these Hamilton was the ardent leader. Fresh from the office of Continental receiver for New York, he knew at first hand the utter inefficiency of requisitions as a means of revenue. During the summer he had drafted for the New York legislature some resolutions which were sent to Congress, urging a general convention to amend the Articles. He had come himself to Congress mainly to see if it were possible to build up, on the basis of the Articles, a government strong enough to live. Restless under makeshifts and impatient with incompetence, he went at his purpose with an energy that sometimes frightened where it did not overcome. Madison, who had long been gravitating to the same general desire, pursued it much more cautiously and tactfully. Wilson of Pennsylvania was an able third. Rutledge was the stoutest champion of the states. Ellsworth occupied the middle

¹ W. G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution*, II, 55.

² Sparks, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, XII, 310.

³ *Ibid.*, 326.

ground and took, for the time, a course that was moderate to the point of hesitation. In this he doubtless correctly represented his section; for in the movement for a stronger government New England had as yet but little share. Moreover, the delegates from Massachusetts had fallen below Connecticut's in point of ability and influence; and neither Rhode Island nor New Hampshire had a commanding voice. Unsustained by any clearly national impulse in the people behind him, and without support from any New England colleague of more than ordinary force, Ellsworth, not unnaturally, was slow to accept a leadership so radical and fiery as Hamilton's. He and Rutledge were soon again at issue over plans to relieve the state of South Carolina¹; but on the bigger issues he found himself at first quite as close to the South-Carolinian as to Hamilton and Madison and Wilson.

He had been but a few days in his seat when the whole subject of finance was again, in a most unpleasant fashion, forced to the front. Another scheme of revenue had come to failure. Nearly two years earlier Congress had asked from the states authority to lay an impost of five per cent. on all imports, and with this request all but two states had in some sort made compliance. Georgia had failed to act at all, but only Rhode Island, which derived a considerable revenue from imports intended for Connecticut, had positively refused. A committee was appointed to visit the greedy little state and urge the scheme upon her governors. But when the emissaries were about to take their departure, word came that Virginia also, having once consented to the impost, had now reversed her action.

This was at the end of 1782. Before a week of the new year was passed, a committee of officers from the army at Newburg arrived in Philadelphia with the solemnest and sternest of appeals for payment of the troops. Not even the constantly recurring rumors of peace with independence could long divert the members of Congress from what, in a letter home, Madison described as the cloud that was lowering on the North river. The one stubborn fact that overhung and darkened all things was the fact of bankruptcy. From this time until the middle of April, save for certain necessary interruptions to attend to the peace treaty, Congress, now by special committees, now by a general committee of the states, now in committee of the whole, was searching for a way to solvency and honor.

The debate took a wide range, for in the general problem there were many specific perplexities. The officers demanded not merely present pay but security for arrears, compensation for deficiencies in

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 48; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 316.

rations and clothing, and commutation of their half-pay for life, which Congress had already voted, into an equivalent in gross. There was the foreign debt, and Morris's statement that he could negotiate no more loans until the old were somehow secured and interest provided. There were the various forms of the domestic debt, with the claims of different classes of creditors and the frequently conflicting interests of the various states. But it all came back to the main question, How could money be obtained? Hamilton, Madison, and Wilson at once declared that nothing would serve but general or Continental taxes, whether by impost or excise. The states must grant this power to Congress, or the Confederation, now that it had won its independence, would fail from sheer and ignominious weakness. But a group of lesser men, led by Rutledge, and including Madison's own colleagues from Virginia, opposed this policy at every turn. They would adhere to the Articles; they feared and distrusted tyranny at home quite as much as they had feared and distrusted it in the Parliament and the king across the water; they would never consent to give into the same hands "the purse and the sword". This last was a favorite catch-phrase.

Ellsworth's first reported speech came on a day of general debate,¹ and Hamilton's reply to it, followed by Madison's cooler and more cautious argument, marks the high tide of the whole prophetically interesting discussion. The question was on Wilson's motion, modified by Madison, "That it is the opinion of Congress that the establishment of permanent and adequate funds to operate generally throughout the U. States is indispensably necessary for doing complete justice to the Creditors of the U. S., for restoring public credit and for providing for the future exigencies of the war."² When the two opposing views were set before the house,

Mr. Ellsworth acknowledged himself to be undecided in his opinion; that on one side he felt the necessity of continental funds for making good the continental engagements, but on the other desponded of a unanimous concurrence of the States in such an establishment. He observed that it was a question of great importance, how far the federal Gov^t can or ought to exert coercion against delinquent members of the confederacy; and that without such coercion no certainty could attend the constitutional mode which referred every thing to the unanimous punctuality of thirteen different councils. Considering therefore a continental revenue as unattainable, and periodical requisitions from Congress as inadequate, he was inclined to make trial of the middle mode of permanent State funds, to be provided at the recommendation of Cong^s, and appropriated to the discharge of the common debt.

¹ January 28, 1783, *ibid.*, 335-340.

² *Ibid.*, 334.

Hamilton's quick reply¹ disclosed the defect of his extraordinary quality. Too strenuous in his statesmanship to yield to merely politic considerations, and neglecting the one ground on which Ellsworth had criticized his policy—namely, that it was impracticable—he dwelt at length on the sure inadequacy of the other's proposal and then, utterly disregarding the suspicions of the states'-rights party, boldly avowed that one reason why he wished Congress to have the power in question was because the energy of the central government was, in general, far too slight. It was not strong enough, he said, to pervade the states and draw them into a union. He considered, therefore, that "it was expedient to introduce the influence of officers deriving their emoluments from and consequently interested in supporting the power of, Congress."

Madison saw the blunder, and jotted down in his notes—perhaps on the very instant:

This remark was imprudent and injurious to the cause w^{ch} it was meant to serve. This influence was the very source of jealousy which rendered the States averse to a revenue under collection as well as appropriation of Congress. All the members of Congress who concurred, in any degree with the States in this jealousy smiled at the disclosure. Mr. B[land] and still more Mr. L[ee], who were of this number took notice in private conversation, that Mr. Hamilton had let out the secret.²

A moment later, when Madison himself rose to speak for the resolution, he showed how indispensable to such a leadership as Hamilton's was his own perfect poise, his tact and courtesy, his patient fairness with all points of view. These two, wittingly or not, were already entered on the task of building for the young confederacy a true constitution of government. They were trying now to set in place the only corner-stone from which that edifice could possibly arise. It is doubtful if in the long struggle with public opinion which was thus beginning the quick and darting genius of Hamilton would ever have prevailed had there been no Madison to smooth the way, to placate opposition, to do, in fine, whatever genius leaves to talents, industry, and judgment—if, indeed, these gifts in Madison do not also deserve the name of genius. Stating first, with masterly clearness, the problem of the hour, he took up, one by one, the various plans suggested, and showed conclusively that none of them would work in practice without that great concession of the power to tax which states'-rights men revolted at.³ It is hard to see how any open mind could long hold out against his reasoning. Ellsworth, clearly, was one of those whose minds were open. The

¹ *Ibid.*, 335.

² *Ibid.*, 336.

³ *Ibid.*, 336-340.

next day, Wilson proposing an elaborate scheme of taxation, and Rutledge answering with a plan to ask the states to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports to pay the foreign debt, each state to be credited, on its quota of the debt, with such amounts as might be gathered at its ports, he criticized both proposals. Madison reports¹:

Mr. Elsworth thought it wrong to couple any other objects with the Impost; that the States would give this if any thing; and that if a land tax or an excise were combined with it, the whole scheme would fail. He thought however that some modification of the plan recommended by Cong.² would be necessary. He supposed when the benefits of this contin¹ revenue should be experienced it would incline the States to concur in making additions to it. He abetted the opposition of Mr. Woolcot³ to the motion of Mr. Rutledge which proposed that each State should be credited for the duties collected within its ports; dwelt on the injustice of it, said that Connecticut, before the revolution did not import $\frac{1}{10}$, perhaps not $\frac{1}{100}$, part of the merchandize consumed within it, and pronounced that such a plan w^d never be agreed to. He concurred in the expediency of new-modelling the scheme of the impost by defining the period of its continuance²; by leaving to the State the nomination, and to Congress the appointment of Collectors or vice versa; and by a more determinate appropriation of the revenue. The first object to which it ought to be applied was he thought, the foreign debt. This object claimed a preference as well from the hope of facilitating further aids from that quarter, as from the disputes into w^h a failure may embroil the U. S. The prejudices ag^t making a provision for foreign debts which s^d not include the domestic ones was he thought unjust and might be satisfied by immediately requiring a tax in discharge of which loan-office certificates should be receivable. State funds for the domestic debts would be proper for subsequent consideration. He added, as a further objection against crediting the States for the duties on trade respectively collected by them, that a mutual jealousy of injuring their trade by being foremost in imposing such a duty would prevent any from making a beginning.

He was still inclined to a compromise position, but the movement of his mind was plainly toward the policy of a stronger central government. Leaving about this time, he was gone till April, but very soon after his return it appeared that common-sense, and perhaps also a broadening sense of his own duty, were fast overcoming his states'-rights scruples. During his absence the party in favor of giving to the government strength enough to meet its obligations had had the better of it in debate. Events outside had been constantly supplying them with telling arguments and instances. Morris's letter, for a while kept secret, had been given to the country.

¹ *Ibid.*, 348-349.

² Oliver Wolcott, Sr., his colleague. Madison seems to have had a hard time with New England proper names, *e. g.*, Sherman appears sometimes as Sharman, Gorham, of Massachusetts, constantly as Ghoram, and Ellsworth as Elsworth.

³ The period proposed was twenty-five years.

France, the leading foreign creditor, had sharply demanded that Congress take some action on her claims and Holland's. The army's discontent had seemed for a time to be fast turning into mutiny. Washington, though he quelled the disposition toward violence, plainly declared that in his opinion his soldiers' wrath was just. By the middle of April, Congress was brought to a general scheme. It included both the federal impost of five per cent. and also, on certain articles of general use, specific duties. There was, besides, a requisition on the states based on population, instead of land, which was the basis fixed by the Articles; and it was agreed that in estimating population five negro slaves should count as three white freemen. Four years later, in the Federal Convention, these proposals became the basis of more than one quite momentous agreement. They passed on April 18, and Ellsworth voted for them. He had doubtless by this time quite abandoned his preference for permanent state funds. The proposals, however, were themselves a compromise. They were so far short of Hamilton's desire, and he had so little hope in them, that he would not vote for them. Nevertheless, he and Madison and Ellsworth were appointed a committee to commend them to the states. The moderate but strong address they sent out to the legislatures was the work of Madison. A fortnight later¹ Ellsworth wrote to Trumbull:

A plan of revenue for funding the publick debt, which has taken up much time in Congress, will be immediately forwarded for the consideration of the States, accompanied with the documents necessary to give information relating to that important subject. As was natural to expect at the close of so long a war, we find a considerable debt on our hands, which, all will agree, it much concerns our national character and prosperity to provide for, how various so ever may be the opinions as to the mode of doing it.

It is significant, also, that Ellsworth should have been set at the head of a committee of nine which was now at last appointed to consider the New York resolutions, which had been before Congress more than a year. It was a strong committee, names like those of Hamilton and Wilson coming after Ellsworth², but there is no record of anything done in the matter of a convention while Ellsworth was the chairman. This, however, does not prove that there was nothing done; for after the passage of the revenue measure Madison's notes grow scantier and he is constantly referring us to the keyhole glimpses which are all the *Journals* afford. We know that in June, backed by Hamilton, Ellsworth was urging Congress to

¹ May 13, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

² Bancroft, *History of the United States* (ed. of 1885), VI, 80, 99.

take a step essential to a stronger union by completing the transfer of Virginia's western claims to the Confederation.¹

Meanwhile, in foreign affairs also, and particularly in the business occasioned by the peace, he had been conspicuously employed. Early in the winter, when a Rhode Island delegate had wished permission to send to the governor of his state certain extracts from letters from Europe, Ellsworth and Hamilton served on a committee which reported against the proposal.² A few days later, with Hamilton and Madison, he reported in favor of a treaty of amity and commerce with the Netherlands. In this report, one of the longest ever made to the Congress, there was included the treaty itself and a series of forms and blanks for the various interchanges of officials and of courtesies which it called for. "Both the Committee and Congress", Madison remarks, "were exceedingly chagrined at the extreme incorrectness of the American copies of these national acts." The debate that followed led to a motion for the purchase of a few books of reference for the use of Congress in such cases, and that motion was, no doubt, the beginning of the history of the libraries of Congress and the Department of State. But it was not the actual beginning of those libraries. Not even "a few hundred pounds" could be spared for such a purpose.³

The first of May, while there was still nothing to go on but the preliminaries to the peace treaty, Ellsworth, Hamilton, and Rutledge reported, in reply to a letter from John Adams, instructions favorable to a treaty of commerce with Great Britain.⁴ Again with Hamilton and Madison, and with Wilson also, Ellsworth concurred in a report directing Washington to occupy the frontier forts as soon as the British should give them up.⁵ When the provisions of the treaty were fully known, he and Hamilton advocated a call on the states to carry out the recommendation concerning the Tories,⁶ and they were both on a committee which drew up an address to the states urging them to conform in all good faith to such provisions as had to do with confiscations and with debts due from Americans to Britons.⁷

¹ *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 474.

Journals of Congress, VIII, 88-89. He was also on the committee which reported against a claim of certain Rhode Island officers based on the depreciation of the money they were paid in.

² *Ibid.*, 91-109; *Secret Journals*, III, 289-318; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 318-319.

³ *Secret Journals*, III, 340. Madison ridicules this letter of Adams for its palpable self-seeking and self-praise, *Writings* (Hunt's ed.), I, 461.

⁴ May 12, *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 259.

⁵ *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 463.

⁶ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 266-268; *Secret Journals*, III, 355-357.

Ellsworth was one of those in whom the war had left but little rancor. He was also one of those who felt, even at this time, that the United States had nothing to gain from any lowering of England's rank among the nations. Writing to Trumbull, he argued that England's debt, and the great expense of her peace establishment, which in his judgment had forced her to treat with America, would also probably insure her good behavior for a long time yet to come; and he added:

Neither the safety of this country, or the ballance and peace of Europe requires that Great Britain should be at all more reduced than she in fact is. And it is by avoiding that distraction of counsels and corruption of manner which have brought her down that America can hope to rise, or long enjoy the blessings of a revolution which under the auspices of Heaven she has gloriously completed.

Here was a temper prophetic of the Federalist to be; the Revolutionist, as well as the states'-rights man, was moving with the current of events, open-eyed to new conditions. No sentimentalist, he would let the dead past bury its dead. On the question of ratifying the provisional articles without waiting for the definitive treaty, "Mr. Ellsworth", Madison reports,² was strenuous for the obligation and policy of going into an immediate execution of the treaty. He supposed that a ready and generous execution on our part would accelerate the like on the other part." For some reason, when a treaty of amity and commerce with Russia was up, he made and carried, Madison opposing, a motion to limit it to fifteen years.³ But his views on foreign affairs seem to have been, as a rule, liberal and unprovincial, and not without enlightenment and insight. Early in May he wrote to his colleague, Wolcott, who had gone home⁴:

Nothing yet appears to induce a suspicion that the treaty will fail of being carried into effect, on both sides, as fast as the nature of the case will admit. Certainly, we cannot wish to see it violated or annulled; nor has Great Britain so much reason to be dissatisfied, under all circumstances, as North, Fox, and their partisans pretend,—for their object probably is to hunt down the present minister, and to transfer the popular odium from the criminal to the executioner. If Great Britain, induced thereto by the folly of the former administration, must make us independent of herself, it is wise in her to do so with grace, and *in a manner that shall also keep us independent of France.*

May 13, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

² April 14; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 450.

³ *Secret Journals*, III, 350-354.

⁴ May 6. Wood Manuscript. The Honorable Joseph Wood, who was Ellsworth's son-in-law, left in manuscript a lengthy life of the chief justice. Sometimes tedious, nearly always dry and prosy, it contains, however, more information concerning Ellsworth's personal history and characteristics than any other single piece of writing.

He was no such Anglophobe as Rutledge and others were plainly showing themselves to be, and had not in him the making of a partizan of France. But neither, on the other hand, was he enamored like Hamilton of the British system. When news came of the famous coalition of Lord North with the Whigs, he wrote to Trumbull¹:

The packet . . . brings a list of the new British Ministry established the 2^d of April, which I take the liberty to inclose. From the strange coalition of which it is formed, there is little reason to doubt but that another change, of a partial nature, will follow as soon as the present convulsed state of that nation shall have subsided. Lord North, who is the fixed favorite of his sovereign and a man of the most system, business and address, will easily find means to lay aside Mr Fox and his coadjutors when he can well do without them, as he has already done with regard to one set of opponents whom he let come forward to perish in the odium of executing measures which himself had rendered necessary.

He served, again with Hamilton and Madison for colleagues, on the committee which had in charge the general subject of neutrality agreements.² But the most distinguished conjunction of the three names was on still another committee, appointed early in April, "to provide a system for foreign affairs, for Indian affairs, for military and naval establishments; and also to carry into execution the regulation of weights and measures and other articles of the Confederation not attended to during the war".³ The task was nothing less than the devising of a complete system of permanent administration. The honor of being joined with such men, in such employment, can scarcely have come to Ellsworth unless it came for one of two good reasons: he was either judged by his fellows in Congress to be one of the three men in their number worthiest of high offices, or he was taken as the foremost of New England's representatives.

He continued to be called on for such high services throughout the spring, and until the busy session came to its humiliating close. He himself does not seem to have foreseen or dreaded any such émeute as that which drove the delegates away from Philadelphia. His letters contain no such gloomy forebodings of the conduct of the unpaid troops as Madison's are filled with. He had written to Wolcott, early in May,⁴ that three months' pay would probably be made to the army on disbandment, one-third in cash, the rest in Mr. Morris's notes; and that Morris would remain in office until all his

¹ June 4, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

² *Secret Journals*, III, 366-368.

³ *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 441.

⁴ May 6, 1783. Wood Manuscript. See also Ellsworth to Trumbull, May 13, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

engagements should be fulfilled. When the question arose, whether to discharge the troops or merely give them furloughs, he was for discharging them at once. Even so late as June 18, 1783, he was writing to Trumbull, apparently without uneasiness¹: "The furlow'd part of the army are on their way home. Some are arrived here from the southward. They receive three months' pay, but all in Mr Morris's notes which run six months." Yet it was but three days later that a band of about five hundred mutinous soldiers of the Pennsylvania line surrounded the state-house where Congress was sitting, and with arms in their hands demanded a settlement of their accounts. Sitting under the same roof was the executive council of Pennsylvania; and to this body Congress sent at once a committee—Hamilton, Ellsworth, and Peters—to take order for the calling out of the state militia. But the council would not act. Congress finally adjourning, the troops permitted the members to disperse. Reassembling that evening, Congress voted that in case no means should be found to put down the rioting the President should summon them to meet at Princeton or at Trenton. Hamilton and Ellsworth, serving as a committee of conference with the Pennsylvania authorities, failed to bring them to any determined action, and the President issued his summons. At the end of June, therefore, Congress reassembled at Princeton. Hamilton, for the committee, made a report which seemed to reflect severely on the Pennsylvania authorities, and on complaint from the council Ellsworth merely moved a resolve which exonerated that timid body from any active part in the insult to Congress. Another committee, Hamilton, Ellsworth, and Bland, reported an order to General Howe to march on Philadelphia; but Washington, deeply mortified at what had happened, was already taking measures to put down the mutiny.² Congress was not further molested, and Ellsworth remained at Princeton about a fortnight longer. Late in July, the two Huntingtons arrived, and Samuel Huntington took his place on the committee to consider New York's proposal of a general convention.

This was the end of Ellsworth's services in Congress.³ Writing to Trumbull on July 10,⁴ he gave, in his usual matter-of-fact way, a moderate version of what had happened, and added:

¹ May 20. *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 468.

² Trumbull Papers.

³ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 279-287, 292; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 482-484; Bancroft, *History of the United States*, VI, 97; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-1789*, I, *passim*.

⁴ For other services of Ellsworth in Congress in this period, see *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 91, 124-125, 176-177, 261.

⁵ Trumbull Papers.

How long Congress will remain here is uncertain. They will hardly return to Philadelphia without some assurances of protection, or even then with intention to stay longer than till accommodations shall be elsewhere prepared for a fixed residence.¹ But, Sir, it will soon be of very little consequence where Congress go, if they are not made respectable as well as responsible, which can never be done without giving them a power to perform engagements as well as make them. It was indeed intended to have given them this power in the confederation, by declaring their contracts and requisitions for the common defence sacredly binding on the States; but in practice it amounts to nothing. Most of the States recognize these contracts and comply with the requisitions so far only as suits their particular opinion and convenience; and they are the more disposed at present to go on in this way from the inequalities it has already produced, and a mistaken idea that the danger is over; not duly reflecting on the calamities of a disunion and anarchy, or their rapid approach to such a state. There must, Sir, be a revenue some how established that can be relied on and applied for national purposes as the exigencies arise, independant of the will or views of a single State, or it will be impossible to support national faith or national existence. The powers of Congress should be defined, but their means must be adequate to the purposes of their institution. It is possible there may be abuses and misapplications; still it is better to hazard something than to hazard all.

It is not surprising that he was unwilling to come back to Congress,² or that, the next year, he also declined an election to the Board of Treasury, a commission set up for the management of the finances, in place of Robert Morris, who had finally withdrawn—or, as he himself probably considered, escaped.³ The choice of Ellsworth to this office by his former associates was a high tribute to his capacity, but not to his shrewdness. His severe judgment of the Confederation is even more convincing than Hamilton's, who went home in complete despair of it; for Ellsworth, never given to crossing bridges until he got to them, had come to his conclusions slowly. Always accepting dutifully the tasks assigned him, he had done his part well in the civil business of the strife for independence. Holding, doubtless, that to each day its own evil is sufficient, he had not pressed forward in time of war to grapple with the problems of the hoped-for peace. Now, however, that peace was come, even his unhesitating and conservative intelligence could not longer fail to see

¹ Ellsworth had been on the committee to consider the question of permanent residence, but the subject was postponed until autumn. *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 271.

In May, 1783, he was elected for the year beginning November 30, 1783. He resigned, however, and another was elected in his place. *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut*, 460.

³ The Board was instituted May 28, 1784, and six days later Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Ellsworth, and William Denning were elected commissioners. *Journals of Congress*, IX, 255-256, 309.

that there must be some very radical changes. Perhaps his gift of shrewd and practical analysis enabled him to see also that the time was not yet quite at hand; or perhaps, on the contrary, we must conclude that he was lacking in that rare, militant ardor of reform with which Hamilton was so abundantly endowed. At any rate, until the time was fully come, and through the tireless labors of Madison and Hamilton and Washington and a half-dozen other kindred spirits a great occasion was prepared, Ellsworth had no part—certainly no conspicuous part—in the movement for a new and stronger Constitution. He passed, instead, quietly back into the labors of his profession and the service of his state.

WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

THE INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE¹

WHEN the Seven Years' War, with its American phase, the French and Indian War, resulted in giving to Great Britain a clear title in America to all the country east of the Mississippi river, the British government was confronted with an Indian question requiring a better solution than was to be found in the uncertain and somewhat shifting policy that had hitherto prevailed. The problem was not the simple one of providing an adequate defense for outlying colonial settlements against Indian attacks; to protect the Indians in the possession of their hunting-grounds was of equal moment. The significance of the latter motive can only be appreciated when it is recognized that this was undertaken, not merely to safeguard an abstract right, but also because it was a measure of practical necessity in the interests of the fur-trade. There were other aspects of the problem, for other interests were involved, but none which need to be considered here beyond the very evident fact that the government was unwilling, particularly just at this time, to be put to any great expense.

The question was not a new one. It began with the arrival of the first colonists, and became of increasing importance with each successive advance of settlement. But it had been a local question or, rather, a series of local questions, until the expansion of the colonies had brought about the final struggle with the French. During that struggle to some extent, but still more plainly when Britain had succeeded France in control of Canada, and her possessions formed an unbroken whole from north to south and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the Indian question was no longer local; it was continental in its scope and demanded an adequate solution. Pending the adoption of a definitive policy as well for the government of the new possessions as for the settlement of the Indian question, a royal proclamation was issued on October 7, 1763.² This

¹ Mr. Ernest Hawley Duval, a graduate student at Leland Stanford Junior University, has been of great assistance in the preparation of this article. In addition to this, Mr. Duval prepared the accompanying map, page 784.

² Text in *Annual Register*, 1763, 208-213. As preliminary to the proclamation, cf. instructions to the colonial governors, *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 478-479; *New Jersey Archives*, first series, IX, 321-329. The purpose of the proclamation of 1763 has ever been disputed. The position here taken that it was temporary in its nature is clearly revealed in the official correspondence, references to which are given in subsequent notes.

proclamation erected separate and distinct governments in Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida; and for the protection of the Indian hunting-grounds it forbade the granting of lands in these new colonies beyond their respective boundaries, and in the other colonies "for the present . . . beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or north-west."¹

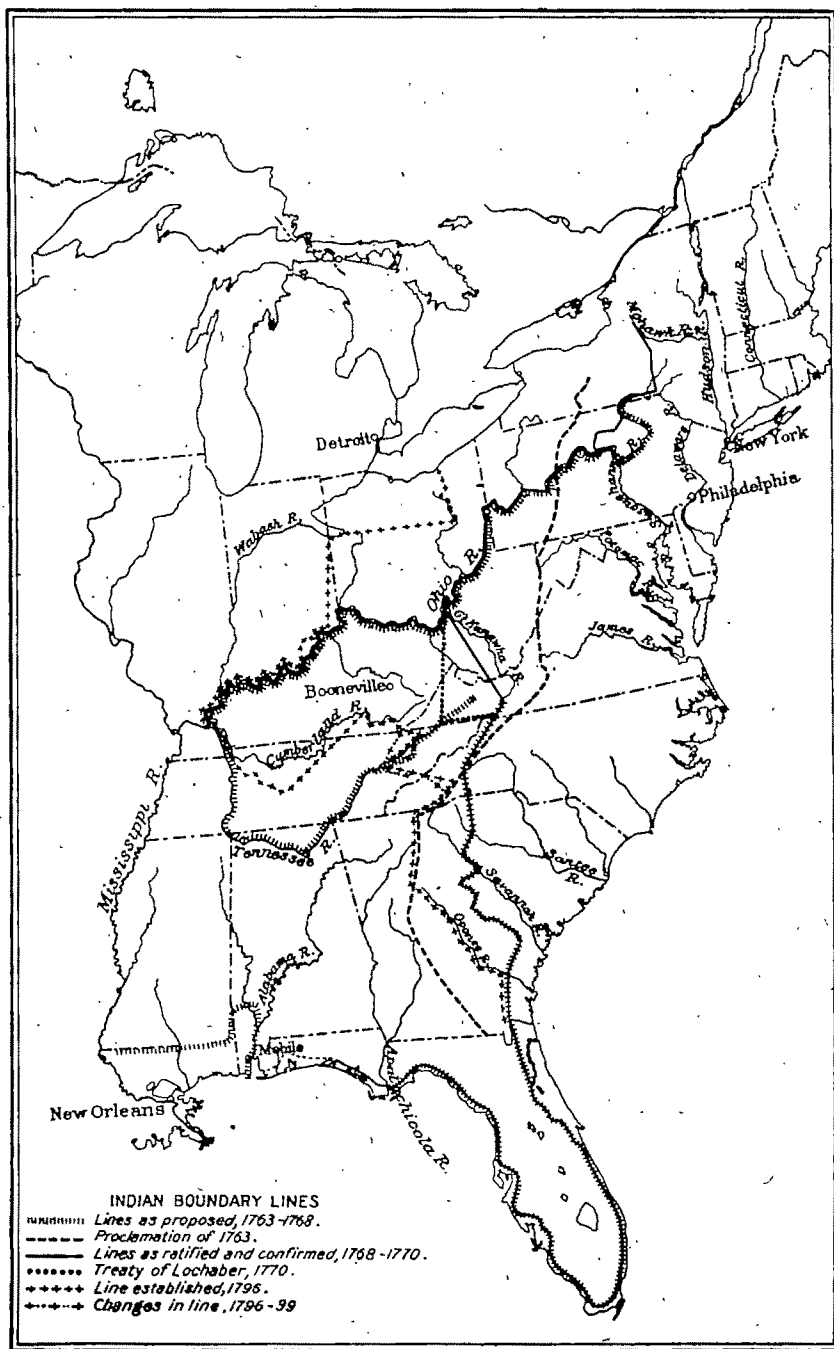
The Lords of Trade, to whom the management of Indian affairs was intrusted, set about their task with an evident appreciation of the importance and of the difficulty of the undertaking. At every stage of their deliberations, so far as time and distance would permit, they sought the advice of the superintendents of Indian affairs—Sir William Johnson of the Northern District, and Captain John Stuart of the Southern District. The first draft of a bill to be submitted to Parliament was held back to await the reports of the American superintendents; and when their letters had been received, the Lords of Trade acknowledged that these "have enabled us to make additions to and improve our plan". The heads of the plan as thus modified were then sent to Johnson and Stuart "for your opinion upon it which . . . we hope to receive . . . before the meeting of Parliament".²

Just when and how the idea originated, of a continuous boundary line to separate the whites and the Indians, it is perhaps impossible to determine. In all probability, however, it was a matter of slow growth. The establishment of a more or less definite line to mark the limits of the whites or of the Indians, as the case might be, had been a practice almost universal. As colonial settlements expanded and united action in dealing with the Indians became more common, the extension and unification of such lines was an inevitable result. It is not surprising then to find Sir William Johnson, as his jurisdiction comprised a definite section of the colonies and in the main a single confederacy of the Indians, strongly advocating in 1763 "that a certain line should be run at the back of the Northern Colonies, beyond which no settlement should be made, until the whole Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof".³ Dean Tucker's fanciful scheme, to guard against the incursions of the Indians by "clearing away the woods and bushes from a tract of land, a mile in breadth, and extending along the back of the colo-

¹ The line thus established is shown on the map on page 784.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 535-536, 572-581, 634-636; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 189-192.

³ *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 578, 603; *New Jersey Archives*, X, 112, note 1.



nies",¹ could hardly have been taken seriously or have exercised any considerable influence in shaping the governmental policy in this particular. Both the superintendents recognized that encroachments upon their lands were the chief ground of Indian complaints and the cause of war; accordingly they urged the establishment of a boundary line, and it is a sufficient explanation of the adoption of this feature of policy. Indeed, it is the explanation the Lords of Trade themselves gave for the "provisional management in the proclamation of 1763" and for the proposal in the plan prepared in 1764.²

The heads of the plan, which was prepared in 1764 and submitted to the superintendents in America with a request for their opinions upon it, outlined in forty-three sections or articles a somewhat elaborate scheme for the future management of Indian affairs.³ The forty-second article proposed "That proper measures be taken with the consent and concurrence of the Indians to ascertain and define the precise and exact boundary and limits of the lands which it may be proper to reserve to them and where no settlement whatever shall be allowed." Johnson and Stuart both approved the plan,⁴ yet the British government failed to act. Johnson attributed this "to the late disturbances in the Colonies that required so much the attention of his Majesty's Ministers",⁵ and the Lords of Trade admitted that it was owing to "other pressing business".⁶ When action was finally taken in 1768, the plan of 1764 was laid aside. It was explained that this was because of the difficulty and expense involved,⁷ but Colonel Guy Johnson was probably right in ascribing this unfavorable action to the influence of "some Indian traders", whose interests were affected.⁸

When the proposals submitted in 1764 seemed to promise the fulfilment of their recommendations, both Johnson and Stuart apparently felt that the formal enactment of the plan was only a question of time. At any rate, although they were quite unauthorized to do so, the superintendents proceeded to negotiate with the Indians of their respective districts upon the all-important subject of the

¹ *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Sparks's ed.), III, 47-48, note.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 1004.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, 637-641; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 182-189.

⁴ *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 657-666; VIII, 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 835-836.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 842.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 24, 55-56, 57; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 319-320.

⁸ *New York Colonial Documents*, VIII, 655. For a similar instance of trading interests influencing the British government, see Parkman's explanation of the determination of Braddock's line of march through Virginia and Maryland instead of the more direct route by way of Philadelphia. *Monitcalm and Wolfe* (Frontenac edition), I, 203-204.

boundary line.¹ Johnson, as was natural from his long experience of the uncertainty of royal approval, proceeded cautiously. In a conference with the Six Nations, held in the spring of 1765 for a very different purpose, he broached the subject, but, as he was careful to explain in his report to the Lords of Trade, "I only proposed it as a matter verry essential to their own Interest."² The suggestion met with the Indians' approbation, and after some little negotiations, which were handled with Johnson's usual skill and address, a line that was satisfactory to both parties was tentatively agreed to. Sir William promised to "lay the same before the great King, which is all can be at present done in it".³ And he again took occasion to say, "as what you have proposed about the Boundary is your own free proposition . . . I expect never to hear any grumbling about it . . . ; if the King approves of what is done, . . . you shall have notice of it."⁴

Colonel Stuart in the Southern District acted more boldly and without reservation. Within two years after receiving the proposed plan for the management of Indian affairs, he entered into a series of treaties with the Southern Indians supplementing the treaty of Augusta of 1763, by which a continuous boundary line between the whites and the Indians was established beginning at a point near the southern boundary of Virginia, running south and west at the back of the Carolinas, bending somewhat toward the east in Georgia, and including the tide-water limits of East Florida.⁵ It was evidently intended to extend this line as far as the Mississippi river, but its exact determination in West Florida is somewhat doubtful,⁶ and there appears to have been somewhat of a break between the Appalachian river and Mobile bay.⁷ This line was not merely

¹*New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 1004-1005; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 536-538.

²*New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 711-712.

³*Ibid.*, 733.

⁴*Ibid.*, 734.

⁵The determination of the Indian boundary line was made a special subject for investigation with a small class of advanced students at Stanford University, who were of great assistance in the settlement of doubtful points and in furnishing data for the map that accompanies this article.

⁶This uncertainty has been reduced to a minimum through the courtesy of Honorable Peter J. Hamilton of Mobile, who furnished information, subsequently embodied in a communication to the *Clarke County (Alabama) Democrat*, March 30, 1905, which determines the location of this line quite accurately and somewhat differently from that which he had earlier stated in his *Colonial Mobile*.

⁷Except in so far as this may have been covered by the very indefinite line in the treaty with the Creeks at Pensacola, May 28, 1765. Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions", *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 560.

agreed upon, but in some places it was actually surveyed and marked.¹

The responsibility now rested with the British government to approve or reject the actions of its American agents. Toward the close of 1767 the Lords of Trade reported to the earl of Shelburne what had been done,² and in March, 1768, a more detailed report was made to the crown with the formal recommendation that the boundary line be ratified.³ Shortly afterward instructions were given to the superintendents in America to ratify and confirm the lines agreed upon in such manner as to form a continuous line from north to south.⁴

In the south Stuart apparently had little difficulty in carrying out his orders. Two treaties were concluded, one with the Cherokees on October 14, and one with the Creeks on November 12, 1768, by which the former line—back of the Carolinas and Georgia and around East Florida—with very slight modifications was formally confirmed. In accordance with his instructions the line back of Virginia was carried from its earlier termination to the junction of the Kanawha and the Ohio, thus rendering possible a line continuous with that in the north.⁵ In the far southwest the line was continued to the Choctaw river emptying into Santa Rosa bay, but beyond that point, quite probably because of the difficulty of assembling the Choctaws who were then at war with the Creeks, no record of any action appears.⁶

Johnson's task in the north was a more difficult one, and the negotiations in the well-known treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768 were continued over several weeks. Through New York and Pennsylvania the line agreed upon in 1765 with some important extensions was successfully established, but it was not carried to the northern

New York Colonial Documents, VII, 1004-1005; VIII, 22-34; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 281, 313-325; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 468-471.

New York Colonial Documents, VII, 1004-1005; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 536-538.

New York Colonial Documents, VIII, 19-34; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 313-331.

New York Colonial Documents, VIII, 2, 35-36, 55-56; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 707-709; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX, 552-553.

North Carolina Colonial Records, VII, 851-855. C. C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians" (*Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 146), evidently relying upon J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 77, which in turn was based upon John W. Monette, *Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1846, 2 vols.), I, 352, has been misled as to the location of this line which was agreed upon with the Cherokees at Hard Labor, 1768.

⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 866; *New York Colonial Documents*, VIII, 160-161.

boundary of New York because it was believed that this could be accomplished more advantageously at some other time. To render the line continuous with that in the south was finally deemed inadvisable. The Six Nations claimed the land between the Ohio and Tennessee rivers as theirs by right of conquest, and in assertion of their sovereignty they insisted upon ceding it to the British. Rather than lose the other advantages obtained, Johnson accepted this, although by so doing he disregarded his instructions and formed an overlapping instead of a continuous line.¹ Mainly on this account, but also because other unwarranted matters were included in the treaty, the British government hesitated to give its approval. When, however, it was evident that Johnson had acted for the best, he was empowered to ratify and confirm the line as agreed upon.² This was formally done in July, 1770,³ and the line was afterward surveyed and marked.⁴

In the meantime, an important modification of the line in the south was being made. It was found that certain settlements were west of the line established at the back of Virginia. Accordingly quite early in 1769 Stuart had been instructed to negotiate with the Cherokees for a new line to include these lands. By the treaty of Lochabor, October 22, 1770, it was agreed that the Indian boundary should be marked by a continuation of the southern line of Virginia to where it intersects the Holston river, and from that point by a direct line to the junction of the Great Kanawha with the Ohio.⁵

Thus after several years of earnest endeavor and careful negotiations the desire of the American superintendents of Indian affairs was an accomplished fact. A definite line separating the Indians from the whites had been agreed upon, officially approved, and was a recognized feature of the British Indian policy. In the treaties by which this was established it was agreed that neither whites nor Indians should make any settlements or encroachments upon the lands reserved to the other unless cessions of such lands had been

¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 110-137, 152.

² *Ibid.*, 144-145, 158-163, 165-166, 179-182, 211-212, 222-223.

³ *Ibid.*, 224-244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 548-562. There seems to be a prevalent impression (cf. Winsor, *Westward Movement*, 20) that the Fort Stanwix line was never formally approved by the British government. The evidence on the other side, however, as given in the above references seems irrefutable.

⁵ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 360-364. It was afterward discovered that the principal settlements meant to be included were south of the Virginia line and within the boundaries of North Carolina. This confusion led in the formal treaty to the description of a line geographically impossible. The statement made above in the text is in accord with the evident intention of the treaty.

previously made by persons properly authorized. And it was a part of the general plan that the colonies should pass laws for the observance of this agreement.¹ In many places the natural features of the country were sufficient to mark the line clearly. Where this was not the case, care was taken that no one should trespass unwittingly. In 1769 Stuart wrote to Hillsborough from Charles Town² "I . . . rode along that part of it [the Boundary Line] which divides this Province from the Lands reserved by the Indians it is marked at least 50 feet wide the Trees within which Space are blazed on both sides."³ The success or failure of the policy under British administration could not be determined, for the troubles that culminated in the Revolution were already absorbing the attention of both England and the colonies, but that the establishment of a boundary line was considered the most satisfactory solution of a difficult question is evidenced by later developments.

For some time after the treaty of 1783 had formally recognized the independence of the United States, relations with the Indians were in a condition far from satisfactory.⁴ Animosities kindled in the war were not yet quieted. A firm and consistent policy was required, and this was impossible. Even if individual states had not insisted upon the right of dealing independently with the Indians, Congress was hardly competent to handle the question. Several futile attempts were made by Congress to establish a uniform line in the region northwest of the Ohio,⁵ and in the south the states were handling the question according to local interests and prejudices.⁶ In consequence the Indian policy was characterized by a greater uncertainty than had prevailed before 1760.

With the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1789, a change was made for the better in the establishment of a central government with competent authority to handle the situation, but for a few years

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, VIII, 23, 56, 133; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX, 552, 555; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 708.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 1-2.

³ The accompanying map is designed to show the approximate limits of settlement placed by the proclamation of 1763, with the boundary line as it was first negotiated with the Indians in the treaties of 1765-1768, and as it was finally ratified. For purposes of comparison the line that was later established by the United States government, with its subsequent modifications, is also given.

⁴ Between 1770 and 1783 different cessions of land were made by the Indians and, though these cessions made no specific reference to the boundary line, they necessarily affected the line established later by the United States.

⁵ October 15, 1783, May 20, 1785, *Journals of Congress* (Washington, 1823), IV, 294, 520; *Secret Journals of Congress*, I, 255-262, 274-279; *Pennsylvania Archives*, X, 119-124, 561-562.

⁶ *Journals of Congress* (ed. of 1823), IV, 766-768, August 3, 1787.

the improvement was not marked. Then came Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, and the resulting treaty of Greenville in 1795 established a definite line for the Northwest Territory. At the same time the victories of Sevier and Robertson in the south, with the treaties following, established a similar situation in that section of the country. Congress promptly took advantage of the opportunity and passed an act¹ unifying the results of the various treaties and establishing a continuous boundary line from Lake Erie to Florida, which was to be distinctly marked. To settle, to range stock, to hunt, or, in the south, even to cross without a passport, beyond the boundary, was made punishable with imprisonment of from three months to a year, or with a fine of from fifty to one thousand dollars. Indian lands could be obtained only by treaty "entered into pursuant to the constitution" and negotiated by duly authorized officials of the United States. Before this act had expired in 1799 another was passed, which was virtually a reenactment of the former, except that the boundary line was modified in accordance with the treaties that had since been made.² The same action was repeated in 1802.³

The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 modified the conditions but did not materially alter the feature of Indian policy we are considering. It was now possible to offer the Indians an almost unlimited extent of territory if they would consent to move out beyond the settlements upon the Mississippi. It is worth noticing that it was neither Jackson, nor yet Monroe, but Jefferson who inaugurated this so-called "removal policy", and that it was formally broached in one of the first acts with reference to the new possessions.⁴ Thirty years later, when the removal policy was being successfully carried out, Congress established by statute⁵ the "Indian Country", consisting of the United States territory west of the Mississippi not included in the states of Missouri and Louisiana and the territory of Arkansas. It was, of course, nothing more nor less than the old Indian boundary line reestablished beyond the Mississippi. There was, however, this important difference: the United States and not the Indians determined the location of the line. It was also the beginning of the end. The expansion of population to the Pacific, the adoption of regular routes of travel, the guarding with United States troops of those routes and of the settlements that were established, hemmed in the Indians first on one side and then on another.

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, May 19, 1796, chap. 30.

² *Ibid.*, March 3, 1799, chap. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, March 30, 1802, chap. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 26, 1804, chap. 38, section 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1834, chap. 161.

And when the Indians were completely surrounded, the reservation system was only a question of time.

Aside from any intrinsic value in the study here presented, a distinct interest attaches to it as another illustration of the development of British colonial practice into American national policy.

MAX FARRAND.

WILLIAM WALKER AND THE STEAMSHIP CORPORATION IN NICARAGUA

THE romantic features of Walker's filibustering expeditions to Nicaragua have tended to obscure certain more prosaic and yet quite important phases of his undertaking. The Anglo-American's love of excitement and adventure, his belief that it is the manifest destiny of his race to control the whole American continent, and the desire of the slave states for a southward expansion of American territory—these indeed were potent factors in producing the phenomena of filibustering; but these alone do not account for Walker's remarkable career of two years in Central America. To accomplish his purpose of "regenerating" the isthmus and founding there a military empire, Walker needed not only an army, but also ships and money; and these two necessities were not supplied by zealous champions of territorial expansion or slavery propagandism, but by a syndicate of New York and San Francisco capitalists, who hoped to use the filibuster general for furthering their interests in Nicaragua.

Our information concerning this phase of Walker's history is derived mainly from four contemporary accounts and from the official reports of American diplomatic and naval officers, which are on file in the government archives, and some of which have been printed in the public documents. Of the four contemporary accounts, one was written and published by Walker himself,¹ another by one of his followers,² and the other two by American consular agents who were in Central America during the period of Walker's activity.³ Mr. James Jeffrey Roche has made use of part of this material in preparing an admirable popular account of filibustering,⁴ but for other purposes it has scarcely been touched.

For a full understanding of Walker's dealing with the steamship corporation in Nicaragua, it is necessary first to describe the establishment of the transit routes across the isthmus. In 1849 the overland journey to California was not only long and difficult, but

¹ William Walker, *The War in Nicaragua* (Mobile, 1860).

² Charles William Doubleday, *Reminiscences of the "Filibuster" War in Nicaragua* (New York, 1886).

³ Peter F. Stout, *Nicaragua: Past, Present and Future* (Philadelphia, 1859); William V. Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua* (New York, 1856).

⁴ James Jeffrey Roche, *Byways of War* (Boston, 1901).

also very dangerous, and in the search for a better line of travel the attention of Americans was directed to Central America, where two routes were available, one through Panama and the other through Nicaragua. A treaty with the republic of New Granada at this time gave the United States a right of way between Chagres and Panama, and a railway was finally built across the isthmus. Steamers on the Atlantic from New Orleans and New York to Aspinwall, and on the Pacific from Panama to San Francisco, furnished the most expeditious route to the gold-fields.¹ In August, 1849, an American syndicate, consisting of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and their associates, entered into a contract with the republic of Nicaragua, by which the company secured a right to construct at its own expense a canal through Nicaraguan territory, provided the work could be completed within twelve years. The charter also gave the company a monopoly of the transit across Nicaragua and the exclusive right of navigating the interior waters of the state by steam. As it proved impracticable to begin the construction of the canal, a modified charter was drawn up in 1851, which separated the canal contract from the rest of the privileges granted, and secured to the corporation, now styling itself the Accessory Transit Company, the sole use of a line of transit from Greytown on the Caribbean sea to some point on the Pacific.² This new route, which was opened in 1852, was in some respects superior to the one by way of Panama, inasmuch as it reduced the distance between New York and San Francisco by five hundred miles and enabled the passengers to make all but twelve miles of the journey by water. Passengers from New York and New Orleans would land at Greytown, proceed in boats of light draft up the San Juan river to Lake Nicaragua, and cross the lake in larger steamers to a point on the west shore called Virgin Bay. From here they were conveyed in carriages over a macadamized road to San Juan del Sur, and there took the steamer for San Francisco. Reports show that in one year twenty-four thousand passengers traveled between the eastern states and California by way of Nicaragua. It is thus that this portion of the continent was brought into close relations with the great republic in the north.

¹ See J. M. Letts, *California Illustrated* (New York, 1852), chaps. xxx-xxxiii.

² Minister J. H. Wheeler to Secretary Marcy, August 2, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 84-102; Stout, *Nicaragua*, chap. xxvi; House Executive Document 103, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 84-102.

³ *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXIX, 314-316; *The Destiny of Nicaragua* (Boston, 1856), 38-40.

Fortune-seekers now began to direct their attention to Central America, hoping to acquire riches from the undeveloped fields and mines. On August 15, 1854, among the California passengers embarking for Nicaragua were William V. Wells and Byron Cole, two members of a San Francisco company that had been recently organized for the purpose of developing the mining resources of Honduras.¹ Though seemingly insignificant, this event was productive of important results, inasmuch as it proved to be the preliminary step to Walker's entrance into Central America. Wells was making the journey with a view of obtaining information about the gold-fields near Trujillo, and Cole was accompanying him for the purpose of seeing what American enterprise might accomplish in Nicaragua. When these two Americans landed at San Juan del Sur, the Nicaraguan republic was in the midst of one of its periodic revolutions. The Democrats and the Legitimists were in arms and engaged in a partizan struggle characterized by none of the usages of civilized warfare. With much difficulty Wells and Cole made their way to Leon, the headquarters of the Democratic army, where they parted, Wells going on his way to Honduras, while Cole tarried at Leon and became acquainted with the Democratic leaders.

Cole had for a time been one of the proprietors of a California newspaper edited by William Walker. In the summer of 1853 Walker gave up the newspaper business, and a few months later he achieved much notoriety by an attempt to set up an independent republic in Lower California. This attempt had been a complete failure, but Cole had retained an unshaken confidence in Walker's ability, and suggested that he make a similar effort in Nicaragua, where the chances of success appeared more favorable. Soon after Cole met Castellon, the Democratic leader, he proposed that the Nicaraguan general should strengthen his forces by inviting Walker to bring a company of Americans to Nicaragua to enter the Democratic service. The proposition was received favorably, as the fortunes of Castellon's party were on the wane. A contract was then drawn up, by which three hundred Americans were to be brought to Nicaragua to enter the Democratic army, and were to receive a stated monthly pay and a grant of 21,000 acres of land at the end of the campaign. Cole returned to California and submitted the contract to Walker. The document, in Walker's opinion, not only violated the letter of the neutrality laws, but did not offer sufficient inducement for the risks involved. Cole therefore made another trip to Nicaragua and made a second contract, whereby the land-

¹ Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 41.

grant was increased to 52,000 acres and the Americans were designated as colonists.¹ The new contract was taken to Mr. S. W. Inge, the district attorney in San Francisco, and also to General John E. Wool, commander of the Department of the Pacific. The former expressed an opinion that action under the contract did not violate the neutrality laws, and General Wool stated that he had no authority to interfere unless requested to do so by the civil officers.² The possibility of governmental interference was thus removed.

By private subscription Walker raised enough money to procure a small amount of supplies and the use of a leaky old brig, the *Vesta*. On April 20, 1855, his followers had embarked and he was ready to sail, but the sheriff appeared and served a writ of attachment for a debt against the owner of the vessel. The filibusters' financial difficulties at this time refute the later statement that the expedition was fitted out with funds supplied by the Transit Company. Two weeks were spent in arranging matters with the sheriff and the creditors, and at last, early in the morning of May 4, 1855, the *Vesta* put to sea with fifty-eight Americans, the nucleus of Walker's future army. On June 16, after a rough voyage, a landing was made at Realejo. The Americans were gladly received by Castellon, and were organized into the American Phalanx, Walker retaining his title of colonel. In order that he might recruit his ranks from the passengers to and from California, Walker at once planted himself on the transit road. In his first brush with the enemy, June 29, he was badly beaten. In a second skirmish, however, at Virgin Bay, September 3, the Americans were victorious, and were left in full control of the transit.

So far Walker had been acting entirely on his own resources, with only such paltry assistance as could be obtained from a few friends in California. He had left behind him in San Francisco two friends and agents, Edmund Randolph and A. P. Crittenden, charged with the duty of procuring supplies and reinforcements. On October 3 the steamer *Cortes* arrived from San Francisco, bringing a handful of recruits that were badly needed, and on the same steamer came C. J. McDonald, a confidential agent of Cornelius K. Garrison, the San Francisco manager of the Accessory Transit Company.³ McDonald's arrival was most welcome to Walker, for

¹ *Ibid.*, 41-43; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 24-25; *Dublin Review*, XLIII, 367-369.

² Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 27-29. See also a letter from General Wool in the *New York Times*, July 23, 1857. Walker says that General Wool not only promised non-interference, but also wished the undertaking much success.

³ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 127.

it indicated a willingness on the part of a group of financiers to assist the Americans in establishing themselves in Nicaragua. We have no means of knowing what occurred at the first meeting of McDonald and Walker. It is certain, however, that the Americans at once took possession of the Transit Company's lake steamer *La Virgen*, embarked at Virgin Bay, moved quickly up the lake to Granada, the capital and the Legitimist stronghold, and captured the city without a battle. This movement was so unexpected that the entire Legitimist force was at Rivas, a town some thirty miles south of Granada, and the city was almost without a garrison.¹ Intrenched in the capital, Walker was practically master of the state. But the use of the company's steamers was not without its disastrous effects. After the boats had been pressed into service a few times the natives were unable to determine whether they were carrying neutral passengers or hostile filibusters. As a result, a steamer loaded with persons from California on their way to the States was fired upon by the Legitimists, and a woman and a child were killed. About two hundred and fifty passengers waiting at Virgin Bay for a steamer were also attacked, and a large number were killed and wounded.² Walker sent word to Corral, the Legitimist leader, that the families of Granada would be held as hostages subject to the good behavior of the Legitimists; and that general began to sue for peace. By a treaty signed October 23, the warring factions agreed to forget their differences and form a new government in which both sides should be represented. Patricio Rivas, a man who was regarded as a neutral, was made provisional president, Corral became minister of war, and Walker was made commander-in-chief of the army of the republic.³

To start the machinery of the new government, money was necessary. Owing to the constant revolutions the treasury was empty—if indeed it had ever been otherwise. At this juncture McDonald again came forward and proved a friend in need by offering to

¹ *El Nicaraguense*, October 20, 1855; Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 61-70; Wheeler to Marcy, October 14, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 109-118; Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 22 ff.

² Commodore Paulding to Secretary Dobbin, December 21, 1855, and January 22, 1856, MS., Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, I, 98, 116, 120, 121; Wheeler to Marcy, October 23 and 30, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 22-32.

³ Wheeler to Marcy, October 30, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 125-134; Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 77-82.

advance Walker the sum of twenty thousand dollars. He showed a power of attorney from Garrison, the San Francisco manager of the Transit Company, empowering him to act as general agent in Nicaragua; and, after satisfying himself as to McDonald's authority, Walker agreed to his proposition. The money was immediately forthcoming, for McDonald simply extracted that amount of gold bullion from a shipment in transit from California. McDonald gave to the owners of the bullion drafts on Charles Morgan, the company's New York manager, for the value, and these drafts were duly honored. The Nicaraguan government pledged itself to repay the amount out of the annual payments the company made to the state for the enjoyment of its franchise.¹

Although Walker's star now seemed to be in the ascendant, his situation after the treaty of peace was indeed very critical. His handful of followers were surrounded by the unstable natives whom they had fought but had not subdued, and the Americans were liable at any moment to be exterminated in a popular uprising. Walker had a sense of his danger and felt the need of increasing at once his force of Americans. After signing the treaty of October 23, one of the first things he did was to write to Crittenden, his friend and agent in San Francisco, stating that any arrangement that could be made with the manager of the Transit Company for bringing five hundred Americans to Nicaragua would be acceptable. Garrison at once came to the rescue, and recruits began to arrive in large numbers from California. In nearly every instance he gave the men free passage; and all this, it should be noted, was done without the knowledge of Rivas and his cabinet. Finally, in December, 1855, Garrison sent his son to Granada to make arrangements with Walker for securing some return for the assistance rendered. With young Garrison, as an earnest of his good intentions, came a hundred recruits, who, as usual, received free passage. After his interview with Walker, Garrison went to New York and conferred with Charles Morgan, the company's manager in that city.² What occurred at the conferences in Granada and New York can only be surmised from what followed.

It is an established principle that a business corporation never spends its money unless it expects something in return; and the question naturally arises as to what Walker's benefactors hoped to gain from him. It was generally known in the United States during the fall of 1855 that the company was rendering Walker val-

¹ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 127-128.

² *Ibid.*, 149-151.

uable service, and the prevailing opinion was that the expedition was fitted out by the transit officials in the hope of introducing a stable American element into Nicaragua and thus putting an end to the revolutions that were so injurious to the company's interests.¹ Subsequent developments, however, proved this idea to be erroneous. Within the company itself at this time there were serious dissensions, a struggle between rival parties of stock-holders to get control. The faction headed by Morgan and Garrison was now doing Walker a good turn, believing that at the proper moment the filibuster general would reciprocate. To explain the motives of this group of capitalists, it is necessary to show the relation of the Accessory Transit Company to the Nicaraguan government. When the company made the contract with Nicaragua in 1849, it agreed to pay the state annually the sum of ten thousand dollars until the construction of the canal should be completed; and for the exclusive right of navigating the interior waters and opening a line of transit across the isthmus it agreed to pay ten per cent. of the profits derived from the transit route. From 1849 to 1855 inclusively the corporation had paid regularly the annual dues of ten thousand dollars, but it refused to pay the ten per cent. of the profits. The transit officials were very careful to keep no records in Nicaragua that would enable the government to determine the amount the company had received or how much of this amount had been clear gain. The number of passengers and the shipments of freight and specie were known to be very large, but the company's system of bookkeeping gave the state nothing on which to base a claim. Only a week before Walker had landed in Nicaragua the Legitimist government appointed two agents to proceed to New York and

¹ The *Philadelphia American and Gazette*, November 15, 1855, contained the following editorial: "Walker, it seems, represents a more substantial organization than a mere band of filibusters. In fact, it is generally asserted and believed that his expedition was projected, supported and maintained by the Transit Company. That corporation has a capital of three million dollars. His expedition looks too well organized and supplied with munitions, money and men, to be based on his own efforts. The company undoubtedly sent arms to Nicaragua, which fell very suspiciously into Walker's hands, and the transit steamers were yielded to him with a facility which is singular, in view of the small force he commanded."

On December 14, 1855, Attorney-General Cushing wrote as follows to S. W. Inge and Pacificus Ord, the United States attorneys at San Francisco and Monterey, respectively: "I am directed by the President to address you further on the subject of the illegal military enterprises against the State of Nicaragua, which have been, and, as it appears, still continue to be carried on from the ports of California . . . Suggestion has been made of some complicity of the Nicaragua Transit Company in these acts, and that point may be entitled to your consideration." Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 11.

attempt to settle the claim by negotiation or arbitration. The Nicaraguan agents, perhaps without any definite idea as to what was really due the state, claimed thirty-five thousand dollars. The company offered to settle for thirty thousand, and the offer was rejected. Both parties then agreed to refer the matter to special commissioners for arbitration. The company, however, did all it could to delay matters, and before the commissioners could begin work the Nicaraguan government changed hands, Walker having taken possession of the capital. In such a state of affairs further proceedings had to be abandoned.¹

Matters were in this condition when Morgan and Garrison entered into negotiations with Walker. Their plan was very simple: the filibuster general, by virtue of his authority, was to use the government's claim against the Transit Company as a basis for annulling its charter and confiscating its property, while Morgan and Garrison, in return for the help they had given Walker, were to receive the property of the old company and a charter giving them power to form a new company for doing a transportation business within the territory of Nicaragua. Before breaking with the old company, however, Walker decided to negotiate with its officers in New York for a settlement of the claim and see what could be obtained in that quarter. Accordingly, in December, 1855, Parker H. French, who was sent to the United States as the representative of the Rivas-Walker government, was empowered to ask satisfaction for the claim of the Nicaraguan republic against the Accessory Transit Company. As an easy means of settlement, French proposed that the company carry emigrants to Nicaragua at the rate of twenty dollars per head—a rate considerably lower than the usual fare—and that the amount due the company for their transportation should be charged to the state and deducted from whatever sum the company might owe the Nicaraguan government. Had Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and other officers of the corporation suspected the designs of Morgan and Garrison, they would not have consented to such an arrangement; but they only knew the weakness of their side of the controversy with the Nicaraguan government and thought it necessary to grant French's request as a means of conciliation. They therefore agreed to the plan, provided the men were not organized into military bands, but proposed to go merely as emigrants. From the time of this arrangement, in December, 1855, till the latter part of the following February, the company carried about a thousand emigrants to Nicaragua.²

¹ Cornelius Vanderbilt to Secretary Marcy, March 17, 1856, *ibid.*, 120-121.

² *Ibid.*

Now that the steamship corporation was definitely committed to Walker's support, recruiting was conducted openly and on a great scale by his friends and agents. Advertisements were placed in the newspapers of New York and New Orleans in order to attract volunteers.¹ On December 23 District Attorney McKeon, of New York, ordered the customs officers to refuse a clearance to the company's steamer *Northern Light*, as it was expected that she would sail the next day with several hundred "emigrants" for the service of Walker. By some mistake the officials gave the *Northern Light* her clearance and refused it to another vessel instead, and on December 24 the steamer put to sea almost under the nose of the district attorney. A revenue cutter was sent down the bay in pursuit, and stopped the steamer by sending a solid shot across her bows. An investigation showed that there were three hundred and fifty filibusters on board. On being questioned, the men gave the details of their enlistment, which was unique. Several nights before the steamer's departure a rendezvous of the recruits was held in the city, and every man who avowed his intention of going to Nicaragua received a common black pantaloons-button, which was an "open sesame" to the ship. Each man on going aboard handed his button to an officer of the steamer and received a passenger ticket in return.² The detention of the steamer was followed by the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of Walker's minister, French, who had been quite active in the work of recruiting. French claimed exemption from arrest on the ground of his diplomatic capacity, and the puzzled district attorney applied to Attorney-General Cushing for instructions. Cushing replied that the American government had never recognized French as the lawful representative of Nicaragua, and that any diplomatic privileges that were extended to him were of mere courtesy and not of right, but that legal process would not be served on French if he would leave the

¹ In December, 1855, the following harmless-looking advertisement appeared in the journals of New York: "*Wanted*.—Ten or fifteen young men to go a short distance out of the city. Single men preferred. Apply at 347 Broadway, corner of Leonard Street, room 12, between hours of ten and four. Passage paid."

The notice in the New Orleans papers was more explicit: "*Nicaragua*.—The Government of Nicaragua is desirous of having its lands settled and cultivated by an industrious class of people, and offer as an inducement to emigrants, a donation of Two Hundred and Fifty Acres of Land for single persons, and One Hundred Acres additional to persons of family. Steamers leave New Orleans for San Juan on the 11th and 26th of each month. The fare is now reduced to less than half the former rates. The undersigned will be happy to give information to those who are desirous of emigrating. Thos. F. Fisher, 16 Royal St."

² New York *Tribune*, December 25, 1855.

country within a reasonable time.¹ The chief effect of the government's interference was to create a sympathy with the disappointed filibusters and make French a hero in spite of himself.

Within a week after Walker's capture of Granada, he began the publication of *El Nicaraguense*, a newspaper which was largely devoted to advertising the resources of the country; and its wide circulation in America created an impression in some quarters that Nicaragua was a land of the most fertile soil, the richest mines, and the most delightful climate. A decree of colonization, issued November 23, 1855, and published in the United States, provided that every immigrant to Nicaragua should be entitled to two hundred and fifty acres of land, and that immigrants with families should receive a hundred additional acres.² Following all this came the company's offer to take immigrants free of charge, and Walker had no lack of recruits. As a great part of them belonged to that class of floating population found in all cities, no objection to their departure was offered by the public, and, excepting the detention of the *Northern Light*, there was but little interference from the government.³

In fact, the relations of the Transit Company with the filibusters made it almost impossible to prevent illicit recruiting. There were always on the steamers, besides the recruits for Walker, large numbers of passengers intending to cross the isthmus for California or the eastern states, as the case might be, and the government officers had no accurate means of distinguishing the filibuster from the passenger.⁴ Moreover, it seems that the recruits were never organized on a military basis until they were beyond the jurisdiction of the

¹ McKeon to Attorney-General Cushing, December 26, 1855, and Cushing to McKeon, December 27, 1855, Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 13-14.

² *El Nicaraguense*, December 8, 1855.

³ In May, 1856, Señor Molina, the Costa-Rican minister, complained that not one of the filibusters detained had been convicted, and the most prominent ones had even received public ovations. He notified Secretary Marcy that, on April 10, 208 men had embarked publicly at New Orleans to the strains of a so-called Nicaraguan band, and their departure had been announced beforehand by the press. The disasters of the filibusters, he said, seemed to stir up a great number of sympathizers in all ranks of society. Molina to Marcy, May 22, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes, Central America, I.

⁴ District Attorney Inge, of San Francisco, declared that he could obtain no information that would justify the seizure of a vessel. Though many persons had left California to aid Walker, they had gone without visible arms and without organization, some avowing their purpose of settling as peaceful immigrants, others with through tickets to New York and claiming to be regular passengers. Inge to Cushing, February 4, 1856. Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 15.

United States, and though the expeditions were opposed to the spirit of the neutrality laws, it was often questioned whether they violated the letter. Even Secretary Marcy, who from the outset bitterly opposed the Nicaraguan enterprise, affirmed that if unassociated individuals left the United States they could go where they pleased and the government had no right to inquire into their motives.¹ District Attorney McKeon protested to Joseph L. White, the attorney for the Transit Company, against its alleged disregard of the neutrality laws. On behalf of the company White replied that it was "a corporate body, created by the law of Nicaragua," and was compelled to recognize the government that was in power in that country; that the conduct and course of the corporation would never be influenced by the government of the United States, nor did the district attorney's "grandiloquent boasting" that he would break up its business have any terrors for it.² This was all the satisfaction the government could obtain.

White was too confident, however, in the security of the company's position. He little suspected that within three months after his rather insolent defiance of the government his company would be appealing to this same government for protection against the man it had befriended. On February 18, 1856, Walker, having completed his arrangements with the representatives of Morgan and Garrison, sprang the trap. A decree was drawn up revoking the Transit Company's charter, appointing a commission to determine the exact amount due the state, and ordering that all the company's property be seized and held subject to the orders of the commissioners. The Nicaraguans had never cherished kindly feelings toward the transit officials, and Walker says that it was with undisguised pleasure that President Rivas, who up to this time had been kept in ignorance of the proceedings, signed the decree of revocation. But on the following day the smiles of the provisional president were changed to frowns, for he was asked to attach his signature to another decree, which gave all the rights of the company to the representatives of Morgan and Garrison.³ The publication of the decree of revocation was delayed somewhat in order to give Morgan and Garrison as much time as possible to get ready for

¹ Marcy to Marcoleta, April 25, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes, Central America, I.

² Scrap-book on Nicaragua, no. 2, p. 46, in Library of Congress, from the *New York Tribune*, December 25, 1855.

³ *El Nicaraguense*, February 23, 1856; Senate Executive Document 194, 47 Congress, 1 Session, 103-104; *New York Tribune*, May 14-15, 1856; Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 203-220; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 152-155.

business before the steamers of the old company should be withdrawn. This delay proved more advantageous than Walker had hoped; for nine days after the decree had been signed two hundred and fifty recruits left New Orleans for service in Nicaragua, their passage being advanced by Vanderbilt, who had not yet learned that he had been duped. If the decree had been made public on the day it was signed, Vanderbilt would have known of the transaction before the men embarked and would not have permitted their departure. "As it was," says Walker, "the price of these passages was so much secured by the State on the indebtedness due from the corporation."¹

The commission appointed to determine the amount of the company's indebtedness made its report early in August. As the book-keeping had not been done in Nicaragua, the commissioners were compelled to rely on private records and the testimony of the company's employees. They came to the conclusion that there was an average of two thousand passengers per month over the transit, each paying thirty-five dollars for his passage across the isthmus. The monthly receipts from passengers thus amounted to \$70,000. The aggregate specie shipments amounted to \$34,719,982, which, at the rate of one half of one per cent. of their value, brought in a revenue of \$4,890 per month. The receipts for carrying freight brought the monthly earnings to an aggregate of \$79,000. The legitimate expenses amounted to \$21,000, leaving a net profit of \$58,000 per month or \$696,000 per annum. Of this amount the state was entitled to ten per cent., or \$69,600 per annum, from August, 1851, to March, 1856. To this amount the commissioners added interest at six per cent. per annum, and, as the company had no representative on hand to prove that the annual payments of \$10,000 had been made, these were also added, bringing the total sum due the state to \$412,589.16.² These figures are of course absurd. It is inconceivable that the Nicaraguan commissioners appointed a year previously should have offered to settle the claim for thirty-five thousand dollars, when over ten times that amount was due the state. In making its report Walker's commission frequently found it necessary to use its imagination, and in this respect it seems to have excelled. As soon as the commission had completed its labors, all the property of the old company was sold to Morgan and Garrison. The sale was merely a redemption of the bonds that had been issued to them for money advanced to the government; the

¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

² Wheeler to Marcy, August 2, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II.

property was turned over to them; and they surrendered the bonds.¹

When the news of the transaction reached Vanderbilt he was greatly enraged. On March 17 and again on March 26 he addressed long letters to Secretary Marcy, requesting that the American government intervene and protect the property of American citizens in Nicaragua.² But there was small comfort to be obtained from the State Department. Mr. Marcy had not forgotten that a few months previously the corporation had continually disregarded the neutrality laws and had defied the American government, claiming that it took into consideration only the state of Nicaragua. He was also aware that the company had done a little private filibustering on its own account. On July 5, 1855, it had sent to Nicaragua a force of forty men, all foreigners, to serve as its special soldiers against one H. L. Kinney, an American adventurer, who was threatening to abuse the transit property at Greytown.³ The corporation's record had been unsavory from the beginning, and it was now reaping the fruit of its questionable policy.⁴

Failing to obtain satisfaction from the American government, the officers of the old company despatched to Greytown one Hosea Birdsall to seize all the transit property at that place, as well as any river boats that might arrive, and thus prevent newly arrived filibusters from going into the interior. In case the filibusters attempted to take possession of the boats, Birdsall was instructed to ask any British war-vessel in the harbor—one was always there—to assist him in protecting American property. He was made clearly to understand that with the coöperation of the British navy he must prevent recruits from reaching the filibuster camp and thus accomplish Walker's downfall. Birdsall caused the new company a little annoyance, but otherwise his mission was fruitless.⁵

The Transit Company's ocean steamers were withdrawn in March, and the new contractors were so slow in putting their line into service that Walker's interests were greatly jeopardized.⁶ For

¹ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 247-248.

² Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 120-121, 80-83.

³ Wheeler to Marcy, September 21, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II.

⁴ According to Mr. Ephraim G. Squier, American chargé d'affaires to Central America in 1849, the charter had been obtained during one of the revolutions from the Legitimist faction in return for certain necessities, such as arms and money, and had been contested by the opposing party. From that time on the history of the company had been "an infamous career of deception and fraud". Squier, *Nicaragua*, 689.

⁵ Paulding to Secretary Dobbin, Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, I, 202.

⁶ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 189-190.

six weeks the transit was practically closed, and the filibusters received no reinforcements or supplies. As soon as communication with the United States was reestablished, however, recruits began to pour in, and continued to come until the overthrow of Walker a year later. During the period from June to December, 1856, the filibuster régime appeared to be permanently established. In July Walker became president. A few weeks later a letter in which he disclaimed any intention of seeking annexation to the United States was published by the American press and served to alienate the sympathy of many of his supporters,¹ but at the same time he reestablished—on paper—the institution of African slavery in the republic and thus brought his cause more closely within the sympathies of the southern states.

Shortly after Walker's election to the presidency, a coalition of the Central American states was formed for the purpose of expelling the filibusters, and Vanderbilt found a way to get his revenge. An open transit was the key to the filibusters' strength. If by any means the enemy could get control of the San Juan river and seize the steamboats, no recruits could reach Walker from the Atlantic side; and, as passengers between New York and San Francisco could not cross the isthmus, the ocean steamers would be compelled to suspend operations. By blocking the passage of the San Juan, therefore, Vanderbilt could kill two birds with one stone, overthrowing Walker and at the same time driving the rival company out of business. Spencer, an agent of Vanderbilt, undertook to wrest the control of the river from Walker and seal the fate of the filibusters. From Costa Rica, one of the states of the hostile coalition, Spencer began his operations on December 16, 1856, by embarking with a hundred and twenty natives in canoes and on rafts and floating down the San Carlos river to a point where it joins the San Juan. Here he surprised and bayoneted a garrison of fifty men, then continued his journey till he reached Greytown on December 24. At this place he found and seized four river steamers. The American consul appealed to Captain Erskine, commanding a British squadron in the harbor, but the British officer declined to interfere. The captured steamers were taken up the San Juan, and General Mora with eight hundred more Costa-Ricans, well armed with Minié muskets and fixed ammunition supplied by Vanderbilt,² joined the party, took command, and captured two more steamers and the forts Castillo Viejo and San Carlos, which commanded the passage of the river.

¹ *Montgomery Mail*, December 2, 1856; *Putnam's Monthly*, IX, 430.

² Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 173 ff.

While the party was at San Carlos, the two lake steamers came up bringing American passengers from California, who knew nothing of what had occurred. The lake steamers were also seized, and the passengers were sent on to Greytown in one of the river boats.¹ This was the severest blow Walker had yet received. The loss of the lake steamers made it impossible for him even to come within striking distance of the enemy on the river. There was no practicable route around the lake, and he was therefore effectually cut off from all communication with the Atlantic seaboard. The recruits from California reached him without difficulty, but from the eastern states they were held up at Greytown. Here, in March, 1857, were five hundred men vainly endeavoring to break through the Costa-Rican posts on the San Juan and make their way to the filibuster camp. It was Walker's misfortune that these men who were unable to join his army were of a better quality and better equipped than any recruits he had yet received. They came chiefly from the southern states, where, with the diminishing chances of success in Kansas, attention was being directed more and more to Nicaragua as the next battle-ground of the slavery party.

The sufferings of the disappointed filibusters were terrible. Greytown was too small a village to furnish them subsistence, and for its own protection would not allow the starving men to enter the place without special permission. Malaria appeared, and there were two hundred sick. The inevitable withdrawal of the ocean steamers cut off all chance of returning home, and, rather than die of starvation, the Americans finally appealed to the British fleet for assistance.² Captain Cockburn, the senior British officer, carried three hundred and seventy-five of them to Aspinwall and endeavored to secure them passage on the mail-steamer for the United States. To his credit be it said that he offered to make himself individually responsible for twenty dollars for each of the two hundred men on his own ship. The mail-steamers refused to take the men as passengers, on account of an epidemic of measles among them, and Her Majesty's Ship *Tarleton* finally carried them to New Orleans.³

¹ A report of this exploit of Spencer's was published in the *Boletín Oficial de Costa Rica*, and a translation of the account may be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXXI, 544-545. See also Laurence Oliphant, *Patriots and Filibusters* (London, 1860), 170-190.

Marcellus French, captain of the Alamo Rangers, a company raised and equipped in San Antonio, Texas, for the service of Walker, was among these unfortunates. His story of the hardships of the Americans is given in the *Overland Monthly*, N. S., XXI, 517-523. See also Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 177-191.

³ Paulding to Secretary Toucey, MS., Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, II, 27 ff.; *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1857.

Vanderbilt's man had succeeded in doing what the allied Central American states could not accomplish. American capitalists had set up the filibuster dynasty in Nicaragua, and it was American capitalists that pulled it down.

Walker's situation daily became more critical. The allies closed in on his position and restricted his movements to a constantly narrowing circle. The native population had become actively hostile, many Nicaraguans joined the army of the allies, and after repeated misfortunes Walker's followers were becoming dissatisfied and discouraged. In February, 1857, President Mora, of Costa Rica, issued a proclamation offering protection and a free passage home to all who should desert Walker. Printed copies of the proclamation, scattered near the outposts of the filibuster army, soon found their way into camp and caused an epidemic of desertion.¹ But the heaviest blow was inflicted by Walker's former friends, Morgan and Garrison. The closure of the transit had destroyed their transportation business, and when in April they docked their steamers and left Walker to his fate the filibuster régime received its coup de grâce.

For a final effort Walker assembled his followers in the town of Rivas, and, though disease and desertion had thinned the ranks of the Americans, the allies could not drive them from behind the barricades. Commander Charles H. Davis, of the United States sloop-of-war *St. Mary's*, offered to intervene and bring hostilities to a close. He proposed that the filibusters should lay down their arms, evacuate Rivas, go aboard his ship, and return to the United States by way of Panama. The allies were quite willing to accept this proposition, as it accomplished their purpose without further bloodshed; but Walker, who appeared not to realize the hopelessness of his position, resented the action of the naval officer.² Finally, however, he yielded to the inevitable, and on May 1, 1857, surrendered to the American commander.³

With the failure of the first expedition to Nicaragua northern capital withdrew its support, and only with the help of the slavery party could Walker hope to regain his place on the isthmus. As he had looked to the steamship company for assistance when he first reached Nicaragua, so he now turned to Southern leaders for aid in recovering his lost power. Under the patronage of the southern

¹ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 382.

² In the harbor of San Juan del Sur was the schooner *Granada* in the possession of a squad of filibusters under Captain Fayssoux. Walker thought that if matters came to the worst he could cut his way through the enemy's lines and escape on this vessel.

³ For details of the surrender, see Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 419-429.

states he made a second expedition in November, 1857, but Commodore Hiram Paulding of the American navy landed an armed force at Punta Arenas and arrested the filibusters almost as soon as they set foot on Nicaraguan soil.¹ A third attempt in 1860 was frustrated by the British naval officer Captain Salmon, who arrested Walker on the coast of Honduras and surrendered him to the natives for trial and execution.² It is apparent, therefore, that Walker's first expedition was the only one in which he achieved any results; and the most important factor in this expedition was his transaction with Morgan and Garrison. How indispensable the transportation company had been to the success of the filibusters is shown by the ease with which they were overthrown as soon as its support was withdrawn. The exact extent to which Walker was aided by the steamship monopoly cannot be accurately determined, but Vanderbilt himself admitted that the old company carried a thousand emigrants to Nicaragua in the space of two months.³ The books of the companies were said to show that seven thousand men were carried to Nicaragua from the Atlantic states and about half this number from California,⁴ but this is evidently a gross exaggeration. According to the records of Walker's adjutant-general, the total enlistment in the filibuster army up to February 24, 1857, was 2,288, exclusive of department employees, citizen volunteers, and native troops.⁵ This would indicate that the old and new companies together landed in Nicaragua about four thousand men, including the five hundred whom Spencer blockaded at Greytown. In addition, the filibuster government received large sums of money from the promoters of the new company, exactly how much it is not possible to determine. On this point Walker could have enlightened us, but he chose to remain silent.

As has been shown, shortly after Walker's arrival in Nicaragua

¹ Paulding's action became a matter of Congressional investigation. See MS., Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, II, 51 ff.; Senate Executive Document 13, 35 Congress, 1 Session; Senate Report 20, 35 Congress, 1 Session; House Executive Document 24, 35 Congress, 1 Session; House Report 74, 35 Congress, 1 Session; Senate Executive Document 63, 35 Congress, 1 Session; Senate Executive Document 10, 35 Congress, 2 Session; *Congressional Globe*, 35 Congress, 1 Session, *passim*; *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 466-469.

² *New York Tribune*, August 27, 29, September 1, October 4, 1860; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 17, 1860.

³ Vanderbilt to Marcy, March 17, 1856, House Executive Document 103, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 121. This statement is authenticated by Walker himself, who says that on March 1, 1856, there were in Nicaragua upwards of twelve hundred Americans capable of bearing arms. *War in Nicaragua*, 159.

⁴ *Dublin Review*, XLIII, 375.

⁵ Stout, *Nicaragua*, 209-210.

the American press proclaimed that he went there in the interests of the Transit Company. Later, when he repealed the laws against slavery, many journals of the United States were equally sure that such an act was the whole intent and purpose of his expedition. Yet Walker was neither the agent of capitalists nor the tool of slavery propagandists. Animated by personal ambition, he desired to form out of the weak Central American states a military empire with himself at its head. The incorporation of the new steamship company and the establishment of slavery were means whereby he sought to accomplish his purpose. By the first transaction Walker purposed to bring Americans to Nicaragua both as soldiers and as colonists; by the second, to obtain a class of labor fitted for a tropical country and at the same time to secure the aid and sympathy of the southern states. To regenerate the isthmus by introducing an American population that should own the land and cultivate it by slave labor; to erect on the basis of this new society a federation of the five Central American states, founded on military principles; to control the interoceanic canal and thus bind his government to the maritime nations of the world by the strong ties of commerce—such were some of the plans of Walker.² A fuller discussion of the filibuster's motives does not come within the scope of this paper.

After the removal of the filibusters by Commander Davis the transit remained closed, greatly to the detriment of American interests. On June 27, 1857, a corporation headed by Stebbins and White made a contract with Señor Antonio de Irisarri, chargé d'affaires for Nicaragua, which authorized them to reopen the route; but Vanderbilt, who opposed this company, at once sent his agents to Nicaragua to have the arrangement annulled.³ Costa Rica also greatly complicated the situation by retaining control of the San Juan river and all the steamers. The boundary between Costa Rica

¹ While Walker desired the help of the southern states, he did not propose to make Nicaragua one of their number. On August 12, 1856, he wrote as follows to Domingo Goicouria, whom he had chosen as his emissary to England: "With your versatility, and, if I may use the term, adaptability, I expect much to be done in England. You can do more than any American could possibly accomplish, because you can make the British Cabinet see that we are not engaged in any scheme for annexation; you can make them see that the only way to cut the expanding and expansive democracy of the North, is by a powerful and compact southern federation based on military principles." *Congressional Globe*, 35 Congress, 1 Session, 295.

² See Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 164-167; Edward A. Pollard, *Black Diamonds* (New York, 1860), 111-115.

³ Lamar to Secretary Cass, February 26 and July 9, 1858, and March 4, 1859, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, III.

and Nicaragua had long been a matter of dispute, and the former state thought this a favorable moment to secure its claims. Nicaragua, however, though grateful for the aid of Costa Rica in expelling the filibusters, protested against this seizure of her territory, and war between the two republics seemed inevitable.

Thanks to Walker, the political situation in Central America suddenly cleared. His return to Nicaragua in November, 1857, put the two states into such a panic that by mutual consent they dropped their quarrel and made common cause against the filibuster. After Commodore Paulding's arrest of Walker at Punta Arenas there was harmony on the isthmus. By a treaty of limits Nicaragua made a large cession of territory to Costa Rica, in consideration of aid from that republic in case of further trouble with the filibusters, and in this way Costa Rica became a joint owner of the line of transit.¹ Secretary Cass had in the meantime entered into negotiations with Irisarri, and on November 16, 1857, a convention was signed providing an open and neutral transit through the state of Nicaragua, and empowering the United States to employ military force, if necessary, to protect persons and property conveyed over the route.² As two countries now claimed an interest in the transit, Vanderbilt sought to obtain from Costa Rica a grant similar to the one his rivals had secured from Nicaragua—a scheme that had its advantages, as Costa Rica still held the steamers. His agents therefore strove to prevent the ratification of the Cass-Irisarri treaty in the hope that as soon as it was rejected the American government would enter into negotiations with Costa Rica.³

While matters were in this condition Félix Belly, a Frenchman, arrived in Costa Rica from Paris as the agent of a French company desiring to construct a canal through the isthmus. Belly likewise undertook to prevent the ratification of the treaty, so as to secure exclusive control for his own company. He declared that if the treaty went into effect the transit route would again become a highway of filibusterism and the country would virtually be surrendered to the United States. The Frenchman and General Mora, the president of Costa Rica, proceeded to Nicaragua and at Rivas held a conference with President Martinez. Belly represented that

¹ Lamar to Cass, July 9, 1858, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, III.

² For full text of this treaty see Senate Executive Document 194, 47 Congress, 1 Session, 117-125.

³ Vanderbilt to General Cañas, August 15, 1857; Domingo Goicouria to General Jerez, November 20, 1857. Copies inclosed to Secretary Cass by Irisarri, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes, Central America, II, III.

the French government would undertake to protect the interests of Nicaragua and Costa Rica if the two republics would jointly grant his company the right to construct a canal. As a result, on May 1, 1858, the anniversary of Walker's surrender to Davis, Belly secured a contract signed by the presidents of both republics, and the American rights were sacrificed.¹ Martinez referred the Cass-Irisarri treaty to the Nicaraguan assembly, feeling confident that it would be rejected; but when, to his astonishment, it was eventually ratified, he refused to sign it or to allow it to be sent to Washington.² Mr. Lamar and later Mr. Dimitry, the American ministers, spent months in attempting to negotiate for an open transit, but their efforts were fruitless. Belly's canal scheme also came to naught. In the meantime isthmian travel was diverted to Panama, where a railway had been constructed, and the Nicaraguan route lost much of its importance. It may be said, therefore, that Walker's destruction of the Accessory Transit Company accomplished more than his own downfall: it closed the transit, and by turning the tide of American travel elsewhere perhaps changed the destiny of Nicaragua.

WILLIAM OSCAR SCROGGS.

¹ Félix Belly, *À travers l'Amérique Centrale* (Paris, 1867, 2 vols.), II, 105-173.

² Lamar to Cass, July 9, 1858, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, III.

DOCUMENTS

I. *Virginia Letters on the Scots Darien Colony, 1699.*

THE Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, known later as the "Darien Company", owed its origin to the desire of the Scots to enjoy economic advantages similar to those possessed by the other nations of Europe.¹ The occasion for its establishment in 1695 was the increased pressure exerted by the English East India Company on private merchants. Its national character was the result of a strenuous investigation of its affairs by the English Parliament. It became the darling of the Jacobites as soon as they saw it was opposed by the king. Failure to secure foreign capital forced its directors to stake everything on Paterson's Darien scheme, which was to occupy the southern part of the American isthmus and to maintain a short route to the far East. William III heard rumors of the design, but the plan was kept so secret that he did not feel warranted to order the expedition not to sail. Instead he secretly employed Captain Richard Long, a visionary Quaker, who had made several unsuccessful voyages to America in search of treasure, to ascertain the whereabouts of the Scots. They had reached Darien, November 3, 1698, and were located by Captain Long a few days later. He sailed at once for London, arrived there late in December,² furnished the king with exact information as to the whereabouts of the Scots, months before this news came through the regular channels, and enabled him to take the necessary steps to protect his interests.

No one in Scotland had the slightest inkling of what the king had done until midsummer, when there arrived from America copies of proclamations that had been issued by the governors of Jamaica and Barbados. These were followed before long by copies of similar documents issued by Lord Bellomont as governor of New York and New England.³ All were of the same general tenor. Governor

¹ John Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 8 vols., 1898-1901), VIII, chaps. lxxxiv and lxxxv.

² MS. accounts of Captain Long, Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1698, Dec., Vol. 58, No. 51, p. 278.

³ John Scott, *Darien Bibliography* (Edinburgh, privately printed, 1904), No. 57, note; *A Full and Exact Collection of All the Considerable Addresses . . . and other Publick Papers, Relating to the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*, etc. (London, 1700), 77-83.

Beeston's was the first to be issued and bore date at Jamaica, April 8, 1699. It reads:

Whereas I have received Commands from his Majesty, by the Right Honourable *James Vernon* Esq; one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, signifying to me, that his Majesty is unacquainted with the Intentions and Designs of the *Scots* settling at *Darien*: And that it is contrary to the Peace entred into with his Majesty's Allies; and therefore has commanded me, that no Assistance be given them. These are therefore in his Majesty's Name, and by Command, strictly to command his Majesty's Subjects whatsoever, that they do not presume, on any pretence whatsoever, to hold any Correspondence with the said *Scots*, nor to give them any Assistance of Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, or any other Necessaries whatsoever, either by themselves or any other for them; or by any of their Vessels, or of the *English* Nation, as they will answer the Contempt of his Majesty's Command to the contrary, at their utmost peril.

Such evidence of the king's ill-will aroused great indignation in Scotland. This was raised to white heat a few weeks later when it was learned that the colonists had abandoned Darien. The disaster was at once charged to the issuance of the proclamation. As a matter of fact the colonists had been reduced by the deadly climate to such desperate straits that, on the first rumor which reached Darien of Beeston's proclamation, they stampeded, and deserted the fever-stricken swamps without ever waiting to see how the proclamation would affect them, or even if the rumor that it had been issued was true.¹ This fact did not prevent the company from declaring that the proclamation had not only ruined the first settlement but had so heavily handicapped the succeeding attempts that their entire enterprise was ruined.

Now the orders which gave rise to the proclamations were sent out so secretly that prolonged search in England and Scotland has hitherto failed to reveal any trace of them. Until the discovery by Professor A. C. McLaughlin of these two letters in the Virginia State Library, it has always been a question when the orders were sent out, to whom they were sent, and precisely what directions they contained.

The date of the first letter, January 2, 1698/9, shows that the orders were sent out almost immediately after Captain Long's return, that is, as soon as the king was sure the Scots had settled in Spanish territory. The fact that this letter was addressed to a governor who did not issue a proclamation is fairly clear evidence that all the colonial governors received similar letters, although only three of them thought it necessary to issue proclamations. The contents of the letter throw an interesting light on the diplomacy of the period;

¹*Darien Papers* (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1849), 191-193.

for there is no mention of Darien. Specific reference to the whereabouts of the new colony would only have been to tell the English colonists a piece of news of which the king desired that they should be ignorant as long as possible, lest the more daring spirits should profit by the knowledge to disobey the governors' orders more effectively. To mention Darien would have been to show the Spaniards that he had known of the Darien project in time to have stopped it, for otherwise he could not have received this special information. Furthermore it would have enraged the Jacobites in Scotland by demonstrating that he had sent out a spy in order to undermine their enterprise.

The second letter was sent out after it had become known all over Europe that the Scots were at Darien, and followed the receipt of a memorial against the Scots sent in by the Spanish ambassador in May, 1699.¹ It resulted in the issuance of only one proclamation, and that by Governor Gray of Barbados in September, 1699.² He was probably the only one of the colonial governors who had not heard of the desertion of Darien by the first expedition. The other governors knew that, although reinforcements had been sent out, the enterprise had been damaged beyond repair. HIRAM BINGHAM.

I. JAMES VERNON TO FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

Duplicate

WHITEHALL. 2^d Janry 1698

Sir,

His Maj^{ty} having received Advice from the Island of Jamaica that severall Ships of force fitted out in Scotland were arrived at the Island of St Thomas, (with an Intercon as they Declared) to settle themselves in some part of America their design being unknown to his Maj^{ty}, lest the same should derogate from the treaties his Maj^{ty} have entered into with the Crown of Spain or be otherwise prejudiciall to any of his Maj^{ty} Colonies in the west Indies; his Maj^{ty} Commands me to signify his Pleasure to you that you strictly enjoyn all his Maj^{ty} Subjects or others inhabiting within the districts of your Governm^t that they forbear holding any correspondence with, or giving any assistance to any of the said psons while they are engaged in the fores^d enterprize, and that no provisions, arms, amunition, or other necessarys whatsoever be carryed to them from thence, or be pmitted to be carryed either in their own Vessells or other Ships or Vessells for their use; his Maj^{ty} requires that you do not fail herein; but take particular care that the above mentioned direccons be fully observed, and that you send hither an account of your proceedings in the execucon of these his Commands.

I am Sir

Your most humble Servant

J^A: VERNON

¹ *A Full and Exact Collection*, 40.

² *Ibid.*, 83-84.

II. JAMES VERNON TO FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

WHITEHALL 18th June 1699

Sir

I signified to You his Maj^y Pleasure in January last concerning the scots who had undertaken an Expedition to the West Indies, the place not being then known in which they designed to settle and his Maj^y being since informed that they have taken possession of the Bay of Caerat¹ [or Carrat] near the Bay of Darien between Cartagena and Porto Bello and are fortifying themselves there, seeming resolved to maintain it by force against the Spaniards: His Maj^y Considering this attempt as a violacon of the Treaty's subsisting between his Maj^y and the Crown of Spain, Comands me to acquaint You that he expects his former orders should be strictly observed, a Duplicate whereof is therefore inclosed. I suppose upon the receipt of the first Letter You have given all necessary Directions that no Correspondence should be kept with the said Scotch Colony and that no provisions, ammuniton, or other assistance should be furnisht them, or be suffered to be conveighed to them from any part of your Government, His Maj^y would have the same care continued, so as the said orders may in all particulars be fully obeyed and put in execution.

I am Sir

Your most humble Servant

JA : VERNON

To Francis Nicholson Esq^r His Maj^y Lieutenant and Governour Generall of Virginia in America

2. *A Letter of Marshall to Jefferson, 1783.*

IN this centennial period of the Lewis and Clark exploration, much interest has been displayed in one of the letters in the Draper Manuscript Collection in the Wisconsin Historical Library, a note from Thomas Jefferson, dated Annapolis, December 4, 1783, to General George Rogers Clark, suggesting to the latter an exploration toward the Pacific Ocean, similar in character to that which Jefferson twenty years later succeeded in inducing Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (younger brother of George) to undertake. This letter has already appeared in the columns of the REVIEW (III, 673), and has several times recently been elsewhere published in facsimile. A short time ago the Wisconsin Historical Library was presented by Professor R. E. N. Dodge, of the University of Wisconsin, with an autograph letter of one of his forebears, Chief Justice John Marshall, which throws additional light on this famous letter of Jefferson to George Rogers Clark. The Marshall letter was written at Williamsburg, Va., and addressed to Thomas Jefferson. Therein

¹ Modern Carreto. Governor Gray in his proclamation, September 5, 1699, says "the Island of Cairat near Darien". *A Full and Exact Collection*, 84.

Marshall, who was at the time a member of the state executive council, acknowledges the receipt of a letter written by Jefferson on the fifth instant, inclosing "letters to Gen^l Clarke and M^r Banks", which "I yesterday deliver'd." General Clark was at that time in Williamsburg, pushing his claims for reimbursement for expenses incurred in his celebrated campaign against Vincennes. The letter of Marshall to Jefferson, heretofore unpublished, is not only noteworthy because of its connection with the latter's early project of an exploration through the Spanish domain beyond the Mississippi, but is interesting in itself, because of characteristic allusions to Patrick Henry and other notable contemporaries. It is given in full below.

R. G. THWAITES.

JOHN MARSHALL TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

[WILLIAMSBURG, VA.,] Dec^r 12th 1783

Dear Sir

The letters to Gen^l Clarke and M^r Banks enclosed in yours of the 5th inst. I yesterday deliver'd. Should a letter to Maj^r Crittenden arrive by the next post I can give it a certain and immediate conveyance. I gave you in my last some account of the proceedings of the Assembly. The Commutable bill has at length pass'd and with it a suspension of the collection of taxes till the first of January next. I told you the principle speakers for and against the measure. Col^o R. H. Lee has not attended this Session. This is not all. His Services in the Assembly are lost for ever. 'Tis conjectur'd that Col^o Harry Lee of the Legionary corps, will take his place. You know the character of that Gentleman better than I do and can best determine whether the public will be injur'd by the change. The idea of rendering Members of Congress eligible to the Gen^l Assembly has not been taken up. Indeed the attention of the house since the passage of the Commutable bill has been so fix'd on the Citizen bill that they have scarcely thought on any other subject. Since the rejection of the bill introduc'd by Taylor, Col^o Nicholas (a politician not fam'd for hitting a medium) introduced one admitting into this Country every species of Men except Natives who had borne arms against the state. When the house went into Committee on this bill M^r Jones introduc'd by way of amendment, one totally new and totally opposite to that which was the subject of deliberation. He spoke with his usual sound sense and solid reason. M^r Henry oppos'd him. The Speaker replied with some degree of acrimony and Henry retorted with a good deal of tartness but with much temper; 'tis his peculiar excellence when he altercates to appear to be drawn unwillingly into the contest and to throw in the eyes of others the whole blame on his adversary. His influence is immense. The house rose for the day without coming to any determination and the bill is yet in suspense. The principle point on which they split is the exclusion of the Statute Staple Men. I really am uncertain what will be the determination on this subject.

The Officers will soon begin to survey their lands on the Cumberland. Has Crittenden your Military warrant? The report from Congress with respect to the cession has not yet reach'd us, of course the assembly can have determined nothing about it. My Father set out for the western Country about the 5th of Nov^r. I have not heard a syllable from Crittenden since his departure.

As ever I am with the greatest esteem yours

J. MARSHALL

Banks has applied to me for a considerable sum, on your account but I presume Your letter to him was on that subject. I parry every applicant as well as possible yours J. M.

3. *Charles Pinckney's Reply to Jay, August 16, 1786, regarding a Treaty with Spain.*

THE following speech is found as a printed broadside in the Madison Papers, now in the Library of Congress. The print is contemporary with the incident to which it applied, and the form is the same as the issues of the Continental Congress. It is not probable, however, that Congress had any part in the printing, and it must have appeared as a private undertaking of Pinckney, whose interest in the question of the Mississippi was strong. I have never seen another copy of the speech, nor have I seen any mention of it in contemporary discussions. It places the commercial arguments in telling form, and is an important contribution to the history of an incident in Jay's career which his descendants have sought to bury in forgetfulness. The southern states never forgot the proposition to close the Mississippi; nor would Jay have proposed it if he had not considered a treaty of commerce with Spain of greater importance than the continued wrangling for a right which he knew, by mortifying experiences, Spain would never concede. Better a profitable trade than further negotiations that had thus far come to naught, and that gave little promise of an issue other than failure. Pinckney expresses the Southern point of view, and explains it upon a higher plane than so bitter an opponent of Jay as Monroe, Virginia's spokesman on the same question, was able to adopt.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Mr. Charles Pinckney's Speech, in Answer to Mr. Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the Question of a Treaty with Spain, delivered in Congress, August 16, 1786.

Mr. President,

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs has reported, that, in consequence of the commission and instructions he had received from Congress for the purpose of negotiating with Mr. Gardoqui, he has had several conferences with him upon this subject.

That he had received an offer from Mr. Gardoqui to enter into a commercial treaty upon certain principles, but that he insisted as a part of the treaty, that Spain and the United States should fix the boundaries of their respective territories; and that the latter should relinquish all claim to the right of navigating the river Mississippi.

The Secretary adds, as his opinion, that a treaty may be formed with Spain, upon principles which he then stated, upon the United States forbearing to assert their right to navigate the river for twenty-five or thirty years; and used some arguments to prove the policy of our acceding to this arrangement with her.

In investigating this subject, it is proper to follow the Secretary, and examine

1st. The reasons he has stated, and which ought, in his opinion, to induce us, at this time, to wish the formation of a commercial treaty with Spain.

2dly. The offers which Spain has made, and the terms upon which a treaty may be concluded with her; the benefits to be derived from it, and the manner in which they will operate upon the different parts of the union.

3dly. The price that is to be paid for the treaty, and the consequences that will probably attend the United States stipulating to suspend the assertion of the right for a given term. And

4thly. The policy of Congress's concluding a treaty at all at this time.

I will agree that an equal commercial treaty would be of more advantage to this country, with Spain, than with any other in Europe, except Portugal; but I am not convinced that the relative situation of Spain and the United States is such as ought to render us, at this time, particularly anxious to conclude a treaty upon the principles proposed.

It is thought, if a difference should exist between us, that France will probably be the friend of Spain; as her close connection by compact, and the benefits she derives from her alliance with Spain, are greater than any she can expect from America.—If I understand the politics of France, or if we are to depend upon our communications from thence, we are to suppose that her present system, is a system of perfect peace. She is laboring to repair the expences of the late war, to arrange her finances, and by every possible exertion to augment her marine. She is generally esteemed, what politicians stile, "the ruling power," at present in Europe; and it is more to her interest, and more gratifying to her ambition, to maintain this situation, than by improperly interfering in matters comparatively unimportant, to risque a premature contest with the rival power. I call that a rival power, which not being equal to her upon the whole, still comes nearer this equality than any other—and this is England. France may mediate, but as we are to presume she will always be governed by her interest, she will never risque a contest if she can avoid it, that must involve her with Great-Britain and this country, merely to support Spain in the impolitic demand of shutting the Mississippi.

Though the animosities of Great-Britain are still warm, yet there is sufficient wisdom in her councils to make them yield to her interest. Though she loves us not, she hates France and Spain, and would avail herself of any opportunity, even upon less than equal terms, to strike a blow. With them she never can be in any other than a rival situa-

tion; with us, when the present differences shall have terminated, it will ever be her interest to be closely connected. Our language, governments, religion and policy, point to this, as an alliance that will hereafter be formed, as most likely to to [*sic*] be permanent and productive of good consequences. In a war with France and Spain, the contiguity of the United States, and the convenience of their ports and supplies, would render the aid of this country peculiarly important in any enterprise against their islands.

We also know, if any respect is to be paid to the intelligence and communications of Mr. Adams, your Minister at the Court of London, that the cabinet of Great-Britain are at this time turning a serious eye to South America. The divesting, he says, Spain of that country, and opening to it a free trade, is considered by them as of the first importance, and if any event should take place in which even a distant hope of accomplishing this object should offer, there can be no doubt of her availing herself of it.

So far therefore from fearing the additional weight of Great-Britain, we are to presume if she suffers her interest and her wishes to prevail, that she will importantly interfere in our favour.

The connections of Spain and her influence in Portugal, even if they could ever be of much service, which is very doubtful, can be of no consequence at present, as our latest advices from thence warrant a belief that a treaty between Portugal and the United States has long since been concluded.

It does not appear that any beneficial effects are to be expected from her influence in our favour with the States of Barbary: there is but one mode of obtaining a pacification with them; the price of peace must be paid. You are informed by Mr. Jefferson, that in a late conversation he had with the Count Vergennes upon the subject of a treaty with the Porte, and the aid of his influence to procure a peace with them, the Count informed him, that even in that case, and notwithstanding they owe the Porte a distant tribute, his interference would not procure you a peace a moment sooner, nor a shilling cheaper; in short, that a pacification would be as difficult, and their terms as extravagant as at present: If therefore the influence of Constantinople would be unsuccessful, how is it to be expected that the friendship of Spain would be useful?

Of no more weight is another opinion, which supposes the influence of Spain will promote our interests with the Italian States—true it is that the king of Naples is the son of the king of Spain, but until a peace is made with the States of Barbary, the friendship of the king of Spain will be but of little protection to your commerce in the Mediterranean.—Effect this, and the Italian States will all be ready to receive you upon the same liberal terms without treaty, which one has already offered.

Upon investigating the situation of Spain, it will be found she has strong reasons to be particularly anxious to treat with you at this time.

Independent of the knowledge she must have of the intentions of Great-Britain, she views with a jealous eye the emancipation of these States, and dreads their neighbourhood to her rich and extensive, tho' feeble colonies of South-America. She is desirous to prevent an intimacy between them, well knowing the danger of such an intercourse.

—Hence we find she holds the deserts of Florida as a barrier, and wishes to deprive our citizens of the use of the Mississippi, hoping by these means to postpone an event which she dreads, and fears is at no considerable distance. Being acquainted with your situation, the deranged state of your finances, and the inefficacy of your government, she thinks that this is the time to push her demands, and supposes your distress will force you into a compliance:—but I still trust our inconveniencies when compared to her's, are but temporary. A little firmness and perseverance on the part of Congress, and of recollection on the part of the States, may yet subdue all our difficulties; whereas the Spanish Monarchy carries in its bosom the seeds of its dissolution. Our situation, though unpleasant, is not yet sufficiently desperate to force us into measures derogatory to our national honor. Spain has more to risk, and more to dread from a rupture than we can fear, and though it is undoubtedly her interest to treat at present, it can be only ours on very advantageous terms.

As to the second point, Spain consents to treat with us upon what she terms principles of perfect reciprocity; importation to be freely made in each other's vessels; the duties to be paid by each in the ports of the other, the same as those paid by the natives; masts and spars to be purchased of the United States, for the use of the navy of Spain, and paid in specie, provided they are as good and as cheap as those procured from the Baltic; permission to go to the Canaries, and Mr. Gardoqui has no personal objection that we should have liberty to go to the Philippines, his instructions however do not reach this; her ports in the West-Indies and in South America to be shut, and the article of tobacco to be prohibited in her European ports.

In return we are to admit her subjects freely into all the ports we have, without any exception of articles, upon the footing of natives, and to stipulate the forbearance of our right to navigate the Mississippi for a given term.

In examining this point it must be observed, though the treaty proposes a perfect reciprocity, this reciprocity will be the more or less advantageous, as the commerce of the respective powers is the more or less free in their own ports.

The United States are a free, and Spain is an absolute, government; it is the policy of the former to promote and encourage their commerce, hence their duties are but trifling and easily paid; the impositions and fetters of the latter have almost ruined it, and though our merchants are to be on the footing of natives, yet it is beyond a doubt they will pay four, and in some instances six times as much as their merchants will in our ports; so that the reciprocity here mentioned does not, or cannot exist—the Spanish productions will, in most instances, be imported here at two, and two and a half, and if the impost should operate, at five per cent. The American into their ports in the one case at four times, and in the other at double the sum.

At present American produce is generally sold in the Spanish ports on board the vessel; the purchaser pays the custom and duties, making the necessary deductions, so that though they are large and reduce the value of the commodity, they never appear on the account sales rendered by the consignee.

The duty on eatables, by which I suppose is meant all kind of provision, of grain, or otherwise, is called *millon*, and calculated generally

at ten per cent. at Cadiz, but differs materially in the several towns and provinces. The duty on merchandize imported, may be generally estimated at 25 per cent.

Ricard, in his *Traite du Commerce*, takes notice of an extra duty paid on exportation on foreign bottoms from Cadiz, of 150 reals vellon per pipe on wine, equal to 34s. but the merchants there in making out their invoices charge the wine and brandy *on board*, at certain prices, including all duties and charges, which leave us unacquainted with the exact sum.

The duties on vessels going to South America are extremely high, not less than 25 per cent. ever, and in many cases much higher.

The articles with which Spain is now supplied from this country, she receives upon terms equally beneficial with those proposed by the treaty, and so advantageous is this trade to her, that there cannot be the most distant danger of her ever shutting her ports against us; she does not produce them, and they are necessary and essential to her, it is therefore her policy to open her ports to all that do; this creates a competition, and she is always sure of being well and cheaply supplied. The object of the treaty is therefore unimportant, because it is only to secure that partial intercourse with Spain which now exists, and which it will always be her interest to promote.

The project goes farther and proposes to purchase your masts and spars, provided they are as good and as cheap as she can procure them from the Baltic. This is a stipulation of no consequence. If you have masts and spars of equal size and fitness with those imported from the Baltic, you will always find purchasers.—Spain is a maritime power, she has no territories producing timber of this kind, but masts and spars are and must be always wanted for her navy. Will it not therefore be her interest to encourage as many to bring them to her ports as she can? most clearly it will.

I am told by merchants of repute, and connected in the Spanish trade, that the common timber of this country cannot but rarely, if ever, be exported as good and as cheap as that from the Baltic.—In proof of this, they have appealed to all the shipments that have been made since the war; scarcely one of which has done more than pay the mere freight, sinking the original cost of the timber.

Spain generally produces as much wheat as her inhabitants consume, except in those years when their crops are lost by drought, which is once in three or four. The wheat to supply this, and their islands, and American colonies, they generally procure from Sicily and Poland, and purchase the American wheat when it is as good and as cheap; but they by no means depend upon it. Their European markets however, are always open to it, and to every other kind of provision; nor while they consult their interest will they prohibit it. So that it appears, as far as your articles are useful and necessary, and it is their interest, so far will they open their ports to you; but in the lucrative and truly important trade of their islands and other dominions, or wherever they are afraid of a rivalry, there you are to be prevented.

It is said however, that Mr. Gardoqui is not personally averse to our going to the Philippines, and that from thence in all probability some intercourse will be established with Acapulco. If we are to believe Mr. Gardoqui, when he says it is an invariable maxim of Spanish politics, to exclude all mankind from trading with their colonies and

islands, it appears to me that we are rather to consider this as a ministerial finesse, than amounting to any thing like a certainty that permission will be obtained;—but suppose it is:—One rich ship sails every year from Acapulco to one of the Philippine islands, and returns laden with the commodities of the East-Indies. It is not to be supposed it will be very easy to elude the Spaniards, whose duty it will be to prevent your interfering with the South-American trade. But grant for a moment they connive at it, what great advantages are to be expected from your citizens in this remote and expensive voyage, being suffered to participate in the cargo of a single ship? An individual or two may make their fortunes, but surely no solid advantages are to be derived to the union from this distant and precarious commerce. In short, Sir, as I have observed, this appears to me no more than a ministerial finesse, to which his instructions do not, nor ever will reach.

But in order to bring the objects of the proposed treaty more clearly before the view of the house, permit me to examine them, as they may affect the different states in their operation.

The New-England states (in which can be scarcely included New-Hampshire and Connecticut, their European commerce being inconsiderable, and Rhode-Island not extensive) enjoy at present a beneficial trade with Spain, in the export of their fish, lumber, and other articles, for which they receive valuable returns. Their peltry trade is of no consequence, nor except in the articles mentioned have they any considerable export that will suit the Spanish European markets. The Spaniards have no fisheries of their own;—they consume a great quantity of fish, and are always in want of timber; they will therefore find it their policy to keep their ports open to all the nations that will bring them. Spain does not offer to give us exclusive privileges or preferences, but leaves herself at liberty to form treaties with whom she pleases. The French, in virtue of the family compact, are entitled to the privileges of the most favored nation; and if we examine the treaties of commerce that have formerly existed between Great-Britain and Spain, particularly that of 1667, which is the ground work of all their future treaties, and those of 1713 and 1715, we shall find these nations have been in the habits of a commercial intercourse for a great number of years.—The policy of Europe at present, seems to be peace and commerce. The English and French are pushing their fisheries with astonishing exertions, and endeavouring to depress ours—while therefore Spain in her treaty proposes no advantages that we do not now enjoy, and which it can never be her interest to curtail, and while she leaves herself open to trade with other nations who may attempt to rival them; I cannot see any particular benefit that will result even to the New-England States, under the present project.

New-York and Pennsylvania have the power of exporting wheat and staves, and some other articles; their wheat is valuable in proportion to the scarcity, and failure of crops, and depends upon the contingencies I have already stated—under the treaty nothing more is proposed to them. New-Jersey not being an importing State, cannot be materially interested. Maryland and Virginia may export as they do at present, some wheat and lumber; their great staple tobacco is expressly prohibited, and to remain under its present regulations, so that while the latter must be more injured than any State in the union, by the cession, she will be the least benefitted under the treaty.

The tobacco of North and South-Carolina, and Georgia, is in the same situation, nor will the sale of their other productions be promoted. Indigo, one of their staple commodities, is the product of the Spanish American Islands and Colonies in much greater quantities than they can consume, and of a superior quality to that made in the Southern States, so that there does not remain a probability of this ever becoming an article of commerce.

Rice is always in such demand in Europe, that it wants not the aid of a treaty, nor if it did, would those States which produce it, wish an advantage at the expence of the rights and possessions of any part of the Confederacy.

I trust that upon a candid and disinterested view of the proposed arrangement—the partial, not to say ungenerous, manner in which it is offered, and the few advantages to be derived from its operation, which we do not at present enjoy, that Congress will be induced to suppose it is not an offer of that liberal and extensive kind, which promises a lasting or mutually beneficial intercourse, nor does it hold out such privileges as we might have expected from a power who wishes to tempt us to even the temporary surrender of an important national right. In my judgment she proposes nothing more than she will always be willing to grant you without a treaty, and nothing which can be termed an equivalent for the forbearance she demands.

The true mode to determine this, is to examine the nature and consequences of the demand she makes, on our compliance with which alone a treaty may be formed with her.

It is to forbear the assertion of the right of the United States to navigate the river Mississippi, for the terms of 25 or 30 years. It is said the treaty will not be concluded without this stipulation—that the navigation is unimportant, and that a forbearance will be no sacrifice, as Spain excludes us by force, and will continue to do so—that it would be disgraceful to continue the claim without asserting it—that war is inexpedient, and that the best way would be to enter into a treaty with them, and consent to suspend the claim for a certain time.

The right of the United States to navigate the Mississippi has been so often asserted, and so fully stated by Congress, that it is unnecessary to say any thing upon this subject, particularly as the Secretary in his Report appears to be in sentiment with Congress. But if the treaty proposed was of the most advantageous nature in other respects, while it insisted upon the forbearance, I should think the impolicy of consenting to it, must be obvious for the following reasons:

Because the sale and disposal of the lands ceded in the western territory, has ever been considered by Congress as a sufficient fund, under proper management, for the discharge of the domestic debt. Large sums of efficient money have already been expended in quieting the Indians—purchasing their rights of soil, and in sending out persons to survey it. The offers which are to be made the purchasers, and already established by your resolutions, are the protection and support of the Union—the establishment of republican governments, and the equal enjoyment of all the privileges of citizens of the United States. To those in the least acquainted with that country, it is known that the value of their lands must altogether depend upon the right to navigate the Mississippi. This is the great out-let with which, and with the rivers running into it, nature washes their shores,—points to them the

mode of exporting their productions, and of establishing a commercial intercourse with the rest of the world. Inform them you have consented to relinquish it even for a time, you check, perhaps destroy, the spirit of emigration, and prevent the accomplishment of the object proposed by the sale. But, it is said, the Spaniards already oppose us in the navigation, and that this will as effectually prevent emigration, as our consenting to suspend it. To this it may be shortly replied, that while the purchasers know that the United States claim and insist upon the right, and are negotiating for it, that if the Spaniards refuse to admit us to a participation, the occlusion will be founded in injury, must be supported by force, and will be resisted whenever circumstances shall authorise; a reliance on the support and protection of their parent state, will operate as a spur to emigration.

To me it appears most extraordinary that a doctrine should be attempted to prove, that because we have not at present a government sufficiently energetic to assert a national right, it would be more honorable to relinquish it.

The British government, in violation of the late treaty, hold by force and garrison posts within the territory of the United States. These posts give them the entire command of the valuable fur trade. If they were in our possession, as they ought to be, this important commerce would pursue its usual route, and become an article of considerable export to these states: but we are unable to recover them by force at present, war being inexpedient, and are obliged to submit to the injury and disgrace of their being forcibly withheld. We are now attempting to negotiate with Britain:—suppose she was to offer certain commercial privileges, advantageous to the whole, but operating more particularly in favor of those exports which suit her market, and to which she more anxiously applies her attention than to any other part of your commerce; for to Britain, tobacco and rice are at least as important, as fish and timber to Spain. Suppose I say she was to offer to form a treaty, granting these privileges in lieu of your stipulating that she should hold these posts, and enjoy the fur trade for a given number of years, I ask, whether Congress would conceive themselves warranted in assenting to it, or think the honor of the nation was not wounded by the attempt? Would gentlemen representing the states, particularly interested, suppose themselves at liberty to consent to it without consulting their constituents? I should apprehend not—and yet the posts are held in defiance of the authority and remonstrances of this country. The claim to the Mississippi has been as strongly insisted upon as the claim to the posts, and the cases appear to me so similar, that I should think the same policy that would dictate the yielding the one, might with great propriety consent to the surrender of the other.

Another object more important than the sale and disposal of the Western territory, presents itself in objection to the suspension of the right.

Nature has so placed this country, that they must either be the future friends or enemies of the Atlantic states, and this will altogether depend upon the policy they shall observe towards them.

If they assist them in rearing their infant governments to maturity, and by extending the gentle influence of their laws gradually, cement their union with us upon equal principles, it is fair to suppose they may be an acquisition, rather than a disadvantage.

In their first settlement, exports cannot be much attended to, but if these states increase in the same proportion the United States did, and we are to presume they will exceed them, in the course of a few years, they will turn their views to the best mode of exporting and disposing of their productions. The large navigable rivers which all terminate in the Mississippi, point to them, as has been mentioned, this mode of export;—should the right remain uncaded by Congress, the consideration of the future force of the inhabitants, and a number of eventual circumstances in our favor, which it is impossible at present to foresee, but which are probable, may induce, perhaps compel, Spain to yield us a share in the navigation.

But should it be surrendered, you at once deprive the citizens of the Atlantic states from navigating it, or from having any intercourse with the settlements on its banks, and within your territory. You immediately destroy all connection between them and the inhabitants of the western country: for, after you have rendered them thus dependant on Spain, by using the first opportunity in your power to sacrifice their interests to those of the Atlantic States, can they be blamed for immediately throwing themselves into her arms for that protection and support which you have denied them—for the enjoyment of that right which you have placed it out of your power to grant. [?] Is it not to be clearly seen by those who will see, that the policy of Spain, in thus inducing us to consent to a surrender of the navigation for a time, is, that by having a clear and unincumbered right, she may use it for the purpose of separating the interests of the inhabitants of the western country entirely from us, and making it subservient to her own purposes?—Will it not produce this? It will.—Will it not give her influence the entire command of the numerous and extensive Indian tribes within this country? It will certainly have this effect. When once this right is ceded, no longer can the United States be viewed as the friend or parent of the new States, nor ought they to be considered in any other light, than in that of their oppressors.

There is one consideration, and of some consequence, which ought to be recollected; that is, the impropriety of the United States ever acting under the influence of that kind of policy which is calculated to acquire benefits for one part of the confederacy at the expence of the other.

It is confessed our government is so feeble and unoperative, that unless a new portion of strength is infused, it must in all probability soon dissolve. Congress have it in contemplation to apply to the States on this subject. The concurrence of the whole will be necessary to effect it. Is it to be supposed, that if it is discovered a treaty is formed upon principles calculated to promote the interests of one part of the union at the expence of the other, that the part conceiving itself injured will ever consent to invest additional powers? Will they not urge, and with great reason, the impropriety of vesting that body with farther powers, which has so recently abused those they already possess? I have no doubt they will.

If therefore the entering into this treaty, which really does not in my opinion, hold out any important benefits, and if any, only to a part of the union, should interfere and prevent the States from assenting to invest Congress with proper powers, throwing justice and an equal attention to all the members of the confederacy out of view, ought not

policy to induce us to make the lesser yield to the more important consideration?—If we are prudent it ought.

It may be said it is extremely oppressive, that the Northern and Eastern States should be deprived of a treaty which they conceive an advantageous one, merely to gratify the Southern in adhering to a claim to navigation, unimportant if in our possession, which we have not power to assert, and must therefore submit to be deprived of—but it should be remembered that the cession is the price of the treaty;—if you had not this right to grant, why should Spain treat with you? Will she derive any other benefits from the treaty? No. All she can expect, except the exclusive navigation, she now enjoys, unfettered by stipulations—it would therefore be extremely unwise and impolitic in her unnecessarily to restrict herself. I have stated the reasons which render her particularly anxious to treat with you, and those who are to pay the price, have at least a right to an opinion upon the subject: Besides, the delegates of the different States stand here upon different grounds. The delegates of some of the States, whose territories, or whose claims to territory extend to the Mississippi, or to the waters leading into it, and who consider these states as deriving a claim under the general title of the United States, to navigate the river, view this as an important national right, secured by treaty, upon which they doubt their power to decide without a reference to their constituents; for if, in time of war, under the exclusive rights of Congress, and justifiable only by the law of necessity, their right to divest their constituents of a national claim would be doubtful; how much more so is it in time of profound peace, and when this necessity cannot justify it?

Unless Spain would consent to treat with us upon terms which did not respect the Mississippi, and which afforded us many more advantages than those proposed, I should very much doubt the policy of treating with her at all at this time.

It does not appear to me honorable or politic, that the United States should at present form any treaties of commerce, except upon such principles as would insure to us very considerable benefits, and such as would execute themselves.

It is not honorable, because, though Congress have nominally a right to enter into treaties, they do not possess the power of taking such measures as will ensure an attention to them. The right retained to the States under the confederation; will create a dependence of Congress upon their conduct: this will be as different in the several States as their views and policy, they will each interfere with the other in their regulations, and be incapable of carrying the stipulations into effect. Sensible of this defect, Congress have already applied to the States for additional powers. I would rather wait the issue of this application, which may place us more upon an equality with Spain, than treat under our present disadvantages. I have always been of opinion, that the true policy of the United States consisted in the endeavouring to obtain from their constituents powers sufficient to enable them to establish such regulations as were suited to our situation, and would render our commerce more lucrative to our own citizens than to any others. All our policy should consist in the establishment of these regulations—in the determination never to derogate from them in favour of foreigners; and, except in very particular cases, in not attempting to form commercial treaties, until we were in a situation to

demand and expect privileges without purchasing them even with equivalents. This is the situation of Spain, as it respects you; and, therefore, it is wise in her to push her negotiations, as she expects an important cession, without purchasing it with an equivalent; but I trust we shall have sufficient prudence not to precipitate ourselves into a measure which we may hereafter repent, without first very maturely considering it.

Upon the whole, as the present treaty proposes no real advantage that we do not at present enjoy, and it will always be the interest and policy of Spain to allow; as our situation by no means presses us to the formation of new connections; and as the suspension demanded, may involve us in uneasinesses with each other at a time when harmony is so essential to our true interests—as it may be the means of souring the states, and indispose them to grant us those additional powers of government, without which we cannot exist as a nation, and without which all the treaties you may form must be ineffectual; let me hope that upon this occasion the general welfare of the United States will be suffered to prevail, and that the house will on no account consent to alter Mr. Jay's instructions, or permit him to treat upon any other terms than those he has already proposed.

4. *English Peace Proposals before the Preliminaries of Leoben, April, 1797.*

IN an article in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for January, 1904 (V, 241-264, "Étude critique sur 'Bonaparte et le Directoire' par M. Albert Sorel"), Messrs. Raymond Guyot and Pierre Muret note the existence in the British archives of a document clearly controverting the assertion of most French historians, and notably that of Sorel, that Pitt and his colleagues were never willing to acquiesce in a peace involving the retention by France of the Austrian Netherlands (*ibid.*, 258). This document has never been published. Its importance consists in the fact that it contains both a résumé of proposals made by Lord Malmesbury to France in 1796, at Paris, and an outline of the terms upon which England was ready to make peace in the spring of 1797. In form it is an instruction, dated April 11, 1797, from Lord Grenville to Sir Morton Eden, the English ambassador at Vienna, conveyed by the hand of George Hammond, an under-secretary of foreign affairs, who was to act with Morton Eden in the proposed negotiation, and to whom the instruction equally applied. The instruction was drawn up at a time when the victories of Napoleon in Italy and the Tyrol made it evident that Austria must soon make peace; but before Hammond could reach Vienna the preliminaries of Leoben had already been signed between France and Austria, and Hammond and Morton Eden did not reveal the concessions England was prepared to make. Thus the document is not to be found in the archives of continental

European governments, and no trace of it has yet been noted in the diplomatic correspondence of the period. It has also an added interest from the fact that up to the present time no document has come to light embodying the instructions given by Pitt to Malmesbury some three months later when the latter went to Lille on the peace negotiation of 1797. On this occasion Pitt's "last and final" instructions to Malmesbury were verbal, and all that is positively known of the extent to which Pitt would have gone in his desire for peace is that, on the testimony of several witnesses, he was ready to concede much more than in the month of April. Thus the instruction of April 11, 1797, throws light on the Lille negotiation of that year, and is at least complete proof of Pitt's willingness to yield the Netherlands to France. The transcript here printed was made in 1901 by B. F. Stevens and Brown, a chance reference to the existence of the document having been found by me in the *Dropmore Manuscripts*. The original is in the Foreign Office, Austria, vol. 49.

E. D. ADAMS.

LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR MORTON EDEN.

DOWNING STREET April 11 1797

Most Secret

N^o 24.

Sir Morton Eden.

Sir,

You will have seen by my Letter N^o 23 of this date the line of conduct which it is judged most advisable to pursue with a view to opening Negotiations for Peace by the intervention of the Emperor of Russia, to be employed either separately or in conjunction with the proffered good offices of the Court of Berlin. It is, however, impossible after considering your last Dispatches and those from Colonel Graham, not to feel that the result of the operations of the Enemy in the Tyrolese and in Carinthia may have been such as to lead to the unavoidable necessity of bringing this business to an earlier issue, than would be possible, if it were to take the course of a reference to Russia.

It is with this view that His Majesty has been pleased to approve of Mr Hammond's being made the Bearer of these Dispatches in order that he may assist you with his thorough knowledge of the situation of public affairs here, and of the views of the King's government respecting terms of Peace, in the very arduous and difficult crisis, in which you will in that case have found yourself.

The King confidently relies on the assurances He has received from Vienna that no separate Negotiation will have been entered into with the Enemy in the interval, and at the very time that this Government has been employed in making every possible exertion to find the means of still affording pecuniary assistance to Austria. But if at the period of Mr Hammond's arrival the urgency of affairs should be such as that in the opinion of the Court of Vienna the delay of a reference to Russia, agreeably to the proposal contained in my other Dispatch, would

incur too great a risk of the allies seeing their situation rendered materially worse in the interval, the following are the best lines of conduct which seem to be open for them to pursue: And the King is pleased to give you authority jointly with M^r Hammond to accede in his name to them according to the wishes of the Austrian Government, and in the manner hereinafter stated.

1. The first measure might be the endeavouring to conclude a general armistice avowedly for the purpose of allowing time for the intervention of the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin, (as the French would in such a case certainly require the adjunction of the latter) extending such armistice to all the Belligerent Powers, and stipulating respecting the Naval War that proper time should be allowed for notices in the distant parts of the world, and that no change should be made in the stations of the respective naval forces after the receipt of such notices, and until the expiration of the Armistice.

To an agreement for this purpose His Majesty is pleased to give you full authority to accede in His name, and in whatever form may be settled by concert between you and the Austrian Minister. The arrangement of the details of the Naval Armistice would require some further discussion between this Country and the Powers with whom we are at war, but this might properly be reserved as the subject of direct communication, if the general principle were established. The adoption of this measure, if practicable, would be much the most advantageous way of obviating the difficulty, which might arise from a pressure of circumstances too urgent to admit otherwise of waiting the result of a reference to Russia; because the intervention of the Emperor of Russia would probably be highly beneficial to his Allies in the course of the Negotiation, and because there would be much better ground of security that the conditions of a Peace so concluded would be adhered to by France, than if the whole transaction were to be carried on and concluded by the Belligerent Powers only. But altho' the King would for these reasons prefer that mode of conducting the business, His Majesty is sensible that the necessity may be such as to require indispensably that, without waiting for the effect of any such intervention from any quarter, immediate measures of direct Negotiation with the French should be resorted to. And His Majesty has been pleased in order to avoid unnecessary delay which might eventually be of the utmost prejudice to the common interests, [to] refer the decision as to the necessity to the judgment of the Austrian government which can alone pronounce on the exigency of it's own situation, and on the effect of such Events as shall have taken place between the date of the last letters received from you and the arrival of M^r Hammond.

If the resolution shall be taken by the Court of Vienna either to wait for the answer from Petersburg before any step is taken towards Negotiation, (beyond such general declarations as may be thought proper in order to indicate the continued wish of the Allies for Peace on suitable terms,) or if it should be determined to propose an Armistice, as mentioned above, in order to allow time for obtaining the intervention of the Emperor of Russia, (either singly or jointly with Prussia), you will be under no necessity of entering into any more specific discussion of terms than that to which the contents of my Dispatch N^o 23 will naturally lead.

If on the contrary the urgency of affairs should induce the Court

of Vienna to wish rather to proceed to direct and immediate negotiation with France through the channel of General Clarke, or in such other manner as circumstances may point out, you and M^r. Hammond will then govern your conduct according to the following Instructions.

You will enter with the Austrian Minister into the fullest and most unreserved discussion of the different points, which may come in question respecting the terms of Peace both for Great Britain and Austria.

With respect to the latter you will remark that from the moment that the resolution is taken by this Government to consent to, and even to advise the cession of the Netherlands to France if absolutely necessary as the price of General Peace, the most important and pressing interest which this Country can possibly have with a view to the affairs of the Continent is that the House of Austria may by some just and adequate compensation be continued in a situation, capable of opposing, as it has hitherto done, a powerful barrier to the ambition of France. But the mode of providing for this must naturally be left to the decision of the Austrian government. And you will therefore explain that your Instructions are, to cooperate with the views of the Emperor in this respect. It is impossible to judge at this distance whether the Court of Vienna will turn it's views to acquisitions to be made in Germany by fair exchange of territories to be restored by the French there and in Italy, or whether His Imperial Majesty will rather look to receive His indemnification in the latter quarter only. In either case you have no other line to follow than that of expressing the satisfaction which this government must derive from the success of any plan, which without injustice to others shall give strength and resources to Austria.

On the subject of the Peace between Great Britain and the three maritime Powers of France, Spain and Holland, you will speak with the same freedom and openness.

In the Negotiation opened by Lord Malmesbury at Paris the King proposed the Status ante Bellum between Him and France, with the reserve of an arrangement on the subject of St Domingo, as the entire possession of that Island by the French would materially vary the relative situation of the two Powers in the West Indies.

To Spain His Majesty offered the application of the same principle, conquest having then been made on either side: But it was added that if any such conquest should afterwards be made an adequate compensation should be given for it, if restored.

With respect to Holland He intimated a readiness to restore a considerable part of what He has conquered from that Power, provided that the ancient Constitution and government could be restored: altho it was evident that such restoration would by no means replace that Country in the same political state in which it stood before the War, particularly with regard to it's means of protecting those of it's foreign possessions whose defence is so material to the security of the British Empire in the East. If this restoration of the government did not take place, the King then claimed the right to retain those Conquests, with the exception of so much as might be a fair equivalent for the cessions which He required from that Republic in favour of His Ally the Emperor.

And His Majesty required that Portugal should be comprized in the General Pacification.

The Terms, which under the present circumstances His Majesty would propose, are

1. The restoration to France of all His Conquests except Martinico; the cession of which Island to His Majesty could not be considered as being nearly an equivalent for the great accession of maritime, commercial and colonial power, which France would derive from the possession of the Netherlands and of St Domingo.

2. The restitution to Spain of the Island of Trinidad, unless it should be settled that in lieu of Martinico His Majesty should retain Trinidad with Tobago, or with S^e Lucie, or with any other Conquest made by His Majesty in the West Indies.

3. The restitution to Holland of all His conquests on that Power in the East and West Indies, with the exception of the Cape and Ceylon: the possession of both which points is of the greatest importance to the defense of the East Indies under the new state of things which would arise in Europe from the possession of the Netherlands by France and

4. Peace for Portugal on the footing which He before proposed.

By this Plan Great Britain would restore to France Pondicherry, Mahe, Chandernagore, S^e Lucie, The Islands of the Saints, Tobago, a large part of the Island of St Domingo, and the Islands near Newfoundland with the Fishery on the former footing.

To Spain, Trinidad.

And to Holland, Demerara and Berbice in the West Indies, and in the East, Cochín, Chinsura, and the Islands of Amboyna and Banda, with the smaller Islands in that quarter which afforded the means of carrying on the chief part of her East India Trade.

And, if Trinidad were together with any other of the West India Conquests substituted in the place of Martinico, the cession would on the whole be still more important.

All these are cessions, which the King offers with a view to promote the object of general Peace, and to procure for His Allies reasonable and adequate conditions, His Majesty not having lost during the war any part of His possessions as they stood at the commencement of it, and not having therefore any one object of restitution to demand from any of His Enemies. Nevertheless as a proof of his moderation and good faith the King is pleased to authorize you to declare to the Austrian Minister His readiness to accede to any Peace satisfactory to Austria in which the points already mentioned shall have been secured to Great Britain.

If either of the plans for treating under the intervention of other Powers shall be adopted, or if with such intervention a congress or general meeting at some central place in Europe of Ministers from the different Belligerent Powers shall be agreed upon, you will accede in the King's name to such proposal, and you will give the most explicit assurance that not a moment will be lost in sending a proper person to assist in His Majesty's behalf at such congress or meeting. And if the same is fixed to be held at any place central or nearly so to the Belligerent Powers, it is probable that such Person might arrive there as early as any of the Ministers from any other Powers.

If the Negotiation should under circumstances of pressure such as I have already described, be carried on at Vienna, you will there together with M^r Hammond declare yourselves to be authorized in virtue of the Full Powers herewith transmitted to you to treat and con-

clude a Peace conjointly with the Austrian Minister. You will concert with M. Thugut on every point that may relate to the most advantageous manner of bringing forward and enforcing these terms and of supporting at the same time the views and interests of Austria on the grounds already stated. But you will not on any account without further directions from His Majesty accede to any terms less favourable to Great Britain than those already stated.

If the immediate conclusion of Peace either at the Arch Duke's Head Quarters or at any other place in Italy or in Germany, where there would not be time to send a British Minister duly authorized and instructed, shall be rendered necessary by any Events subsequent to those of which we are now informed, you will in that case express to the Austrian Minister the King's entire confidence in the good faith and friendship of His Ally, and you may give Him a formal assurance of the King's adherence to any Treaty, which His Imperial Majesty may conclude on the behalf of Great Britain and Austria, and in which the terms already stated shall be secured to Great Britain. Of this paper I enclose a sketch for your information and guidance, but it must be left to your discretion and that of M^r Hammond to vary it as to form in such manner as the particular circumstances of the case may happen to require.

P. S. Since the above was written it has occurred to me that there are two cases not particularly specified in this Dispatch or in that No 23 which accompanies it. And altho' the line to be pursued in those cases seems to follow very clearly from what has been said on other points in those Dispatches I have thought it better to put you distinctly in possession of the ideas entertained here on the subject.

The first is, the possibility that even before the arrival of these Dispatches Negotiations may actually have been commenced with General Clarke.

If this has been done in such a manner as to leave it still possible to wait for the intervention of Russia and if the circumstances of the Campaign will allow it, the King as I have already stated to you would much prefer that manner of treating to any other. But if the pressure is too urgent, to admit of that delay you will then act as you are instructed to do under the circumstances of a negotiation whether for armistice or peace being opened on the same grounds subsequent to your arrival.

2^d The other case is, that of any considerable and brilliant success having been obtained by the Arch Duke. A circumstance of this nature would certainly remove the urgency of an immediate negotiation, and would therefore afford time for asking and obtaining the intervention of Russia. But it would not be considered here as superseding the necessity of such application, which on the contrary you are in that case to press to the utmost and by every argument that it is possible to use, in order to prove it's indispensable necessity.

5. An Interview of Governor Folch with General Wilkinson.

THE original of this letter was found among a large number of miscellaneous Cuban papers in the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts. It removes any doubt as to the truth of the statement, made by Yrujo to Cevallos, in a letter of November 10, 1806,

that, "by means of Governor Folch's connection with General Wilkinson, he [Folch] must be perfectly informed of the state of things and of Burr's intentions",¹ and throws new light on the apparently close and interesting relations between Wilkinson and the Spaniard. In his *Memoirs* Wilkinson makes no mention of any secret dealings with Folch, and we know nothing positively about their relations, except what this letter reveals, and also that, in January, 1807, Wilkinson solicited and obtained a letter from Folch. In this letter Folch declared that he had never been told by his uncle, Miro, the former governor, that Wilkinson had held a commission and enjoyed a pension from the court of Spain; he said also that there was no document in the records in his possession showing any such fact. The letter saw the light in *A Plain Tale*, etc. (New York, 1807), p. 19. It was reproduced by Clark in *Proofs* (appendix, 14), where it was confidently argued (pp. 64-67) that, while these statements of Folch might be true, they were specious and misleading and did not disprove the charge of Wilkinson's duplicity.

The personality of Folch is not well known. He was in his fifty-third year at the time of this letter. He had taken a prominent part in the campaigns of Bernardo de Galv  z which drove the British from West Florida (1779-1781), and had subsequently held important military commands in Louisiana and Florida. In 1789 he was made governor of West Florida; and he served in that capacity till November, 1812, when he was removed to Havana as lieutenant-governor; he died there in 1829.² He says himself, in the letter to Wilkinson above referred to, that he had resided in Louisiana and West Florida since July 14, 1783, when he went to New Orleans at the pressing invitation of his uncle, Don Estevan Miro, who was at that time governor.³ As the governor of West Florida he was frequently engaged in disputes with the governor of Orleans territory, W. C. C. Claiborne, concerning the claims set up by the United States to West Florida, the right of the Americans to use the Mobile, and the right of the Spaniards to carry their property up the Mississippi.⁴ At least as early as March, 1809, Folch had come to the conclusion that Florida would have to be ceded to the United States,⁵

¹ For this letter see W. F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 92.

² Pezuela's *Diccionario Geografico, Estad  stico, Historico, de la Isla de Cuba* (4 vols., Madrid, 1863-1866).

³ Miro was not appointed governor till July 14, 1785, but, as he was acting governor in 1783, we need not consider that there is any discrepancy.

⁴ Claiborne's Correspondence, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State.

⁵ Claiborne to the Secretary of State, March 19, 1809, Territorial Papers, Orleans Territory, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State.

and in the following year, when the province was threatened, he offered, December 2, to surrender it, if succor did not reach him from Havana or Vera Cruz before January 1, 1811.¹ During the crisis of the overthrow of the Spanish Bourbons by Napoleon, he declared himself in favor of the independence of Spanish America and seems to have conspired for that of Mexico.²

GOVERNOR FOLCH TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CUBA.

Sor Presid^{te} Gob^{er} y Capⁿ Gr^{al}.

No. 72
Reservado.
Expresa las
causas que medi-
aron p^a pasar
p^a Nueva Or-
leans al regreso
de Baton Rouge
p^a Panzacola;
El obsequioso
recibimiento q^e
á su llegada se le
hizo, y la corre-
spondencia y
conversaciones
q^e durante su
permanencia en
Orleans tubo con
el General Wil-
kinson.

De resultas de una ligera indisposicion que tuve en Baton Rouge, tan ligera que aun en el mismo paraje fue ignorada de muchos, recibí una carta del Gobernador de N^{va} Orleans, de la que es copia la que va adjunta. Su inesperado recibo, su contenido y lo que me participaron varias cartas particulares de d^{ña} Ciudad, me convencieron de que el citado Gobernador, y el General Wilkinson deseaban verificase mi regreso por la Nueva Orleans para que con los obsequios que me tenian preparados, hacerme olvidar la impolitica negativa que me dieron quando en mi viaje á Baton Rouge pedí pasar por aquel Territorio.

Ademas de la carta de que envio á V. S. copia, dhos S^{res} se empeñaron con los sugetos á quienes saben meresco estrecha amistad, para que me induxesen á pasar por la Nueva Orleans; pero mi repuesta á estos fue en terminos dudosos, ocultandoles mi decidida determinacion á regresar á Panzacola sin tocar en Nueva Orleans.

A los ultimos dias de mi residencia en Baton Rouge, conoci empeño en algunas personas para saber el rumbo que intentava tomar en mi proximo viaje, y aunque me lo preguntaron directa é indirectamente; mis repuestas ambiguas y misteriosas los dexaron siempre en la duda. Mi equipage salio de Baton Rouge sin que nadie supiese, si los mandaria embarcar en el Misisipy para bajar por el á la Nueva Orleans, ó lo enviaria al Rio Iberville para dirigirme por el á Panzacola; pero estas dudas cesaron cuando me vieron embarcar en este ultimo para transferirme por los Lagos.

Cuando llegé á la boca del Bajo Manchak, el viento contrario me impidio salir al Lago Pontchartrain y en esta detencion fui visitado por una goleta procedente de N^{va} Orleans con varias personas enviadas por el General Wilkinson, el Gobernador Claiborne y diferentes personas de caracter y consideracion en d^{ña} Capital, no solo para obsequiarme sino para inducirme á entrar en Nueva Orleans. El primero me hizo decir que por un mero puntillo, no debia perjudicar los intereses de mi Patria, que exigian me dexase ver en la citada Capital, y el Coronel Bellechase uno de los ultimos me hizo decir que si pasava sin entrar en la Nueva

¹ Folch to Robert Smith, December 2, 1810, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 398.

² Claiborne to the Secretary of State, March 19, 1809, and April 21, 1809, *Territorial Papers, Orleans Territory, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State*.

Orleans produciria un mal efecto entre las personas adictadas á nuestro Gobierno, y á él se le habia comisionado como diputado para venir á suplicarme accedise á los deseos de los Luisianeses y que por haberse sentido indispueto al momento de embarcarse, comisionava en su lugar á D^o Luis Declouet.

El solo punto que yo habia consultado para no ir á la N^{va} Orleans, era la economia á que me fuerza la cortedad de mi sueldo, pues habiendo ya gastado el correspondiente á un año durante el tiempo de la Expedicion, era preciso gastar el sueldo del otro año para concluir el presente, sin contar con los gastos extraordinarios que debia ocasionarme mi visita á la Nueva Orleans: Sin embargo al ver el empeño, en los terminos que llevo expuestos, no pude ni crei prudente resistirme.

Al llegar á la vista del Puente de S^a Juan, salio una Falúa con un Teniente de Navio de la Marina de los Estados Unidos á suplicarme baxase á tierra en ella, y para no cansar á V. S. con la prolixidad que exigiria este detall[e], solo dire que si el mismo Presidente hubiese venido á la Nueva Orleans no hubieran podido hacerle mejor recibimiento q^o el q^o yo experimente.

Lo que ocupó algo mi imaginacion fue el buscar la causa del empeño q^o manifestaron el General y Gobernador en que yo entrase en N^{va} Orleans, sabiendo ambos que los obsequios que me haria el Pueblo eclipsaria sus dignidades, motivo, en el caracter de ambos, mas propio para alejarme, que para aproximarme de su residencia. Crei desde luego habria orden del Presidente para q^o efectuasen una reconciliacion conmigo á fin de disipar el resentimiento que podia haber producido la inesperada negativa que dieron á mi solicitud de pasar por Nueva Orleans al subir á Baton Rouge.

No me engañe en esa inferencia, segun me informo D^o Daniel Clark, diputado de la Luisiana en el Congreso, quien me aseguró haberle dicho el Presidente, quando se le participó que se me habia negado el paso por la N^{va} Orleans, que sentia esta determinacion del Gobernador Claiborne, que la habia reprehendido, y encargado procurasen repararla. Sin embargo no fueron en mi concepto los deseos del Presidente los que motibaron el fervoroso convite que se me hizo de entrar en dicha Capital, sino la conveniencia propia del General y Gobernador segun manifestará lo que voy á exponer.

Pocos dias despues de mi arribo á la Nueva Orleans, recibí á las siete de la mañana una espuela del General Wilkinson, pidiendo una audiencia reservada para la hora que me acomodase, y habiendole contextado dexandola á su arbitrio, vino á verme á las nueve del mismo dia trayendo consigo un lio de papeles. La conversacion que paso entre los dos en esta dilatada visita, seria muy larga de referir, y en obsequio de la brevedad solo diré lo que considero digno del conocimiento de V. S.

Es preciso antes de continuar entere á V. S. que durante los disturbios de Burr dño General ha mantenido constantemente una correspondencia conmigo por medio de una persona de su confianza, en que

me ha manifestado no solo las noticias que adquiria, sino tambien sus intenciones en los varios apuros en que podia verse.

Despues de los cumplimientos de estilo me dixo: V. es un verdadero Español para el secreto. No obstante haberle yo puesto á V. muy buenas centinelas no se pudo descubrir la intencion de V. hasta que no se embarcó en el Rio Iberville; pero veinte y cuatro horas despues lo supe yo aqui é inmediatamente hice salir á su encuentro nuestro amigo comun Declouet, dando á V. muy sinceras gracias por el favor de haber adherido á mis ardientes deseos.

V. sabe en resumen lo que ha mediado entre Burr y yo, y V. sabe tambien que mis Enemigos quieren representarme uno de los conspiradores del partido de ese caudillo Rebelde. Estos papeles que traigo para presentar á la inspeccion de V. le convenceran, si he sido ó no fiel á la causa de mi Patria, y á los verdaderos intereses de la España. El examen fue largo por estar los mas en cifra; pero de todo lo que vi quede plenamente persuadido habia obrado conforme á los intereses de la España, y así se lo asegure para su satisfaccion.

Si V. esta convencido de mi recto proceder, espero no tenga reparo en auxiliarme contra los ataques q^o me preparan mis Enemigos. Sin duda tendra V. noticia de la representacion que se esta tramando en el Consejo Legislativo contra mi y el Gobernador Claiborne, promovida por el Cuerpo de Abogados de esta Ciudad para dirigirla al Congreso. Esta produccion se compone de lo mas negro y artificioso que la esencia de la malicia del hombre puede producir, y sabiendo yo que los que dirigen el Consejo Legislativo son todos Amigos de V. le suplico emplear sus esfuerzos para disipar esta obra que esta ya muy adelantada. Le contéste q^o haria cuanto estuviera de mi parte, y que en el termino de tres dias creia poder darle repuesta positiva. No sin bastante trabajo logre apoderarme de la pluralidad de votos; consiguiendo al fin se rechasase la representacion que tanto temian el General y Gobernador, cuya noticia recibieron ambos con mucha satisfaccion.

A los pocos dias de haber obtenido la q^o llevo referida, solicitó de mi el expresado General me interesase, para q^o una representacion, que por medio de algunas personas que le eran adictas se promovia á su favor y del Gobernador en el Consejo Legislativo, pasase con aprobacion, lo que logré igualmente y crei deber prestarme á ello para manifestarles que la España podia serles util hasta en sus propios paises.

Esta es la causa principal del anhelo q^o manifestaron dhos Jefes para q^o visitase la Nueva Orleans: dexando concluido cuanto creo digno de la noticia de V. S. sobre este particular.

Dios qñe á V. S. muchos años.

Viz^{to} FOLCH.

PANZACOLA 25 de Junio de 1807.

Sõr Marq^a de Someruelos.

[Indorsement:] R^{da} en 16 de Ag^{to} Cont^{da} en 22 de id.

[Translation.]

Mr. President Governor and Captain General.

In consequence of a slight indisposition which I suffered at Baton Rouge, so slight that even there many persons did not know of it, I received a letter from the governor of New Orleans, of which the enclosed is a copy.¹ Its unexpected receipt, its contents, and what was communicated to me in various letters from that capital, convinced me that the aforesaid governor and General Wilkinson desired that I should make my return by way of New Orleans, in order that, by means of the reception which they had prepared for me, I should be made to forget the impolitic refusal which they gave me when in my journey to Baton Rouge I asked permission to pass through that territory.²

Besides the letter of which I send Your Excellency a copy, the aforesaid gentlemen urged the citizens [of Baton Rouge], to whom they know I owe little friendship, to induce me to pass through New Orleans; but my reply to these was in doubtful terms, hiding from them my decided determination to return to Pensacola without touching at New Orleans.

Toward the last days of my residence at Baton Rouge, I discovered a desire on the part of some persons to know the route which I intended to take in my coming journey, and, although they asked me directly and indirectly, my ambiguous and mysterious replies kept them always in doubt. My baggage left Baton Rouge without any one's knowing whether it was sent to be shipped at the Mississippi to sail down this river to New Orleans, or to the river Iberville to take this route to Pensacola; but these doubts ceased when they saw me embark on the latter to go by way of the lakes.

When I reached the mouth of the lower Manchac, the contrary wind prevented my entry into Lake Pontchartrain, and while thus detained I was visited by a schooner from New Orleans with various persons sent by General Wilkinson, Governor Claiborne, and other persons of

¹ This communication is not among Claiborne's Correspondence preserved in the Department of State; but, looking through the six volumes of this Correspondence, we have found that a great many letters to which references are made, and especially inclosures, are missing. Cf., however, the following, April 24, 1807: "Governor Folch, accompanied by two or three Spanish officers arrived in this City last evening. I shall have a conference with him on this day, and will endeavor to make some arrangements as to the difficulties referred to in my letter of the 21st inst.", i. e., the opposition which Folch had made to the passage of American troops by the way of Mobile to Fort Stoddert.

² Folch was marching with three hundred men to the defense of Baton Rouge, which he believed would be the point of Burr's attack. See McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 264. In a letter to the Secretary of State, April 21, 1807, Claiborne explained that "The refusal of a passage by the route of N O to Baton Rouge, alluded to, happened in January last. At a period when this City was in a state of alarm by the movements of Burr, Governor Folch notified to me his arrival at the mouth of the Bayou St John, and requested permission to pass by N O on his way to B R.—he was answered in terms the most respectful, that it would be agreeable to me that he should continue his route by water; at the same time renewing to him the assurances of the friendly disposition of the Government of the U S towards that of Spain." MS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State. The answer to Folch was exactly in these terms. See Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, IV, 176.

position and distinction in that capital, not only to greet me, but to induce me to enter New Orleans. The former sent to tell me that on account of a mere punctilio I should not prejudice the interests of my country, which required that I should show myself in the aforesaid capital; and Colonel Bellechase, one of the latter, that if I passed without entering New Orleans it would produce a bad effect among the persons inclined to (adictadas á) our government, and that he had been commissioned as deputy to come to request me to accede to the desires of the Louisianians, but that, having felt indisposed at the moment of embarking, he commissioned in his stead Don Louis Declouet.

The only reason that I took into account for not going to New Orleans was the economy to which I was constrained by the limitedness of my salary, since having already spent a whole year's salary during the time of the expedition, it was necessary to spend the next year's to finish the present, without counting the extraordinary expenses which a visit to New Orleans would occasion me: in spite of this, seeing the eagerness which I have already described, I could not resist nor did I think it prudent to do so.

On coming in sight of the bridge of St. John there approached a yacht with a naval lieutenant of the United States to request me to go ashore in her; and, in order not to tire Your Excellency with the prolixity which this matter would require, I will only say that if the President himself had come to New Orleans they could not have given him a better reception than the one I experienced.

What occupied my thoughts somewhat was the cause of the eagerness manifested by the general and the governor that I should enter New Orleans, both knowing that the reception which the people would give me would eclipse their dignities, a motive, in the character of both more calculated to keep me from their residence than to entice me to it. I of course believed that there was an order from the President that they should effect a reconciliation with me, so as to dispel the resentment which the unexpected refusal that they gave to my request to pass through New Orleans on the way to Baton Rouge might have produced.

I was not mistaken in this inference, as I learned from Mr. Daniel Clark, deputy from Louisiana in Congress, who assured me that the President had told him, when he knew that passage through New Orleans had been denied me, that he regretted this decision of Governor Claiborne, that he had reprehended it, and had requested that they should try to make reparation for it.¹ Nevertheless, to my mind the desires of the President were not the reason for the fervent invitation made to me to enter that capital, but the personal convenience of the general and the governor, as will appear from what I shall relate.

A few days after my arrival in New Orleans, I received at seven o'clock in the morning a request from General Wilkinson for a private audience at any hour which suited me, and having replied, leaving it to his choice, he came to see me at nine o'clock the same day, bringing with him a bundle of papers. The conversation which took place between us in this extended visit would be too long to relate, and, for the sake of brevity, I will say only what I consider worthy the knowledge of Your Excellency.

¹ This is not confirmed by any allusion in Claiborne's Correspondence in the Department of State.

It is necessary before continuing to inform Your Excellency that during the disturbances of Burr the aforesaid general has, by means of a person in his confidence, constantly maintained a correspondence with me, in which he has laid before me not only the information which he acquired, but also his intentions for the various exigencies in which he might find himself.

After the formal greetings he said to me: "You are a true Spaniard for secrecy. In spite of my having set very good spies over you, your intention could not be discovered until you had embarked on the river Iberville; but twenty-four hours afterward I knew it here, and immediately I sent out to meet you our mutual friend Declouet, thanking you very sincerely for the favor of having adhered to my ardent desires. You know in brief what has occurred between Burr and myself, and you also know that my enemies wish to represent me as one of the conspirators of the party of that chief rebel. These papers which I bring to present to your inspection will convince you whether I have or have not been faithful to the cause of my country, and to the true interests of Spain." The examination was long on account of most of them being in cipher; but from all that I saw I was fully persuaded that he had acted conformably as suited the true interests of Spain, and so I assured him for his satisfaction.

"If you are convinced of the rectitude of my proceeding, I hope that you will not hesitate to help me against the attacks which my enemies prepare for me. Doubtless you are aware of the memorial against myself and Governor Claiborne which is being drawn up in the legislative council, promoted by the association of lawyers of this city, to be sent to Congress. This production is made up of the blackest and most fraudulent [lies] that the essence of the malice of man can produce, and knowing that those who control the legislative council are all friends of yours, I beg you to use your efforts to destroy this work, which is already very far advanced." I replied that I would do all in my power, and that within three days I thought I would be able to give him a positive reply. Not without a great deal of trouble did I succeed in securing the plurality of votes, obtaining at last the rejection of the memorial so much feared by the general and the governor, which news both received with much satisfaction.¹

A few days after having obtained the success to which I have referred, the said general solicited me to interest myself in order that a memorial which through certain persons who were attached to him was being promoted in the legislative council in favor of himself and the governor should be approved; this I also obtained,² and I thought

¹ The memorial was rejected by a vote of fourteen to seven. See *Debate in the House of Representatives of the Territory of Orleans, on a Memorial to Congress, respecting the Illegal Conduct of General Wilkinson*, March 16, 1807. A copy, with comments written on the margins by Governor Claiborne, is in the Library of Congress, Political Pamphlets, vol. 105. The memorial was presumably transmitted to the Secretary of State by Claiborne with his letter of March 23, 1807, as there stated, but the letter which he promised, pointing out its errors, etc., is not among his correspondence in the Department of State.

² The following is the only reference to this in Claiborne's Correspondence: "I have the honor to enclose you a copy of two addresses signed by many respectable citizens of this Territory approving the late conduct of General Wilkinson and myself." Claiborne to the Secretary of State, March 27, 1807. The addresses, however, are not among Claiborne's Correspondence.

that I ought to lend myself to it in order to show them that Spain could be useful to them even in their own country.

This is the principal cause of the anxiety which the aforesaid leaders manifested that I should visit New Orleans. I have said all that I believe worthy of your notice on this matter:

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

VINCENT FOLCH.

PENSACOLA, June 25, 1807.

Marquis de Someruelos.

[*Indorsement:*] Received August 16, answered August 22.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Religious Persecution: a Study in Political Psychology. By E. S. P. HAYNES, late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. (London: Duckworth and Co. 1904. Pp. xi, 208.)

THIS is a small book on a large subject. Happily, its theme is narrower than its title. What really interests Mr. Haynes is not persecution but toleration, and toleration only on its political side; and for the period since the sixteenth century he restricts his study to England and America. Yet, even thus narrowed, the task he sets himself is not a light one. His object, he tells us (p. 17), is "not only to attempt a historical sketch of the growth of toleration in the civilisation of Western Europe and its outgrowths, but also to demonstrate that in general the political phenomenon known as religious toleration has necessarily a sceptical basis". Even so vague and so trite a thesis demands serious research; and the plea that "the subject here discussed ought to be discussed" (p. viii), so far from disarming criticism, is a confession that the theme is still too vital for careless treatment.

But Mr. Haynes's book is not a work of research. He is still a very young man. So lately as 1899, as we learn from his preface, he was an Oxford undergraduate; and, though he then began the present study, his work, he tells us, has been sadly interrupted by business. His book shows only too plainly these limitations. With the more discursive English writers on his topic he is familiar. He has even dipped into a few works of first-hand research, like the studies of Mr. W. M. Ramsay and Mr. E. G. Hardy on the relations of Rome and Christianity or Mr. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, but in so desultory a fashion that the statements he bases on them will perhaps startle their authors. His personal acquaintance with the sources seems limited to the verifying of a citation or two from the classics and the Fathers. Even in his knowledge of what has been written in English on his subject there are strange gaps, and of the existence in other tongues of a rich and multiplying special literature he shows no suspicion. He quotes, indeed, a single German essay—the translated address of Döllinger on the "History of Religious Freedom"—and he has used, in French, *La Cité Antique* of Fustel de Coulanges, Ernest Renan's *Origines du Christianisme*, and the general history of Lavissee and Rambaud; but of the monographs in these and other tongues, even though so pertinent as the studies of Paul Frédéricq or Francesco Ruffini's *La Libertà Religiosa*, neither his notes nor his text betrays any knowledge.

But, if Mr. Haynes's equipment be scanty, his courage is more than

ample. Of the modesty of his preface his text has little. With the easy omniscience of the sage or the sophomore and with a lightness of touch which borders hard on flippancy he shrinks from no generalization and his pages scintillate with epigrammatic *obiter dicta*. To the most famous case of Protestant intolerance he devotes two sentences (p. 94): "Calvin attempted to intimidate his opponents by the burning of Servetus, a mystical writer who criticised the doctrine of the Trinity. His person Calvin only obtained through collusion between the Catholics at Lyons and the anti-Calvin party in Geneva, who betrayed Servetus after promising safety to him." Could more of unverifiable assumption and grotesque misconception be compressed into so brief a space? Even more startling is his dismissal of the witch-persecutions. Scholars who have supposed these at their height in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries will be puzzled, if relieved, to learn (p. 59) that "It is common to think that Joan of Arc's condemnation as a witch was a judicial anachronism." Even Mr. Haynes knows a moment's doubt; for, having discovered Gilles de Retz, he hastens to aid: "Yet as late as 1440 one Maréchal de Rais was hanged and burned for sorcery at Nantes." Then, rising to a height of assurance which no evidence can shake, he appends this astonishing foot-note: "It is only fair to add that witches were often burnt both in England and Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *but not wizards*." After these specimens of Mr. Haynes's learning in his own field it would be trivial to point out such minor inaccuracies as his crowning of Charles the Great on Christmas Eve (p. 51), his placing of papal Avignon on French soil (p. 66), or his apparent confusion of Augustine of Canterbury with Augustine of Hippo (pp. 39, 43, 44) and of Sir Matthew Hale with Sir James Hales (p. 115). What really mars his book is not petty slips, of whatever sort, but a general thinness of historical knowledge which betrays itself in almost every paragraph.

The best part of the book is its sketch of the development of English thought on tolerance in the last three centuries; for here it shows some first-hand acquaintance with the sources. For America, on the other hand, Mr. Haynes confesses to reliance in the main on the work of Mr. S. H. Cobb; and, though he can hardly have learned from Mr. Cobb that Providence is in Massachusetts (p. 103) or that the freemason Morgan was "drowned in Canada" (p. 34), it is clear from such generalizations as his assertion (p. 15) that "In the United States politicians use more rhetorical and sentimental language every year" that his personal researches into our conditions have not been profound. This is the more to be regretted because it seems to have been largely the defects of American toleration and his conviction that "it would be well for all to appreciate that a Church is not necessarily liberal because it is dissociated from the State, and, *vice versa*, that a new country is not necessarily tolerant because it is new" (p. vii), which suggested the writing of his book. The late Professor Ritchie, he tells

us, "advised publication on these grounds". The dominance of that teacher's influence is, indeed, perceptible everywhere in Mr. Haynes's book; and not least is this the case in what concerns America. But Professor Ritchie, however resolute to be fair to the persecutor, is at bottom a loyal and consistent, if a temperate, friend of liberty. If he exposes the narrowness of our tolerance, it is to shame us into a broader. His dazed disciple is ready to condone all persecution, past or present, our own included; and the brutal dictum of Samuel Johnson, so indignantly repudiated by Professor Ritchie—"Every man has a right to utter what he thinks truth, and every other man has a right to knock him down for it"—Mr. Haynes declares (p. 7), "with certain reservations and qualifications, really hits the nail on the head".

Despite the inadequacy of its scholarship, the looseness of its logic, and the too frequent heedlessness of its style, Mr. Haynes's book has one great merit—its unblinking honesty. Could he have waited for ripeness of knowledge and of thought, he might well have given us a work of quite another value than the rambling speculations of a young university man who has mistaken interest for information and haziness of thought for openness of mind.

A Short History of Ancient Egypt. By PERCY E. NEWBERRY and JOHN GARSTANG. (Boston: Dana Estes and Co. 1904. Pp. ix, 199; London: Archibald Constable and Co. 1904. Pp. x, III. Paging of the American edition used below.)

THIS little book presents a very readable sketch of the career of the Nile valley peoples. Such a panorama of three thousand years, however, puts to a searching test the ability of an author to perceive and in a few paragraphs to indicate with critical precision and incisive terms the essential characteristics of the successive periods which he surveys. It cannot be said that the book successfully meets this test. There is a painful lack of proper proportion. We find 124 pages devoted to the history before the Empire, while the Empire itself comes off with forty-five pages. Imagine a sketch of the history of Rome of which three-fourths were devoted to the earlier period of the Republic and one-fourth to the Empire! The 500 years from the reign of Rameses II to the rise of the Ethiopians is compressed into five pages, while the less than 500 years of the Old Kingdom, with its scanty records, receives thirty-five pages!

This inability to appreciate relative values results in misunderstandings fatal to any proper conception of the great periods as a whole. We are told for example (p. 149) that the domination of the foreign Hyksos in Egypt left "little trace—upon the ages which succeeded". As a matter of fact the rule of the Hyksos not only taught the Egyptians warfare, but, being the first example of a supremacy embracing the contiguous regions of two continents, was the beginning of that fusion of continents and nations which found its culmination in the period

inaugurated by Alexander and continued by the Roman Empire. It thus broke down completely the reticence and the conservatism of ages in Egypt, a process which the authors place over 250 years later at the close of the eighteenth dynasty! That the great invasion of Syria by the Hittites at this time caused the total collapse of Egyptian power in Asia seems to have been unperceived by the authors, and is not even referred to by them (pp. 161-163). Again, in this very age of Egypt's decline abroad the authors place an extension of the Pharaoh's conquests in the Euphrates valley among the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, with whom, as the Amarna letters show, the Pharaoh was at this time enjoying relations of profoundest peace and friendship! The identification of Hittites and Hyksos (and elsewhere also of Etruscans) is unfortunate, and is totally without basis; nor was there any Hittite invasion of Syria before the latter part of the eighteenth dynasty. These examples will illustrate the defects of the work. The presentation in the little book of the new results from the archaic age deserves consideration as a serious contribution. To these results the excavations of Mr. Garstang have made a number of valuable contributions, while the excellent field-work of Mr. Newberry has also added useful observations here and there throughout the book.

The American edition has some serious misprints: even the names of the authors are spelled "Newbury and Gastrang" on the cover. Of the invasion of the north by Narmer the text says (p. 3b), "Entering through the portal of the Northern Kingdom, he vanished as he went". The English edition has "vanquished". It is presumable that the authors are not responsible for these errors.

Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland. Bausteine zu einer antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Von JOHANNES KROMAYER. Erster Band. Von Epaminondas bis zum Eingreifen der Römer. Mit sechs lithographischen Karten und vier Tafeln in Lichtdruck. (Berlin: Weidmann. 1903. Pp. x, 352.)

THIS book is the product of an expedition to Greece which was undertaken at the joint expense of the University of Strasburg and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. At the head of it was Professor Kromayer, now of Czernowitz, and with him were associated as expert advisers Captain Göppel and Colonel Janke of the General Staff of the German Army. The undertaking, which had for its purpose the location and delineation of battle-fields in Greece, was aided and encouraged by the governments, officials, and scholars of several nations. The book thus produced stands at present in the center of a very animated controversy. It arose in the following way. Professor Hans Delbrück had published the first volume of his *History of the Art of War*—that dealing with antiquity—and was on the point of issuing the second when the expedition returned. Professor Kromayer at once gave a lecture (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1900, pp. 204-211) on his

investigation of the battle-field of Sellasia (221 B. C.), and developed a view divergent in its respect for Polybius and in its general plan from that which Delbrück held. He had earlier incurred the displeasure of the distinguished Berlin professor by a noteworthy article in *Hermes* (XXXV, pp. 217-253), entitled "Vergleichende Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Heerwesens." Accordingly, Delbrück devoted two introductory sections of his second volume to a rather imperious settlement with his youthful critic. The *Antike Schlachtfelder* then appeared. Kromayer did not throw oil on the troubled waters. In controversy he proved to be a past-master. His style was cold and irritating like that of Matthew Arnold, and in addition to a lively imagination and a strong sense of humor he displayed a rare faculty for making difficult demonstrations seem perfectly obvious. The book in fact was so exasperatingly plausible that it captivated the laity generally, and elicited the hearty commendation of no less than Wilamowitz. This provoked Delbrück to such a degree that in his own journal, the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (CXVI, 1904, pp. 209-240), under the caption "Theologische Philologie" he made a most amusing and vigorous onslaught upon this advocate of Kromayer. In it he refused to admit the right of any but a devotee of Clausewitz to a judgment in military matters, and—*Publizistenmatur im besten Sinne des Wortes*, as Kromayer maliciously remarked—raised an alarmist's cry against scientific dogmatism and in particular against that phase of it for which, he said, Wilamowitz was notorious, and which, he claimed, took the form of a divine revelation.

Delbrück was patronizing toward Kromayer. Kromayer responded by assuming that the subject of his book, to which Delbrück, and after him perhaps most notably E. Lammert ("Die neuesten Forschungen auf antiken Schlachtfeldern in Griechenland", *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XIII, 1904, pp. 112-135, 195-213, 252-280), had given much thought, was still in its infancy; that maps of the battle-fields in Greece were the first prerequisites for a reconstruction of the ancient contests; and that all general conclusions on the art of war in antiquity were premature until reliable plans of the scene of action were in existence. It cannot, we think, be denied that Kromayer depreciated the topographical investigations of his predecessors, and that he felt unduly elated over the novelty and success of his own results. He gives us, indeed, six excellent maps, but all except one are compiled from earlier existing charts, and the one entirely new is the work of Captain Göppel. These maps certainly define within narrow limits the area in which the four battles considered: Mantinea, 362 B. C.; Chæronea, 338 B. C.; Sellasia, 221 B. C.; and Mantinea, 207 B. C., were fought, and must serve, with some slight additions or modifications, as the basis for all future interpretations of the literary accounts, but it is by no means likely that Kromayer has determined with finality the exact location of each engagement. Indeed, it has already been

demonstrated by Georgios Sotiriades (*Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts zu Athen*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 301-330), through a closer study of the battle-field of Chæronea, that this lay farther to the east in "the dancing-ground of Ares" than Kromayer made out. And while the writings of Lammert and of Delbrück's pupil, Gustav Roloff (*Probleme aus der griechischen Kriegsgeschichte*, Historische Studien, Heft III, Berlin, E. Ebering, 1903, pp. 141), have, it seems to us, failed in their object to discredit Kromayer's work generally, and have not 'proved' his incapacity for all such investigations, they do make it clear that many questions have still to be settled before we can use the terrain as evidence for the tactics followed at Mantinea and Sellasia.

We rate highly the positive results of Kromayer's work—less highly, perhaps, than the author himself, or than those whose judgments were expressed before Lammert and the school of Delbrück fell afoul of the book. The chief value of the work, however, seems to us to lie in the charm with which the subject is invested. Kromayer has really remarkable talent in exposition. We are sure that, right or wrong, his treatment of the ancient battle-fields will do more to stimulate interest in the military history of antiquity, and thereby promote knowledge of it, than any other work that has recently appeared, Delbrück's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, in spite of its rare qualities, not excepted.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Griechische Geschichte. VON JULIUS BELOCH. III. *Die griechische Weltherrschaft.* Erste und zweite Abteilungen. (Strasburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1904. Pp. xiv, 759; xvi, 576.)

OF these two volumes, the first contains an account of Greek thought and action from Alexander's crowning victory at Arbela to the time when Rome's advent in the east limited the freedom of Greek initiative (220 B. C.); the second carries the reader into the author's workshop, and shows him how the stones were prepared from which the edifice was erected. The genius of Beloch is well known. Persistency and skill in breaking through the mass of ancient combination and modern construction which hides the sources of our knowledge, rejection of the traditional as uniformly doubtful, a keen sense for the factors in history which admit of scientific measurement, success in linking the past to the present by judgments founded upon a well-considered, if somewhat individualistic standard of values, complete domination of the material, a straightforward, vigorous style—these are the qualities and methods which have led scholars to await with hope, interest, and anxiety Beloch's treatment of the period to which these volumes are devoted.

Volume III, part I, may be divided into three unequal portions. The first (pp. 1-260) carries the narrative down to the irruption of the Gauls in 280 B. C., the last (pp. 556-759) continues it from that point to the

time when, according to Beloch, Greek history properly ends. In between lies what to the general reader will prove the most interesting part of the work, a series of chapters of the sort which Mommsen has made famous, essays in which are sketched with a firm hand the background of action, the framework of political and social life, the geographic, economic, and spiritual movements of the people. As a whole they constitute the most comprehensive presentation of third-century culture which now exists. Particularly excellent are those on the material conditions and the scientific knowledge of the time. Beloch has long since established his reputation as one of the few scholars really competent to speak with authority on the subject of Greek economic history. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that, notwithstanding Francotte's well-delivered attack upon the view for which Meyer, Pöhlmann, and he are sponsors, he has not modified his general conception of the extent of ancient industry. To Beloch the third century is the time of greatest material prosperity—not indeed for the home Greece, though the decline there was not so rapid as is often imagined, but for the new Greece in the east. Cities comparable with London and Paris in the seventeenth century arose, and for similar reasons, *Volkswirtschaft* had become *Weltwirtschaft*. Life became richer and freer, the world bigger and safer. Merchant ships of 4,000 tons sailed the seas; new roads were opened; capital became more abundant and more enterprising, and fortunes grew rapidly. The whole scale of living was raised.

Beloch has been accused of being a materialist. That is not just. He has, indeed, laid more stress upon the connection between prosperity and culture than is usual in a Greek history. But it was full time for an innovation in this particular. On the other hand, he displays the greatest admiration for the things of the mind. Thus, while identity of language determines for him the Hellenism of the Macedonians, he offsets the new political system they inaugurated by the unbroken continuity of culture. But he regards science as the finest product of human effort, and hence makes the third century the culminating point of Greek intellectual as of material development. Progress had hitherto been uninterrupted. The Homeric age was higher than the Mycenaean, the Dorian invasion being not a fact but a myth. The fourth century eclipsed the fifth, the glory of the Periclean age being in part reflected from the marbles of the Parthenon. Rome destroyed Greek character and culture. Such is Beloch's view—one, it is clear, not uninfluenced by the theory of evolution.

With it men may disagree. Few, however, will fail to be impressed by Beloch's exhibit of the range and excellence of the scientific work of the period. Eratosthenes computed the circumference of the earth at 252,000 stadia = 27,775 miles. Aristarchos determined the relation of the earth's volume to that of the sun to be in the proportion of 1 to 254-368, and consequently abandoned the geocentric in favor of the

heliocentric hypothesis. Euclid's geometry was a mere text-book and by no means abreast with the mathematics of his time. Archimedes and Apollonios, the probable founder of trigonometry, were the two greatest Greek mathematicians. Herophilos discovered the nervous system and the function of the brain, as well as the essential features of the circulation of the blood. History became highly, perhaps excessively, specialized, but unfortunately no comprehensive work was done to coördinate and fix the new knowledge thus acquired. Philology, which has damned the time of its birth by its canons of classicism, developed, and as one of its achievements established for all time the text of Homer.

The narrative portion of the volume is excellent. The story advances rapidly. The aimless confusion which followed Alexander's death is gradually straightened out, and for fifteen years (316-301 B. C.) the center of interest remains Antigonos, the founder of the dynasty which subsequently ruled Macedon—the only man, in Beloch's judgment, who had the capacity and ambition to hold the empire together. At his death the centrifugal tendencies prevailed, and new kingdoms arose. At the same time the scene of action widens, and eventually the whole world is included. Hereupon Beloch stops a while to appraise by means of a statistical survey the resources of the great powers, Carthage, Rome, Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, at this the moment before the storm which was shortly to rise in the west. Nowhere else can one find so clearly demonstrated the superior strength of the Italian confederacy. Then we are led to see how the barbarians close in upon the devoted Greeks. Sandracottus had already wrested India from Seleucus. The Celts now occupy Thrace and the heart of Asia Minor. Rome annexes Magna Græcia, and reaches over to Sicily. The beginning of the end is thus made, and with great skill Beloch shows how the history of all the peoples is connected from this point on by the delicate calculations of *Weltpolitik*.

At the same point at which Droysen's interest flagged the history ends abruptly, many lines of development being roughly snapped. The *Hellenismus* has long since been antiquated through the advance of knowledge, but not till now has it been superseded by a new structure conceived on the same big plan as itself.

Volume III, part 2, is a series of investigations comparable with Mommsen's *Römische Forschungen* and Meyer's *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*. It lacks the soberness of the one and the catholicity of the other, but perhaps surpasses both in perspicuity and variety. Not all the chapters are of equal value. Chapter iv, entitled "The Kings of Macedon", seems to the reviewer a good sample of Beloch at his best. Chapter iii, "The Attic Archons", does not on the whole represent progress. The treatment of the problem of Demochares (pp. 374 ff.) is, to use one of the author's own phrases, *gänzlich verfehlt*.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate.

By A. H. J. GREENIDGE, M.A., D.Litt. I. *From the Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the Second Consulship of Marius, B. C. 133-104.* (London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xiv, 508.)

THIS work, which the author tells us in his preface is to be extended to six volumes, is apparently to contain the summing up of the results of Dr. Greenidge's work during the past decade in a field in which he has been one of the more prolific of English writers. His *Infamia in Roman Law*, published in 1894, showed what the author could do in the way of grouping together the isolated facts in regard to this peculiar institution of the Roman law and presenting them in such a way as to show the full moral and social significance of a national "rule of manners". The more pretentious *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, published in 1901, makes a thorough study of the legal institutions of the republic and differentiates them from the same or similar ones described in our later legal sources. We may expect, when Dr. Greenidge comes to this period in his *History*, to find him using the results of this work as a foundation for the history of the times, just as he used for the volume now before us the little book of sources published in 1903 under the title of *Sources for Roman History* (see this REVIEW, IX, 851-852). According to the provisional plan for the entire work, the second volume is to end with the first consulship of Pompey and Crassus, 70 B. C.; the third, with the death of Cæsar; the fourth is to include the third civil war and the rule of Augustus; while the last two volumes are to carry the story to the accession of Vespasian.

The author offers no excuse for beginning a six-volume work on this comparatively limited epoch in the history of Rome; possibly because he thinks the work may be its own apology, if the succeeding volumes are as well done as the first one; possibly because he feels that no excuse is necessary for attempting to cover properly the period that Mommsen the Great left inadequately considered. Certainly the period chosen is an entity demanding separate treatment, extending as it does from the beginning of the revolution in the later republic, when Tiberius Gracchus drew the issue sharply between the two conflicting theories as to the seat of sovereignty in the state, and extending to the year when, as Tacitus says, "the secret of empire got out, that the princeps could be chosen elsewhere than at Rome". Mommsen's *History*, which brings us to the death of Cæsar, seems likely to remain a magnificent torso, though our hopes were aroused by reports at the time of Mommsen's death in regard to the probability of its having been completed in manuscript. A new edition of Merivale has been promised for some years but is not yet forthcoming, and George Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic* has always been one of the books that we admire but do not read. A proper consideration of the period coming at the conjunction of Long with Merivale, bringing together in one whole what

may well be called the history of the origin and development of the principate, is a desideratum, even though such a work extends to six volumes in these days of tabloid literature.

The author does not attempt to give a résumé of the political history leading up to the time of the Gracchi, for the reason which he himself assigns, namely, that he has already treated the subject in his *Roman Public Life*, and that a sufficient knowledge of it may be assumed on the part of the reader. He devotes his first chapter, instead, to the social and economic history of Rome and begins his story proper with Tiberius Gracchus.

In this period of revolution the constitution was violated so often that it practically ceased to be, and constitutional history was supplanted by the life-histories of successive dominating personalities in the state. The economic and social disturbances broke the bonds of the old constitution, and economic and social forces carried these dominating personalities along in their extra-legal, if not illegal, careers. Dr. Greenidge keeps these significant facts constantly in the foreground. In discussing the deposition of Octavius, the tribune who opposed Tiberius Gracchus, he says (p. 127): "This could hardly be based on considerations of abstract justice, although, as we shall see, an attempt was made by Tiberius Gracchus to give it even this foundation. Could it be based on convenience? Obviously, as Gracchus saw, his act was the only effective means of removing a deadlock created by a constitution which knew only magistrates and people and had effectively crippled both."

The importance of the political leader is shown, too, by Dr. Greenidge in the extended treatment given the Jugurthine war. This picturesque episode in Roman history is of lasting importance in the life of the state, principally because it brings forward the two great dominating personalities of Marius and Sulla. Mommsen devotes twenty pages to Jugurtha. Greenidge gives the major part of three out of eight chapters of his first volume to the Jugurthine war—more than seven times the amount allowed by Mommsen; and a good story it is, too, not only in the description of the interesting military movements but also in the skilful portrayal of the motives affecting the people and the plutocracy, in their conflict with the aristocratic party, and the virtual defeat of the former by the successful termination of the war through the capture of Jugurtha by Sulla. "The end [of the war] came through diplomacy, not through battle, through an unknown quaestor who belonged to the old nobility and possessed its best gifts of facile speech and suppleness in intrigue, not through the great 'new man' who was to be a living example of what might be done, if the middle class had the making of the ministers of the State" (p. 472).

The citations given are a fair sample of the excellent style of the work throughout. It will appeal strongly to the general reader, whom the English litterateur always keeps in mind, but it is addressed also

to the scholar, as based on the original sources and presenting the results in accordance with the most advanced ideals of history-writing. *It may be said that this firm grasp of the subject is not so evident in the opening chapter. Although this gives copious references to the original sources, the citations from the secondary treatises are relatively more numerous, and it is only when we get into the body of the work, which is based firmly on the original material, that the real power of the author is shown. It is to be hoped that the author may change somewhat the distribution of the subject-matter when he comes to the principate so that we may have rather more of Augustus and his epoch-making reforms, at the expense of a curtailment of the history of the later Julian-Claudian dynasty. The literal-minded reviewer has some difficulty in making the connection between Blake's verse on page xiv and the body of the work. But these minor strictures are offered rather in deference to the theory that one of the functions of the critic is to criticize than with the thought of serious condemnation of the excellent piece of work that Dr. Greenidge has given us.

JOSEPH H. DRAKE.

A Short History of England. By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1904. Pp. xvi, 695.)

THE title of this new text-book of English history inevitably suggests J. R. Green's well-known *Short History of the English People*, and there are, indeed, quite a few points of similarity between the two books. While not going so far as Green in treating the literary and social sides of England's past, Professor Cheyney has carefully avoided the "drum and trumpet" element, and his text will be particularly welcome to those teachers who are seeking to emphasize the economic and institutional aspects of English history. The book is well planned throughout, and although about one hundred pages longer than the average text-book of history in this country, its easy style and well-diluted facts should make it possible for the pupils to cover the whole of it in one year.

In a brief preface the author gives us the viewpoint from which he approaches his narrative. In the first place, he would make certain fundamental facts of physical and political geography, of race, and of early institutions "absolutely clear and familiar"; secondly, he would include in the narrative only such facts as were significant; thirdly, he would cling closely to the thread of English history; and lastly, he would omit all "statements and allusions the significance of which could not be explained in the book". A careful examination of the contents of the history will show that the author has consistently followed the plan outlined in the preface. The first two chapters, on "The Geography of England" and "Prehistoric and Celtic Britain", are excellent of their kind. The third chapter, on "Roman Britain", gives

one of the fullest and best descriptions of that interesting period to be found in any school or college history, while the two following chapters, on "Early" and "Later" Saxon England, give an admirable account of early institutions and government. Beginning with the reign of Alfred, however, and continuing through the remainder of the book there is a noticeably vague treatment of the political narrative. We feel often that the author is making too much go on behind the scenes and leaving the stage bare of players and of action. In the writer's opinion too many important names and events have been omitted in the endeavor to include only the significant ones. In his treatment of England's relations with the continent Professor Cheyney has on the whole been very successful. The first part of the Hundred Years' War is especially well handled, and the continental wars of the eighteenth century are judiciously dealt with. In regard to the omission of statements and allusions which could not be fully explained in the book, the wisdom of the author's policy can be seriously questioned; for a history textbook that does not arouse the pupil's interest and desire to know more than the text gives only half fulfils its mission, and is likely to present a rather colorless narrative. The school-boy mind is always an inquisitive one, and much of the interest in history study is kept alive by the explanation and discussion of matters referred to in the text but not always fully explained.

Space will not permit us to touch on many very commendable features of Professor Cheyney's book, but reference must be made to the excellent pedagogical apparatus it possesses. Numerous sketch-maps and full-page colored maps, adequate genealogical tables, well-selected pictures and illustrations, and last, but not least, most serviceable bibliographies, of a critical character and arranged topically, add greatly to its value as a text and work of reference. From printer's and other errors the work is remarkably free, and such as do exist will be easily found and corrected. The index, though omitting a few names of persons and places mentioned in the text, is on the whole adequate and satisfactory.

NORMAN MACLAREN TRENHOLME.

A History of the United States and its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. In twelve volumes. Volume I. By ELROY MCKENDREE AVERY. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1904. Pp. xxx, 405.)

THE author and the publishers of this book are to be congratulated on the production of a work that is so handsome in form, so readable, and comparatively so free from the errors and florid rhetoric found in most popular histories. In size and weight the volume is somewhat awkward to handle, and opinions might differ about the artistic merits of the conventionalized patriotism depicted on the cover, but in other respects certainly the exhibition of the book-maker's handicraft is ad-

mirable. The clear, accurate, and softly tinted maps are gems in their way, and so complete is the list that a reproduction of any part of Waldseemüller's *mappemonde* is the only serious omission the reviewer has noted. Marginal headings and dates strengthen the educational value of the text, even if some of the poetical quotations do not. Both in statement and conclusion, furthermore, the text is generally in accord with the best literature of the subjects treated. A few of the chapters appear to have been written in extenso, and most of them to have been revised, by specialists before they were molded into the narrative. The scrupulous care thus taken to please "men and women of general culture", for whom the book is intended (p. ix), and incidentally to placate "professional historical students", is very commendable.

In their effort to impart a peculiar antiquity to the history of this country, most historians have been content to begin with the discovery of America, but Dr. Avery is so desirous apparently of beginning at the beginning that he devotes about one-sixth of the entire book to the geology, paleontology, and archæology of the territory in North America now covered by the United States. This description of what might be called the prehistoric United States and its inhabitants is excellent. Early geographical notions about the world beyond Europe, a rather long chapter on the Northmen, and a few words concerning Prince Henry the Navigator prepare the way for the story of Columbus. The period of discovery and exploration up to 1600, traced in strictly chronological sequence, occupies the remainder of the book, with the exception of the last chapter, which is given over to an interesting account of the Indians. This is supplemented by a very useful appendix of "statistics regarding Indians and Indian reservations in the United States". A "bibliographical appendix" that is distinctly above the average found in works of this class concludes the volume.

While no one will deny that the work is the result of "a conscientious struggle for betterment" (p. xi) or that a serious attempt has been made to render it trustworthy, some obscurities, errors, and other defects have escaped detection. Assuredly the statement that in the middle ages "learning shrank into the cloister and barbarism flooded Europe" (p. 102) needs great modification. The "maker of the Catalan planisphere" (p. 105), "the treaty of 1479" (p. 152), and the "printed Scillacio" (p. 165) are mentioned without further explanation. The connection of Bartholomew Columbus with the voyage of Dias (*sic*) is given as doubtful on p. 110 and positive on p. 127. Santangel was not a "receiver of ecclesiastical revenues" (p. 129), any more than was Fonseca the "official guardian of the royal treasury" (p. 157), or Roldan "chief justice" of Española (p. 197). It is generally understood now that the influence of the Spanish clergy was on the whole helpful, rather than hurtful (pp. 139, 178) to the projects of Columbus. That the Genoese devoted eighteen years of his life to the realization of his great idea (p. 139), or that the migratory egg myth was placed

on end for the first time at Cardinal Mendoza's banquet (p. 151), would be difficult to prove.

Spanish and French accents are regularly omitted, and some of the Spanish words are wrongly spelled. "Santa Maria de Rabida" (pp. 124, 128) should be written "Santa Maria la Rábida"; "el Antigua", instead of "del Antigua" (p. 244); and "de la Roque", instead of "de la Roche" (p. 309). Hylacomylus is a Greco-Latin, not a Greek, equivalent of Waldseemüller (p. 235). The dates of Coronado's expedition (p. xxix) and of the "statute of 1392" (p. 337) are incorrect. Nor does the statute in question declare that "no power stood between God and the crown" (p. 337): the spiritual supremacy of the pope was fully acknowledged at the time. In this connection the statements on pp. 155, 182, 275, and 337 about the relations of England with the Holy See need reconciliation. The allusions to Nombre de Dios (pp. 206, 217) are also in conflict. Several errors appear in the brief accounts of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratacion (pp. 156, 157). If "a maravedi is equivalent to about a quarter of a cent" (p. 157), how are three thousand maravedis worth "about eighteen dollars" (p. 123)? The quotations from the papal bulls (pp. 152, 158), and the excerpt from Las Casas, filtered through Fiske, are inaccurately translated. Besides, Fiske is not a safe guide in drawing distinctions between the "repartimiento" and the "encomienda" (p. 220).

In what respects did Columbus ignore "the two hundred and seventy leagues that the Spanish monarchs had given to Portugal" (p. 160)? That the notions of the Genoese about the location of the earthly Paradise—"these children of a teeming fancy", as the author terms them—"were destined to be placed side by side with the soberer statements of Americus Vespucius, and thus to make it more easy to rob the great discoverer of his right to fix his name upon a world that he had found" (p. 195), is hardly susceptible of proof. Las Casas was not a friar at the time he sailed with Ovando (pp. 203, 266). The remarks, also, about that ecclesiastic's historical works (pp. 203, 270) should have been combined so as to avoid leading the reader astray, and mention should have been made of the fact that Herrera's work published in the early seventeenth century was based in part upon the *Historia de las Indias*. Scholars are generally agreed that Columbus did not pass the end of his life in poverty (p. 222), and the ashes of the discoverer have never been "borne to Madrid" (p. 224). It is questionable, furthermore, whether the exigencies of the narrative required the insertion of the grewsome tales of Spanish cruelty (pp. 220, 245), or a splenetic outburst against the Spaniards (p. 225), which is untrue in its sweeping generalization. Nor is it a fact that "within a few years" after 1519, the Spaniards "possessed themselves of Mexico, Central America, and two-thirds of South America" (p. 225).

The chapter devoted to "Vespucius and 'America'" contains a number of mistakes. The Florentine went to Seville in 1492, and not

to Cadiz "at a date not definitely known" (p. 226). Humboldt's assertion carries no weight in proving that Vespucci was "engaged in equipping the third expedition of Columbus" (p. 230). The present state of knowledge on the subject does not justify the characterization of the Soderini letter as a "probably fraudulent narrative" (p. 236). As to the "alleged *Quatuor*" voyages (p. 233), the doubt is not about the number, but about the date of the first one. In the enumeration of the voyages, also, no reference is made to the second. The passage from the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* (p. 236) is incomplete in sense and erroneous in translation. To be exact, moreover, the allusion to "America" in this passage is not "the first known occurrence of the name" (p. 236), as an examination of Vespucci's letter will show. And in the remarks concerning the application of the name "America" (pp. 236-238), the fact that on his map of 1513 Waldseemüller substituted "Terra Incognita" for "America" should have been mentioned.

Bartholomew Columbus died in 1514, not in 1515, and Luis Columbus received an estate of twenty-five square leagues, not of "twenty-five leagues square" in Veragua (p. 242). "A sort of colonial court of appeals" is a poor definition of the *audiencia* (p. 242). The present duke of Veragua, be it said, has considerably more than his title (p. 243). Oviedo can hardly be characterized as "the historian of the West Indies" (p. 246). The number of men in Magellan's expedition is incorrectly given (p. 247), and no real appreciation of the importance of his maritime feat is vouchsafed. Cortes and Las Casas (pp. 252-262, 266-271) have no more place in a history of the United States than Luther and "his defiant ninety-five theses" (p. 253) have in the story of Cordova's cruise. The blotting out of Indian slavery was not "due altogether" to Las Casas (p. 269), and Bandelier's estimate of the bishop of Chiapa is certainly worth more than Fiske's (pp. 270-271).

Not until the end of the chapter on "East Coast Exploration" is any intimation afforded that the purpose of the explorers was to discover "the northwest passage to Cathay" (p. 278). Nor is it true that "all but four of the men" surviving from the shipwreck of Narvaez's expedition "soon died" (p. 284); or that Menéndez de Avilés gave no quarter "even to women or children" (p. 319). The number of French inhabitants killed at Fort Caroline cannot be stated precisely at "a hundred and forty-two" (p. 319). Contrary to the implication on pp. 328 and 329, there was no real difference between Gilbert's "commission" and Raleigh's "charter"; and the latter was not confirmed by Parliament twice (p. 330). It may be doubted, also, whether at the time of Elizabeth "the crown and the parliament were engaged in a struggle for the sovereignty, with the privy council as a buffer between" (pp. 329-330).

In the opinion of the reviewer, those portions of the chapter on the Indians which concern the relations of these people with the United

States as such, and the Indian statistics given in the appendix, ought to have been reserved for a later volume in the series. The remainder of the text would then have fallen into its natural place after the account of prehistoric America. Many of the generalizations about the Indians are not sufficiently supported by the evidence adduced, and the estimates of the present Indian population in the United States conflict (pp. 342, 359). In view, also, of the author's previous denunciation of the way in which the Spaniards treated the natives (p. 225), he seems unconsciously to have made out a pretty good case for the English and Americans as practical exterminators of the aborigines (pp. 341-342), despite the very extraordinary remark about the "policy of the government" since "the time of John Eliot in 1650" (p. 361).

Passing now to the bibliographical appendix, the author states in his introduction to it (p. 370) that many valuable works have not been mentioned "for the reason that they are practically inaccessible to the general reader". The omission seems to apply more especially to books in a language other than English. It might be queried indeed whether Dr. Avery has done wisely in rendering accessible to the general reader even by name the text-books, antiquated magazine articles, and useless works of the dilettante class which he has cited occasionally. Some of the more important works, also, are either out of print or else procurable only in a few great library centers. Nor are the lengthy lists of books so well arranged as they might be in order to stimulate readers to further investigation. The notes and references are numbered consecutively as a whole and alphabetically under each chapter-heading, without any direct allusion to the text. Even if the author has eschewed foot-notes, he could have devised some real connection between the specific statements of the text and the books he mentions in the appendix. And the cultured reader might like to know more than is vouchsafed about the relative value of the works he is advised to consult. As it stands, his reading is apt to be of the haphazard sort.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

A Text Book of American History. By WILLIAM ESTABROOK CHANCELLOR. (New York: The Morse Company. 1904. Pp. 653.)

THE novelty of this new text-book tends at first to create an interest, but the interest soon changes to amazement. Mr. Chancellor could perhaps defend some of his innovations, but it may be pardonable to point them out. Why begin the book with a five-page outline of American history, of which the student is supposed to know nothing? The paragraph headings are as follows: "(1) The Age of Discovery and Exploration, 1492-1607. (2) The Amazing Success of Three Centuries, 1607-1904. (3) Wars with the Red Men. (4) A Nation with a Republican Constitution, 1787-1904. (5) The Early Expansion of the Republic, 1773-1803. (6) The Terrible Question of the Negro Slaves was

Involved in that of the Right of a State to Secede, 1820-1865. (7) All Men Became Free and Equal before the Law, 1863-1870. (8) The Number and Wealth of Our People and the Extent of Our Empire. (9) The Purpose of the Study of Our Country's History is that We may become Wise as well as Loyal Citizens." There follow three pages on "Historical and Geographical Relations", which open with the statement, "American History tells of — 1.", etc. — fifteen categorical statements in all about matters unrelated and in that form unintelligible to a school-boy. This is followed by seven suppositions as to how different our country's history would have been (1) if the Alleghenies ran east and west, (2) if the Mississippi river ran east, (3) if the Rockies were in the east, (4) if a mountain plateau separated the St. Lawrence basin from the Mississippi, etc. Now, we ask, why all this categorical arrangement of material that should be brought into the story at its proper place? Again, is this mass of information—the character of which we will not discuss—teachable? Can it be digested at a single pedagogical meal? Is the pupil at that stage of the study in any condition to understand such material? The suggestions to teachers have already been given—and they are curious enough to interest any teacher—therefore this matter seems intended for students. After this introduction, and without a word of the conditions in Europe, the trade with the east, or the reasons for a voyage to the west, the story of Columbus and his discovery is told. We cannot go on with this outline to the end, but at least one other peculiarity of the arrangement must be pointed out. After the chapter on the American Revolution there is a chapter called the "Story of Expansion"—thirteen curiously contrived pages which tell of all annexations up to the present time, and this is followed by the story of the Confederation and the Constitution.

The book may, in fact, be characterized as a categorical history of the United States. Some of the author's summaries, though rather too daring and unqualified, are suggestive and useful, as is that of the composition of the Revolutionary party (p. 202). Limitations of space prevent our calling attention to all the errors, but a brief category will show their nature. Palos furnished two ships not three (p. 27), and not as an annual liability but as a particular one. Also Santangel lent, did not give, Columbus money; and it was not his own treasure but that of the Hermandad. The Cape of Good Hope was not discovered (p. 32) until 1487, not in 1486. Waldseemüller did not know Vesputius (p. 35), and the latter was not a geographer. On page 204 we find the erroneous statement that England taxed to pay the sum expended in defending Canada, but it was in fact for the purpose of defraying future expense. The comment on Franklin in the first line of page 229, and that on the French (p. 246), show utter ignorance of the French motives for aiding America. On page 245 "twenty-two thousand subjects hired of the Grand-Duke of Hesse-Cassel" is nearly double the actual number. The episode of Clark and the Kaskaskia

dance (p. 258) appears in spite of the ample evidence against it. The importance of the capture of the *Serapis* by Paul Jones is greatly exaggerated (p. 270). But this sort of error is too frequent to be exhaustively presented. The proportions of the work are certainly not conventional, and we doubt whether the author can defend them. The book closes (part VI) with a medley of matter well worth while in its proper place, but here it is dumped in as a hodgepodge. Cities, cotton machinery, steamboats, railroads, canals, coal and iron, manufactures, agriculture, precious metals, banking, electricity, machinery, labor, corporations, capital, international leadership, wealth, incomes, instructive comparisons, disappearance of poverty, dissemination of knowledge, education, libraries, literature, lectures, art, fairs, national associations, physical training, philosophy, medical science, fraternal societies, religion, franchise, America as a promised land, etc., etc., are treated in the order named. On the whole the book may be useful to a well-trained teacher as a suggestive handbook not to be taken too seriously.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume I. *European Background of American History, 1300-1600.* By EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, A.M., Professor of History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xxviii, 343.)

THIS is the first volume of Professor Hart's coöperative history, and the reviewer may perhaps be expected to discuss the undertaking in general. But he feels justified in leaving this to the devotees of American history, and will confine himself to this volume, viewing it from the standpoint of the American student of European history. The title of the book is not a very precisely descriptive one, and is apt to raise expectations that cannot very well be satisfied. The author declares (p. 3) that "To set forth the conditions in Europe which favored the work of discovering America and of exploring, colonizing, and establishing human institutions there, is the subject and task of this book", and forestalls criticism in large degree by declaring (p. xxviii) that he will deal "only with some of the most important and earliest of these European occurrences and conditions". The book, he adds, "merely attempts to point out the leading motives for exploration and colonization, to show what was the equipment for discovery, and to describe the most significant of those political institutions of Europe which exercised an influence on forms of government in the colonies, thus sketching the main outlines of the European background of American history" (p. 4).

It is of course unreasonable to look in such a brief sketch (315 pp.) for an exhaustive treatment of a very large topic, and the question that mainly concerns us is whether the selection of material here made is on the whole to be concurred in or not. The indefinite nature of the title and of the subject demands perhaps a full statement of the contents

of the book. The first two chapters (pp. 3-40) aim to show the later medieval and Renaissance conditions as to trade and exploration that are the basis of the pushing out from Europe of which the American discoveries and settlements were the chief outcome. This statement is concerned almost wholly with the trade between Europe and Asia, and is a very interesting part of the book; but in view of the matters that are thus crowded out the reader may doubt the expediency of giving it so much space, even though concurring in the author's opinion that "Increased knowledge, improved equipment, instruments of astronomical observation, navigating charts, and a race of educated navigators, made a part of the European background of American history as truly as did the incentive to exploration afforded by the search for new routes to the East" (p. 59). Two chapters (pp. 41-78) are next given to the early work in trade and exploration of Italians and Portuguese, embracing excellent descriptions of the conditions under which such work was then conducted. Chapters v and vi, under the titles "The Spanish Monarchy in the Age of Columbus, 1474-1525", and "Political Institutions of Central Europe, 1400-1650", describe the work of the new monarchy in Spain, and the Spanish, French, and Dutch institutions that are of importance in regard to colonial development. Then follows under the title "The System of Chartered Commercial Companies, 1550-1700" a good statement of the characteristics and methods of the companies "which established the greater number of American colonies" (p. 124). This is particularly useful through the lucid way in which it points out the essential differences between these organizations with their far-reaching activities, and the earlier less national associations of traders, operating through municipally-backed merchant guilds and in municipal leagues. Chapter viii, "Typical American Colonizing Companies, 1600-1628", discusses the colonizing activities of the chartered companies in America, as represented by the English Virginia Company, the Dutch West India Company, and the Company of New France, analyzing their charters, comparing their characteristics, and pointing out generally the nature and importance of their work.

The author now turns from the topic of colonization to that of emigration (we might say from the corporation to the individual) by taking up the religious element, in the chapters entitled "The Protestant Reformation on the Continent, 1500-1625", "Religious Wars in the Netherlands and Germany, 1520-1648", "The English Church and the Catholics, 1534-1660", "The English Puritans and the Sects, 1550-1689". The author's view of the importance of the religious factor is indicated by the space thus given to it; while, however, he expresses the opinion that for more than a century religious motives were probably the most effective ones in English colonization, it should be noticed that this is a much more moderate view than might be looked for from Professor Hart's editorial reference in the preface (p. xxv). The subject of English conditions is continued through the rest of the book

(pp. 240-315), in the chapters "The Political System of England, 1500-1689", "The English County and its Officers, 1600-1650", "English Justices of the Peace, 1600-1650", "English Parish or Township Government, 1500-1650". Enough space is thus taken for a fairly full presentation of English institutions, and the study is particularly good, smacking of fresh individual investigation (though perhaps not quite justifying some of the expressions of Professor Hart's showman-like prefatory laudation), and presenting the general American reader with what the reviewer is inclined to suspect is the best brief statement of this kind available. Especially judicious and valuable is the stress laid upon the actual working of English local government. The volume closes with a very valuable "Critical Essay on Authorities" (pp. 316-331); there are various good maps, and the foot-note citation of authorities is quite satisfactory.

It must be evident from this summary that this is a useful and interesting book, and that in many respects no better introduction to American history could be desired. The work is all well done, is relieved frequently by the touches of the man of literary sense, and shows at every turn marks of wide reading and of first-hand work. It seems moreover accurate in a degree very unusual in general statements covering so wide a field. That such a volume was worth while and that Professor Chéyney has furnished it with very considerable success can hardly be denied. But the field it deals with is so large and so suggestive that critics will probably differ widely in their judgment as to selection and emphasis. On the whole the present reviewer is ready to acknowledge that he has grave doubts whether more that is worth while could have been presented in this space, and whether the emphasis can properly be attacked. But while it might not be just to suggest that the book bears marks of haste, it probably could be materially improved by the more close knitting together of sections that at present appear in a somewhat fragmentary if not disjointed state. It is on the side of omissions that the book can be most seriously criticized. While the religious impulse in emigration is sufficiently emphasized, the relations between the English and the continental sides of it are scarcely indicated, and almost no reference is made to the democratic trend of these new views and organizations. Too sharp a distinction is probably made between religious and other motives; as in the England of the seventeenth century, so in the seventeenth-century English colonization it must have been frequently impossible to say whether the sectarian was thinking most of civil or of religious liberty, or whether indeed he was really thinking of liberty or of domination. The whole Reformation aspect of the European life of the time is imperfectly set forth in not being regarded sufficiently in the light of an arrested or an about-to-be-arrested movement; which would suggest the presentation of the American sides or effects of it as largely a successful evasion of arrest, with the consequence of being the opening or one of the

aspects of the opening of a special American development. International conditions are scarcely touched on, though in various ways the student of the upgrowth of the colonies must have them in mind, and though the author refers (p. 210) to the minds of men through all Europe as "turning towards America . . . as . . . a base for the fighting out of Old-World quarrels". From the standpoint alone of national characteristics and relations it would have been of great interest to have had estimates of the national types about to be given an opportunity of amalgamating in the new country, and some description of the feelings entertained at the start toward one another. It is not quite sufficient to introduce us to the home conditions of the New York Dutch and the New England English and the Pennsylvania Germans; we should like to know also something of the light in which these peoples appeared to one another, of the way in which they were likely to look upon one another in America.

The reviewer hopes that these remarks may not seem captious. He has expressed his sense of the necessary limitations of the book, and has little doubt that Professor Cheyney could strongly defend his use of his space. In any case the book is an excellent opening of this as yet so slightly worked field; it would most probably be a great gain to American and to European history if Professor Cheyney should himself continue to work in it.

VICTOR COFFIN.

Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556. By ALBERT FREDERICK POLLARD, M.A., Professor of Constitutional History, University College, London. [Heroes of the Reformation, edited by SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, Professor of Church History, New York University.]. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Pp. xv, 399.)

PROFESSOR JACKSON has been exceedingly fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Pollard to write the life of Cranmer for this useful series of biographies. No one could be better qualified for the task. Mr. Pollard can lay claim to a special knowledge of the mid-Tudor epoch second only to that of Dr. James Gairdner; he has already put forth, within the last five years, three important books dealing with that period, in addition to numerous contributions covering the same field in the *Cambridge Modern History*, the *English Historical Review*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*; finally, as assistant editor of the latter work he has had long practice and experience in biographical writing. The merits of the present work are great and obvious; they are in fact precisely what one would expect of a mature scholar with the training and qualifications just mentioned. The book can rightly claim to be the first considerable biography of Cranmer which has been written according to the canons of modern scientific historical work. It is obviously based in large measure on original research; it is clear, and for the most part consistent and convincing; and though it contains

nothing that is startlingly new, it arranges in useful and readable form a vast amount of hitherto scattered and not always trustworthy information.

The best parts of the book are the first chapter, dealing with Cranmer's parentage, birth, and early years, and the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, dealing with his career under Edward VI. At the outset Mr. Pollard is able to impart some interesting information concerning the archbishop's family history which has escaped the notice of Cranmer's previous biographers, and for which he acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Mr. R. E. Chester Waters's *Memoirs of the Family of Chester of Chicheley* (London, 1878, 2 vols.). With the Edwardian period the author himself is especially familiar; his most scholarly work has been done in this field; and his account of the life of his subject between 1547 and 1553 is beyond praise. It is interesting to note that Mr. Pollard's attitude in regard to all the main characters of the reign remains substantially the same as it was when his *England under Protector Somerset* appeared five years ago; he may now, we think, be fairly considered to have made out his case in favor of the young king's uncle and to have demonstrated the error of regarding the entire reign "as one period, marked throughout by the same characteristics, methods, and aims". He devotes considerable space in this part of his book to a discussion of the development of Cranmer's theological views, especially to the changes in his beliefs about the sacrament, and justly enlarges upon the archbishop's inestimable services to the church of England in preparing the Book of Common Prayer. "That the English Church survived was due in no small measure to the exquisite charm of her liturgy; and that was the work of Cranmer" (p. 223).

Mr. Pollard's treatment of the archbishop's career under Henry VIII seems to us, however, much less satisfactory. There is evidence that this part of the book was done under pressure, and too hastily: there are a good many loose phrases, and some positive errors of fact. It is certainly an exaggeration to say that Henry VIII "had launched into war against Louis XII. because that king attacked the Pope's temporal States" (p. 27), or that the author of the *Utopia* "in theory . . . believed in religious persecution" (p. 131). The Great Bible was not "printed in Paris" (p. 113): on the contrary the Royal Inquisition got wind of the attempt to do so, and interfered, so that the work had to be carried on and completed in England. Thomas Cromwell was not executed "on the 20th of July" (p. 139), but on July 28. Then again, one cannot help feeling that the fact that Mr. Pollard's book is one of a series called "Heroes of the Reformation" has led him to present this earlier and less glorious portion of the archbishop's career in a more favorable light than he otherwise would have done. There is little that is really heroic about Thomas Cranmer under Henry VIII, and we think that Mr. Pollard would have done better frankly to admit this,

than to confuse subserviency with humility befitting a Christian prelate, and timidity with loyalty to a strong king. In his chapter on Cranmer's character and private life, however, Mr. Pollard returns to a more judicial standpoint. Indeed throughout the bulk of the present work, as in his previous books, his attitude is that of one who realizes that the earlier unscholarly eulogists of the reformers went too far at first in one direction, but also that their opponents, influenced perhaps by the Tractarian movement, have of late gone too far in the other. It is obviously his desire to give both sides their just due and no more, but in the attempt to do this he is often almost insensibly led to adopt the attitude of an apologist of the reformers, because such a large number of recent writers have erred on the other side.

The story of the last three years of Cranmer's life under Mary is briefly and simply told; it gives a much clearer and more intelligible account of the seven famous recantations than is elsewhere accessible, and good use is made of the magnificent climax afforded by the archbishop's glorious death. It is also a pleasure to find in a book which is as certain to be widely read as this a correction of the popular notion that Cranmer was burnt at the place where the Martyrs' Memorial now stands; his death occurred, as Mr. Pollard points out, on the other side of Balliol College, in what is to-day "the Broad", but what was then an empty ditch. The exact spot is now marked by a plain stone cross in the ground, and an electric-light standard above it keeps off the carts and wagons whose passing to and fro "over the place where [the martyrs] yielded up their souls" was thought "not respectful" by the Tractarian Pusey.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

Maps Illustrating Early Discovery and Exploration in America, 1502-1530. Reproduced by Photography from the original Manuscripts. Issued under the Direction of EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Rutgers College. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: 1903-1905. Twelve maps in 124 sheets, with folio printed covers, and key-maps with explanatory texts.)

THIS series of great cartographical monuments is by far the most important contribution of its kind ever issued under American auspices. It was planned by Professor Stevenson as an aid to American scholarship and with no thought of monetary profit. He discussed his plans with a few scholars interested in this field of investigation and, in December, 1902, sent to about a dozen large and representative American libraries type-written proposals, in which he unfolded both the plans and the approximate costs, and solicited their subscriptions to the co-operative scheme. He, on his part, agreed to manage the arrangements for procuring negatives or photographs in the widely scattered depositories of Europe, where the unique originals repose; and by the exercise of great patience, tact, and untiring effort he has succeeded in securing

for the first time complete facsimiles of all of them in the sizes of the originals.

The plans met with favorable acceptance, and sets of the series were ordered by enough subscribers to make the issue possible. The first number was delivered in August, 1903. Since American scholars will wish to consult these maps, a list of the depositories of the sets is given here. It will be noticed that all of them are in the United States. They are located geographically as follows: Massachusetts: Harvard College Library; Boston Public Library; Forbes Memorial Library (Northampton). Rhode Island: John Carter Brown Library; George Parker Winship (Providence), private set. New York: American Geographical Society; New York Public Library (Lenox Building); Archer M. Huntington (New York city), private set; Cornell University Library. New Jersey: New Jersey Historical Society; Princeton University Library; Rutgers College Library; Professor Stevenson, private set. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Library. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress. Illinois: Newberry Library. Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Also one set not yet definitely disposed of, making eighteen full sets in all.

As these maps are of great historical and geographical importance, it is perhaps relevant to discuss them separately and in more or less detail, following the numerical order assigned to them in the series, and by which they may become known in future brief citations of them. Six of the maps, in ninety-nine sheets, are photographic prints; the remaining half are reproduced in twenty-five sheets by the Bierstadt artotype process, directly from the negatives. In explanation it may be said that some of the foreign depositories made it a condition that the negatives should not pass out of their jurisdiction, otherwise Professor Stevenson would have made the series uniform by the artotype process, as that method presents advantages not attainable by a photograph. On the whole, the results are excellent. It will now be possible to collate with this series the former sectional lithographs in Kunstmahn, Kohl, Kretschmer, HARRISSE, and others, in so far as they have used American parts of any of the maps. But for the larger part of the world, this series presents the only opportunity to study side by side these planispheres.

(1) Cantino; 1502-1504. Photograph, fifteen sheets; whole size, 1060 by 2180 mm. The original is on vellum, colored and gilt, and had a checkered career, during which it was used as a cover for a screen. Giuseppe Boni, librarian of the Biblioteca Estense, at Modena, Italy, found it in 1859 in the shop of a pork-butcher, from whom he purchased it, and after restoring it gave the map to the library over which he presided. Alberto Cantino was envoy of Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara (died 1505) to the court of Portugal, and kept his patron informed of the discoveries made under Portuguese and Spanish auspices.

As the duke wished to have them indicated upon a map, Cantino employed a cartographer in Lisbon, who was probably an Italian, and this map was in the making from December, 1501, to October, 1502. The cursive handwriting represents subsequent additions, based, it is thought, upon the third voyage of Vespuccius, from data which Cantino procured from him on his return. How the map wandered out of the duke's possession is not known. Next to the Juan de la Cosa planisphere (1500) it is the oldest known map upon which the New World is sketched, and it exerted a far-reaching influence, particularly upon the Portuguese-German type, as represented by Waldseemüller and Schöner. Besides the Vespuccian data it utilized the results of the third voyage of Columbus (1498), of Corte-Real (1501), and of Cabral (1500); was dependent largely upon Portuguese sources, and is the first known map in which the West Indies received the appellation of "Antilhas". There is a precision and fullness to the Asiatic coast as not shown before. Harrisse was the first to issue a portion, namely the New World, in his *Les Corte-Real* (1883), but the nomenclature of his facsimile is not absolutely accurate. His greatly reduced sections, in *Discovery of North America* (1892), are too small to be serviceable, and Stevenson presents for the first time the whole map in its full size by direct photography.

(2) Munich-Portuguese, 1502-1504. Artotype, six sheets; whole size, 1040 by 1170 mm. Original in the Royal Library, Munich. It exhibits certain features of the Cantino map; shows Newfoundland as an elongated island; gives some new names, and represents the coast of South America in particular. It belongs to the Lusitanian type of charts, which did not influence much the later cartography. Kunstmann (No. 2) and Kretschmer reproduced only the New World portion.

(3) Pilestrina, 1503-1505. Artotype, four sheets; whole size, 1220 by 830 mm. Identified as the work of Salvatore de Pilestrina, of Majorca. The original is in the Königlich Bayer'schen Haupt Conservatorium at Munich. It is a kind of Catalano-Lusitanian map of the world; shows an admixture of Italian and Portuguese, with Spanish traits, and contains the discoveries of Corte-Real and of Vespuccius. Harrisse places it "after 1502"; Peschel, 1502-1503; Kohl, 1504-1505; and Sophus Ruge, 1503-1504. Only the American portion was reproduced before, by Kunstmann (No. 3) and Kretschmer (plate ix: 1); of these, the larger is Kunstmann, who gives less than half of the map, in somewhat reduced dimensions. The original extends to the eastward as far as the Red and Black seas and South Africa, and its appearance indicates that it may have been larger.

(4) Maggiolo, 1519. Artotype, one sheet; whole size, 335 by 500 mm. Original by Vesconte de Maggiolo, in Royal Library, Munich, where it belongs to an atlas of seven maps on vellum. It gives more islands than any preceding map; follows the Canerio rather fully for coast names, and, according to Harrisse, "for the period between the

Peter Martyr map (1511), and the Turin chart (*circa* 1523), . . . it fills a gap in the Hydrography of the New World, which cannot be replaced, thus far [1892], by any other cartographical document." Reproduced, but not with all the nomenclature, by Kunstmann (No. 5) and Santarem.

(5) Munich-Portuguese, 1516-1520. Artotype, six sheets; whole size, 630 by 1260 mm. Original in Royal Library, Munich; formerly attributed erroneously to Salvatore de Pilestrina. It is the earliest known map in which Balboa's discovery of the Pacific is designated, namely, as "Mar Visto Pelos Castelhanos". The demarcation line of Tordesilhas, June 7, 1494, divides the map, and the names of the Bahama Islands and South America seem to be dependent upon Spanish sources. There are several reproductions of American sections, particularly Kunstmann (No. 4) and Kretschmer (plate XII: 2), of which the former is the best, but it shows only about one-third of the whole map and omits place-names.

(6) Turin-Spanish, 1523-1525. Photograph, twelve sheets; whole size, 1125 by 2600 mm. Original on vellum, in the Library of the King of Italy, at Turin. The legends are Spanish and Latin, seldom Portuguese, and the map, next to La Cosa's, is the first to be founded on Spanish discoveries. Harrisse says it is "the most valuable cartographical document of the sixteenth century which we possess for the nomenclature", and he lauds its accuracy in this respect. Merely shown before in a sketch-map by Harrisse.

(7) Salviati, 1525-1527. Photograph, twenty-four sheets; whole size, 950 by 2055 mm. Original in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence, on paper, and receives its present name because it bears the coat of arms of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, who was nuncio in Spain from 1525 to 1530. Its nomenclature is in Spanish, Latin, and Portuguese; and it exhibits only the east coast of America from Labrador to the Straits of Magellan, but the coast-lines of Africa and southern Asia have a very replete series of names. The ship *Victoria* of Magellan is shown with an inscription. Now reproduced for the first time.

(8) Wolfenbüttel-Spanish, 1525-1530. Artotype, four sheets, representing two sections; original size, according to W. Ruge (A, 652 by 855 mm.; B, 557 by 854 mm.); on parchment. It is in the style of Ribero, and is a portion of a planisphere, in colors, exhibiting America from Labrador to Patagonia; the sheet with the Old World regions is lost. The original is in the Grand Ducal Library, Wolfenbüttel, having been purchased by the Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1604-1666). The place-names are Portuguese, but of Spanish influence, and the nomenclature of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is noteworthy, since it is the first Spanish map on which it appears. A photograph of it was loaned to the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, but was not returned and has disappeared. Otherwise, Stevenson's is the first known reproduction.

(9) Weimar-Spanish, 1527. Photograph, twelve sheets; whole size, 805 by 2160 mm. Original, on parchment, in the Grand Ducal Library, Weimar. Various ascribed to Ferdinand Columbus, Nuño García de Toreno, and Ribero, but the maker has not been absolutely determined. It has the date 1527, and "is the first extant official Spanish marine chart". It portrays for the first time the New World as a whole land mass, in the north named "Mundus Novus" and in the south "Brasil"; and the Straits of Magellan are set down correctly for the first time. The American section was reproduced, not with absolute fidelity, in Kohl's *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika* (Weimar, 1860). Now shown as a whole for the first time.

(10) Maggiolo, 1527. Artotype, four sheets; whole size, 1700 by 600 mm. Original, by Vesconte de Maggiolo, on parchment, colored, in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. It influenced later maps, and Harisse says, it "represents closely a prototype, still unknown, on which were inscribed Verrazanian data, shortly after the return of the Florentine navigator". The American portion was given by Weise and Harisse, reduced, and the late B. F. De Costa had three copies made, size 345 by 990 mm., two of which are in the New York Public Library, but no complete facsimile in full size is known. Stevenson's reproduction has not been sent out, at the time of this writing, but it will prove to be among the choicest of the series.

(11) Ribero, 1529. Photograph, twelve sheets; whole size, 850 by 2125 mm. Original, on parchment, by Diego Ribero, in the Grand Ducal Library, Weimar, mended in places. It is by one of the best cosmographers of his time, and a work of first importance. Reproductions of the American portion have appeared in several places: Sprengel, *Ueber J. Ribero's älteste Weltcharte* (Weimar, 1795), Santarem's *Atlas de Mappemondes*, Kretschmer (plate xv), Nordenskiöld's *Periphus* (plate XLVIII), and particularly in Kohl's *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, but the latter shows only one-third of the whole map, and his nomenclature is faulty.

(12) Verrazano, 1529. Photograph, twenty-four sheets; whole size, 1270 by 2560 mm. Original, by Girolamo da Verrazano, brother of the American navigator, in the Library of the Propaganda Fide, Rome, to which it was bequeathed by Cardinal Stefano Borgia, in 1804, with his museum. All of its nomenclature is in Italian, and it shows the discoveries of Giovanni da Verrazano, being also the first Italian map to inscribe the name "Tierra America", here placed across Venezuela, while it names the site of the United States as "Nova Gallia, sive Ivcatanet", the last word being likely a curious misapplication of Yucatan. It has been described often, and Alessandri, of Rome, photographed it some time ago, but in what size has not been determined. The reductions by Brevoort, Murphy, and others are imperfect. The Stevenson facsimile, however, affords American students the first opportunity to study it properly. The key-maps have not been issued thus far.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. By A. W. WHITEHEAD.
(London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. ix, 387.)

THIS capital volume deserves a hearty welcome both for its substantial worth and its interest as an example of the excellent results which may be obtained when capable and well-trained historical scholars apply their scientific spirit and methods to the exploitation of a field which they have hitherto rather neglected, that of historical biography. The author was the winner of the Stanhope historical prize at Oxford in 1896, and in his extensive linguistic equipment, well-developed critical spirit, and firm grasp upon the general field in which his subject lies he exhibits just those qualifications for his task which we should expect from the Oxford traditions and arrangements for the pursuit of historical studies. With these qualifications at his command and through extensive research at the principal manuscript repositories of London, Paris, Rome, Turin, Parma, Mantua, Modena, Florence, and Naples, he has produced a volume that is a real contribution to knowledge and the first adequate biography of Coligny in English.

The proportions of the book are excellent. About one-third of the space is devoted to Coligny's career prior to the wars of religion; the story of the first three of these wars consumes another third; the remainder is given over mainly to Coligny's anti-Spanish policy in 1570-1572, his efforts to establish Huguenot colonies in the New World, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. There are two appendixes, one of which is an elaborate and apparently conclusive discussion of the much-mooted question of the responsibility for that article in the treaty of Hampton Court whereby the English were to be put in possession of Havre. Mr. Whitehead holds that Coligny and Condé were not in any wise responsible for it, and that its insertion must be laid at the door of the Vidame de Chartres, who in this matter probably exceeded his instructions. The value of the book is considerably enhanced by twenty-four full-page illustrations and several maps, plans, and tables. All of the illustrations are reproductions of contemporary pictures or objects, nearly every prominent character mentioned in the book being represented by a good portrait.

At several points Mr. Whitehead has reached distinctly new conclusions. Nevertheless, the principal value of his work lies elsewhere. Upon most of the important features of Coligny's career his conclusions are substantially those generally accepted or at least those already presented by one or more of his predecessors in the field. The value of Mr. Whitehead's work then lies in the greater assurance with which these conclusions may now be held, since they stand confirmed by an independent, painstaking, and searching investigation in which each previous conclusion has been critically examined and its acceptance made to depend upon new arguments and the support of materials hitherto unused.

In a more extended notice it would be the duty of the reviewer to

point out a number of defects. Such adverse criticisms would deal principally with the inadequate treatment of certain topics, such as the Reformation in France and the rise, character, and distribution of the Huguenot party; with an occasional deficiency in the manner of presentation, due principally to faulty arrangement; and with erroneous allusions to matters lying outside of the author's special field. The absence of a bibliography is to be regretted, especially as many of the citations are given by brief title, and verification is thus made difficult. These faults, however, are neither numerous nor serious enough to detract materially from the general excellence of the volume.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 4. *England in America, 1580-1652.* By LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D., President of William and Mary College. Volume 5. *Colonial Self-Government, 1652-1689.* By CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, Ph.D., Professor of History in Bryn Mawr College. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xx, 355; xviii, 369.)

IN refreshing contrast to many elaborate historical works of the day, this great coöperative enterprise suggests the study rather than the shop, and each new volume is certain of an eager welcome. The theme of the two volumes before us is English colonization in America during the seventeenth century; and the point of division between the two treatments is the year 1652, in which the supremacy of the Commonwealth was recognized throughout the colonies.

The luxurious style of volume is reason enough why the two books are not within one cover; but it may be questioned whether they should not have come from one author. The promise of twenty-eight volumes in the series, together with the imposing appearance of the books, gives rise to an expectation of abundant detail; but, owing in part to the sumptuous page, this impression is delusive. These two volumes comprise less than one-third the matter in Mr. Doyle's three on the same field, and the treatment sometimes is necessarily scant. The waste of space and the other inevitable weaknesses of the coöperative method should not be intensified by needless subdivision of the labor. Moreover, some quaint inconsistencies in the two accounts challenge attention. For instance, Dr. Tyler (p. 322) estimates the population of New England in 1652 at 50,000, while Dr. Andrews puts it correctly (p. 3) for the same period at half that figure. Still more vexing are the omissions and overlappings. Dr. Tyler carries somewhat beyond his date the disputes among the squabbling Rhode Island communities; Dr. Andrews, in order to trace the evolution of Rhode Island unity, repeats much of this troublous story—but neither writer finds it within his province to give real prominence to Rhode Island's stand for religious freedom. The territorial disputes between Dutch and Swedes and English are

told in both books; but nowhere does the interesting internal development of the Dutch colony receive serious attention. Both writers, too, deal with the dissensions of 1652-1654 between the New England Confederation and Massachusetts. In this case, to be sure, other features of Dr. Tyler's book give cause for the suspicion that he is here tempted slightly beyond his natural limits by his wish to emphasize that early instance of "nullification" in a New England union; but for many phases of internal history the dividing point is at best an arbitrary one.

Dr. Tyler begins his story with excellent chapters on the genesis of the colonizing movement and on the heroic failures of Gilbert and Raleigh. In the account of Virginia, the struggle for existence in the strange American environment is clearly presented; the "gentlemen" of the early migration are vindicated as good colonizing material; and the patriotic work of the London Company, "the greatest and noblest association ever organized by the English people" (p. 89), receives due attention. Dr. Tyler's statement (p. 3) that his subject is "the bold assertion of England to a rivalry [with Spain] in European waters and on American coasts" applies with especial fitness to this first third of the book. Dr. Tyler is particularly happy in tracing beginnings. From the charter of 1606 to the arrival of Lord Delaware, the story of Virginia fills thirty-four pages, while thirty suffice, practically, for the following thirty years. Likewise, of the thirty pages on Plymouth, thirteen are given to events prior to the landing of the Pilgrims. The entire account of the Pilgrim colony, be it said, is admirable in a high degree. Dr. Tyler here gives a noble example of the sympathetic way in which one would like to see a descendant of the Cavaliers treat all the New England story. When we come to the distinctively Puritan colonies, this promise, unhappily, is not made good; but here, too, the opening chapter, dealing with events preceding the arrival of Winthrop in America, is accurate and adequate. Especially satisfactory is the portrayal of the fact that the genesis of the Massachusetts Company had no manifest connection with sectarian Puritanism, and that the project for transferring the government to America marked a radical change of policy.

The great fault of the book is Dr. Tyler's bias against the Puritan and for the Cavalier. The South has suffered so grievously from New England writers that a desire to redress the balance is natural; but, if only for the credit of Southern scholarship, one regrets that Dr. Tyler has fallen so far short of historical catholicity. The editor informs us that the Puritan fathers are to be "further relieved of the halo which generations of venerating descendants have bestowed upon them"; but this gives faint warning of the author's method. The Puritan practice of expelling dissentients is properly pronounced persecution; but it is also denounced, tritely, as "totally illogical". Sometimes Dr. Tyler distorts simple external facts, as in an amazing statement (p. 321) about the "wholesale hanging of Quakers and witches" under the rule of

Endicott and Norton, and in an equally remarkable description of the early rule of the assistants in Massachusetts. "The Bible", we read in the latter passage (p. 202), "was the only law-book", and (picturesque invective getting the better of the author's control of English) "offenders were not merely law-breakers, but sinners, and their offences ranged from such as wore long hair to such as dealt in witchcraft and sorcery"! As a plain matter of fact, during the period to which the passage refers (clearly defined in the context as extending at most from 1631 to May, 1634), the Bible was never used as a law-book, nor does either long hair or sorcery appear in the records. Partial foundations for Dr. Tyler's statements exist in New England jurisprudence at some times and places; but the careless avidity with which the writer grasps at such material, out of place, throws suspicion upon his whole picture. There is an overemphasis throughout upon the unpleasant and absurd features of New England life, and a distinct ignoring of fine features. That there was an ideal, as lofty as impracticable, back of the sacrifices and political sins of great souls like Winthrop, is hardly hinted. We have the play without Hamlet.

In strong contrast with this picture of social retrogression in New England is the rose-colored vision of political liberalism in Virginia. That colony, it is asserted (p. 116), was "essentially a democracy", and "till 1736" the House of Burgesses was "practically established on manhood suffrage". In another publication, it is true, Dr. Tyler has argued that the freehold franchise restrictions of 1670 and the following years—restrictions not mentioned at all in this treatment—were inoperative until the more specific legislation of 1736. Perhaps Dr. Andrews in the following volume ought to have paid some attention to this claim of his colleague; but at best Dr. Tyler's picture of Virginian democracy is sadly one-sided, nor is it much helped by the attempt to confirm it by a strained reference (p. 116) to Jeffersonian Republicanism at the close of the next century. That reference, however, recalls another peculiar passage (p. 144) where we are reminded that the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 fell short after all of "that broad plane of universal principle stated later in the Virginia Declaration of Rights". One hundred and twenty-seven years later! And no reference to the New Jersey Concessions, or to the quite contemporary broad plane of universal principle in Rhode Island! How are we to escape the conclusion that Dr. Tyler holds a brief?

One interesting statement in the discussion of political development in Virginia I wish to note. It is asserted (pp. 93-94, and elsewhere) that the legislature had become a bicameral body by 1629, and (p. 123) that special privileges pertained at an early time to the popular branch. This claim is novel to me, and it seems inconsistent with the printed records. Ought not Dr. Tyler to have elaborated slightly so important a matter, indicating the evidence he must have for it? The foot-notes at the close of the passage on page 94 give authority for minor statements in the paragraph, but not for this one.

The editor's introduction to Dr. Tyler's volume promises (p. xv) that "especial attention" is to be paid to "the development of popular government in Massachusetts". The reader is the more surprised, especially after the glowing account of political progress in Virginia, to find this essential phase of American history slighted to an extreme degree throughout the treatment of all New England. Indeed the brief references which are devoted to it indicate a lack of familiarity with the subject. The account (p. 199) of the oligarchic legislation of October, 1630, in Massachusetts, omits both the significant occasion and the essential fact that law-making was handed over to the assistants. This omission makes the author's comment weak, and renders obscure to the careful reader the later statement (p. 202) regarding the powerlessness of the freemen. The act of May, 1631, to make permanent the tenure of the assistants, should not be represented (p. 201) as solely in the interest of the theocracy; and, from that date to 1634, the new freemen were not admitted by the old ones (p. 202), but by the assistants. The supremely important general court of 1634 contained not two delegates from each town (p. 203), but three. The refusal to return the charter should not be credited to Dudley (p. 215). The term "court of assistants" is not proper (p. 244) for the assistants sitting in the one-chambered general court. The freemen in Connecticut attended only one of the two annual general courts (p. 258), and the bicameral system was not adopted in that colony in 1645 (p. 258); the two orders, magistrates and deputies, did begin to vote separately at that time, but they did not separate into two houses until forty years later. Two of the three statements about New England population (pp. 209, 300, 322) are reckless.

More serious than such blemishes is the spirit of the whole treatment. The famous protest by Watertown in 1632 calls out this sentence (p. 202): "The inhabitants of Watertown grumbled about paying their proportion of this tax"! Winthrop's failure of reelection in 1634 is ascribed to the idea that he had not been "harsh enough" (p. 200); instead of to the opposite and real cause—his cavalier treatment of the rising democratic movement. That profoundly significant phase of early Massachusetts life, the incessant struggle between aristocratic and democratic sentiment, is ignored. We have implied censure (p. 203) for the delay in providing a written code; but no picture of the instructive contest for it between these two forces, and no praise for the democratic victory in it. The great democratic counter-revolution of 1634, together with all the constitutional development which followed, down through the establishment of the bicameral system in 1644, is compressed into one paragraph of eleven lines (p. 203); and one of these is spared to remind us that in the development of representative government, Massachusetts was "second in point of time only to Virginia". The unprovable statement (p. 243) that Hooker imbibed his political liberality in Holland neglects more natural causes. The explanation of the with-

drawal to Connecticut refers to the dominant democratic impulse in the slightest way, and only to confuse it with anti-theocratic sentiment. The Fundamental Orders gets perfunctory mention; but no reader would suspect the skilful adaptations of Massachusetts experience in that document, nor the remarkable and original modifications due to a progressive democracy. Only defects in the Confederation of 1643 call out particular comment (p. 300). And even in describing the New England town-meeting (p. 323), chief emphasis is given to a supposed five-hundred-dollar qualification for voting. Is Dr. Tyler bent upon securing to Virginia all credit for American democracy? The requirement of this qualification for the town franchise, by the way, in the period of this volume, seems very doubtful. The statement in the text is followed by a reference to Howard's *Local Constitutional History*; but the passage there, suggesting nothing of this kind, seems only to have furnished some of the phrases in preceding sentences of Dr. Tyler's paragraph. This annoying looseness in placing references is too general throughout the volume.

On the whole, Dr. Tyler's treatment leaves an impression of slightness. A writer with dramatic instinct could not have been betrayed into letting Pocahontas rescue Smith (provided the incident is to be accepted at all) before the narrative had even landed Smith in America. At times the usually clear style becomes slipshod. An extreme instance is the indefinite "he" on page 150, with the antecedent ten lines back, in a different paragraph, skulking behind a number of substantives which, grammatically, might fill its place. "They", on page 250, is almost as vexing, while now and again we run upon a sentence slovenly throughout, or upon a jolting paragraph. Several misprints occur, and some misquotations.

Dr. Andrews's *Colonial Self-Government*, all in all, seems the best volume in the series so far. The editor's enthusiasm (five times expressed in the four-page introduction) for his colleague's "delving" for "new material" in "unpublished records" or in "out-of-the-way sources" has real provocation; and much of the book is of great interest even to the specialist. Better still, for the purpose of the work, Dr. Andrews keeps to the historical point of view, always regarding the colonists (to use a happy phrase of Dr. Tyler's) as "an outlying portion of the English nation"; and his vision is sane and comprehensive. Forty pages go to an account, intelligent and illuminating, of the English colonial administration. This is far the best discussion of the subject outside of special treatises, if not the best anywhere. The European mercantile system receives its proper explanation; the English navigation laws get a rational statement; and that hard-working body, the Lords of Trade, is admirably described. While the great committee's lamentable inability to appreciate the democratic forces at work in America is properly emphasized, the reader is also made to feel its "eminent fairness" "towards the colonies" (p. 28), and its honest,

painstaking attention both to large questions of policy and to vexing details of administration. Throughout the volume we see the development of a colonial system which is so "in accord with the needs and interests of the English people" that it persists and grows whether the English government is administered by Oliver or Charles or William, and which in its essential features was to continue to the American Revolution. Dr. Andrews has accomplished a great task worthily. It means something not merely to scholarship but even to the comity of nations that at last we have a popular history of our colonial era, untainted by provincialism.

To treat the internal development of the many scattered colonies satisfactorily, within the brief space allotted, is a difficult task. Besides the two groups belonging to the earlier period, Dr. Andrews has also to consider New York, the Jerseys, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania. These colonies get about a third of the volume, while the old group of southern colonies and New England to 1686 receive nearly as much space. Fifteen excellent pages present the Andros régime in the north and the readjustments throughout the colonies after the English Revolution; and about fifty pages are given to a concluding survey of social and economic conditions. Much of the narrative for the new colonies is devoted inevitably to an unraveling of territorial tangles, for which probably the average reader will care little; but the political development in New York after 1664 is finely told, and the forty pages given to the short period of Pennsylvania's growth are perhaps the most fascinating in the volume. Certainly no other character is thrown into such strong relief as is the heroic figure of Penn, struggling, not unsuccessfully, with creditors, enemies, jealous kings, insubordinate agents, and ungrateful colonists, to lay broad and firm the foundations for his "Holy Experiment". This story is carried to 1696, and one feels it should have included the granting of the charter of 1701. The account of Bacon's rebellion is compressed into about one-fifth the space that Dr. Fiske gives to that episode; but the story is perfectly lucid, if it does fall somewhat short of the dramatic possibilities. The policy of uniting the northern colonies under a general governor is shown to have originated in the deliberations of the Committee for Foreign Plantations, not in the despotic inclinations of the king; and possibly Andros gets rather more than justice—"bluff, impatient, and hot-tempered", and lacking in tact, but never exceeding his legal powers, and giving to New England "a better administration than that of Maryland or Virginia" (p. 275).

Dr. Andrews is always clear and almost always forceful; but I venture to call attention to a few errors and weaknesses. The author's preface tells us (p. xvii) that "By 1650 each community had settled its government along democratic lines—that is, had put into practice the principles of manhood suffrage [and] proportional representation", etc. This from Dr. Andrews is simply astounding, and needs no other

refutation than his text. The date (p. 49) for the franchise qualification in Connecticut should be 1659, not 1657. Possibly the author was misled by some recollection of the "peaceable-and-honest-conversation" clause of the earlier year. The change in the franchise qualification in 1662 seems to have been not a reduction (p. 55), but the substitution of real for personal property, and so in reality an increase. The phrase (p. 266) that "James had other work for Kirke to do" is no doubt one of those unfortunate literary reminiscences which often play more serious havoc in historical composition. The account of the contention between the Virginia assembly and Governor Mathews (p. 206) fails to bring out the crucial fact that the burgesses actually declared the office of governor vacant before Mathews "accepted another election". Berkeley's election took place in March, not in July; and the statement (p. 206) regarding what he was "authorized" to do fails to show that he was put under positive restrictions and instructions. The Virginia franchise was limited to freeholders, not in 1669 (p. 208), but in October, 1670. The assertion (p. 215) that "since 1630 relations with the tribes along the frontiers had been peaceful" ignores the great massacre of 1644, of which Dr. Tyler has already given a full account. The statements regarding local government in Virginia before and after Bacon's rebellion are not anywhere supplemented by a clear account of the final form given to this constitutional feature. In marked contrast with the excellent chapter on economic conditions, the chapter on social and religious life is the least satisfactory in the book, neglecting, for instance, all reference to the aristocracy in New England society and to the gloom of later Puritanism. In the bibliography of the navigation acts (p. 340) Mr. Ashley's *Surveys* seems to have been put in the wrong paragraph, and in any case it deserves correct title and date.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XIX, 1620-1621. Vol. XX, 1621-1624. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1904. Pp. 319, 306.)

IN volume XIX the manuscript letter of Hernando de los Rios Coronel, for many years procurator-general of the Philippines, detailing to the king of Spain and his Council of the Indies the "reforms needed" in the islands (a manuscript derived, like the majority of those published in this series, from the Archives of the Indies at Seville), is concluded. The last half of the same volume is also given up to the first reprint in English translation of this official's *Memorial and Relation* regarding the state of affairs in the Philippines, published in Madrid in 1621. To a considerable degree the procurator-general summarizes all the various features of Philippine administration that were at the time in an unsatisfactory condition, while the other miscellaneous documents reproduced in this and the succeeding volume, some twenty in

number, present certain of these phases more in detail. New points on the history of the two preceding decades are brought out in the first part of the *Memorial*, especially as bearing upon Governor-General Silva's tenacious efforts for conquest in the Indies, using the Philippines as a foothold, and upon the abuses of the Filipinos consequent upon his ambitious plans for ship-building and the fitting out of expeditions against the Dutch and the natives of the Moluccas. In the other two parts of the *Memorial* are presented data of a more precise sort than one usually gets in Spanish documents, showing the cost of the Philippines to the Spanish treasury, and especially the burden laid upon Philippine revenues, so-called, for the conduct of expeditions in the other regions of the East Indies. All this has a very direct bearing upon the question as to whether or not the Philippines may be regarded as having been a drain upon the resources of Spain, in the early years of Spanish rule at least. The letter of the Jesuit missionary Otaço, written at Madrid in 1620, when he and other Philippine missionaries were pressing for the sending of further aid and more missionaries to the islands (against the advice of the king's council, which at the time was for the abandonment of this conquest as too costly, in view of the straits to which Spain was then reduced to maintain her prestige in Europe), calls forth from the editors a brief note on an incident which has figured picturesquely in various Philippine histories, notably that of Father Concepcion. This was the visit of Father Moraga, a Franciscan, to Spain in 1619, where in an audience with Philip III he was said to have persuaded the king against the abandonment of the Philippines, his success, we are assured, proving that the sole aim of Spain in this conquest was the salvation of souls. The *Memorial* of Los Rios Coronel presents all the various arguments then urged against this abandonment of the work of a half-century, and shows that temporal reasons, as well as spiritual, played their part. Above all, the argument that Spain could not afford to play the weakling and abandon this conquest in the face of the world has a familiar ring to students of the contemporary history of the United States.

The royal decree of 1620 ordering reforms in the treatment of the Filipinos by the friars might well be accompanied by a note giving comprehensive references to other decrees of this sort in the *Laws of the Indies*. Other volumes of the series present the significant data of this sort, however. Similarly, with Friar San Pablo's memorial of 1620 on ship-building and *repartimientos* in the Philippines—bringing out especially the hardships endured by the natives at the hands of Spanish soldiers and other laymen. The Jesuit relation of 1619-1620, continuing the two letters of this sort previously published in this series, deals more with Japan, China, and the Moluccas than with the Philippines, and is of general interest to scholars of Oriental history. Over one hundred pages of volume XIX center about the ever-active Governor-General Alonso Fajardo, and especially about the quarrels between him and the

friars and with Archbishop Serrano, who himself was to make the first downright test of the friars' claim to absolute independence of action in spiritual matters.

Volume XX, in two-thirds of its documents, deals in one way or another with these same controversies. As between Fajardo and the friars, it was a dispute over the friars' tendency to intervene in secular matters or to assume powers which would in some degree nullify secular authority. As between the archbishop and the religious orders, it was the first test of the claim of the latter to exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. This is but lightly touched upon in volume XX, for it came to a head as the period covered by this volume closed, and is ventilated in a succeeding volume. But the royal decree of 1622, herein reproduced, inferentially gave the archbishop authority to assume a more vigorous attitude in maintaining his prerogative than he did in fact assume. When he yielded, if only for a reference to Spain of the matters in controversy, there was virtually lost for all the future years of Spanish rule in the Philippines the right of the ordinary to control the appointments to benefices, though the right of episcopal visitation of the parishes, not sufficiently asserted under Serrano, and thereby postponed for over a century and a half, was afterward to be established toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Incidentally, Serrano's memorial of 1622 contains considerable valuable information regarding the state of Philippine missions at that time. The contests between the discalced members of the Franciscans and the less rigid "Observants" of the same order is also somewhat ventilated. More Jesuit letters and accounts of the tragic events connected with Fajardo's slaying of his faithless wife make up this volume, with some documents of value regarding the Spanish expeditions of 1624 into the country of the Igorrotes in Benguet. As was so generally the case in later years, they only touched the borders of the head-hunters' country, bringing back exaggerated reports of the difficulties of the undertaking, of the savagery of the people, and of the mineral prospects—the latter report, in this case, being pessimistic.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents to Illustrate English Constitutional History, 1660-1832, with a Supplement from 1832-1894.

Edited by C. GRANT ROBERTSON, M.A. (London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xviii, 452.)

ALTHOUGH of late many compendious collections of documents and source-books illustrative of English history have appeared, there is still need for fuller volumes on particular periods left untouched by the admirable works of Stubbs, Prothero, and Gardiner. In the present volume Mr. Robertson has given us forty-eight statutes or selections of statutes, thirty-two extracts from leading cases, and a group of four appendixes, dealing respectively with impeachments, taxation and sup-

ply, the Exclusion Bill, and, in the form of summaries, with important legislative enactments from 1832 to 1894. As to proportions, the collection is fullest for the period from 1660 to 1720, a division justified by the editor on the ground that the subsequent years of the eighteenth century were less fruitful in epoch-making legislation than the previous period, and that the mass of enactments beginning ten years before the Reform Bill and continuing for fifty years after lies outside the scope of his undertaking.

A number of good things can be said for the book. In the first place, one should be grateful to have so much new and valuable material presented in accessible form. Moreover, the selections appear to have been accurately reproduced, and no liberties have been taken, except to modernize spelling, to punctuate here and there, and to cut out cumbersome and confusing verbiage and repetition. Careful notes indicate when statutes have been repealed, though the system employed does not always make clear just what portions, and the note (p. 127) "virtually repealed" conveys nothing at all. Likewise the references to secondary authorities, though a bit scanty in places, are a satisfactory feature.

Nevertheless, on the whole, the book is somewhat of a disappointment. It is spread out too thin to suit the needs of intensive work. Had it stopped, for instance, at 1714, there would have been room to include selections from royal speeches and proclamations, portions of the trials of those accused of participation in the Popish and Rye House plots—so typical of seventeenth-century justice or injustice—and other contemporary matter essential to a clear understanding of the times of the later Stuarts. Moreover, various instances of carelessness and inaccuracy have to be noted. To begin with, the value of the bibliography and of many of the page references is much lessened by the failure to give the date and place of publication of the editions cited; certainly there can be no point in referring one to "*Blackstone's Commentaries*, I, 414" (p. 354). Furthermore, there are many erroneous citations: "52 Geo. IV." should be "52 Geo. III" (p. 33); Gardiner's *Documents*, 258, should be Prothero's *Statutes*, 258 (p. 39); in the reference to the Habeas Corpus Act (p. 54), Hallam, II, xii should be III, xiii, at least in the best-known English editions; the Declaration of Indulgence of Charles of 1672/3 (p. 42) is undated, and no evidence is given as to whence it was taken, though a reference at the end of the following document might imply that it came from the *Commons Journals*. As a matter of fact it is not to be found there and is probably extracted from Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, IV, 515. "C. J. IX. 5" should be X. 5, and "C. J. IX. 7, 8" should be X. 7, 8 (pp. 56, 57).

Thus far evidences of carelessness only have been noted; but other examples seem to indicate that the editor's knowledge of the general history of at least part of his period is somewhat faulty. In the explanatory note to the celebrated case of *Godden vs. Hales* (p. 245) the

defendant is described as lieutenant of the tower, whereas he was proceeded against in the spring of 1686 for holding a commission as colonel in the army, and was not made lieutenant of the tower till the spring of 1687, fully a year after this event. Still less excusable is Mr. Robertson's conjecture in his note upon the Exclusion Bill (p. 424), where he tells us that his text is made from a document found among the papers of the House of Lords and printed in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*, XI, appendix, part II, 283, pp. 195-197. He points out that it differs throughout from the version printed in Adams and Stephens's *Documents* (taken from Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, IV, 1136), and that it is probably the original text. He omits to consider that the bill in Cobbett is dated May 15, 1679, while that in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report* is dated November 15, 1680, which indicates that the former is the text of the bill introduced in the spring of 1679 and blocked by the prorogation and subsequent dissolution of Parliament, while the latter is the bill which passed the Commons in the autumn of 1680 and was defeated in the Lords. The external features of the book are most attractive.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes á la Historia de América. Volumes I, II and III. (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez. 1904. Pp. xv, 420; lxxiii, 479; 517.)

THIS collection has but recently been undertaken, and three volumes have appeared. Volume I is entitled *Relación de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el País de los Maynas*, and its author is Francisco de Figueroa, S. J., a Spanish-American who suffered martyrdom in the Maynas country in 1666. His relation or report was written in 1661, by order of his provincial, he having been fitted for that task by his extensive labors among the Indians in the Maynas country—the district about the head waters of the Amazon. The book is a typical Jesuit relation, in part a series of reports and letters edited by Figueroa. It shows much keen observation of Indian life and manners, and describes some of their superstitions and rites. It is happily written and makes enjoyable reading. Three appendixes relating to the missions of the Maynas country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries supply later desirable information. Volumes II and III are the first two instalments of Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara's *Quinquenarios* or *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544-1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias*, and this work will be completed in three more volumes. Santa Clara was a Spanish-Indian mestizo, probably illegitimate, a part of the scenes that he describes so vividly, and one feels glad to know that he was not of the priestly class. These two volumes detail very minutely the first revolt against Spanish authority in the New World, and many delightful pages are given us of plots and counter-plots between the Spanish viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, and Gonzalo Pizarro, who led the

revolt; and later, when the latter attained his ends, the plots formed against him by lesser men, who were desirous of rule. The interesting fact is brought out that the ordinances made for the colony by virtue of Las Casas's representations in Spain were the direct cause of the first insurrection. The document is admirably although somewhat diffusely written, and is highly valuable to the student of South American history.

The defects of the series are obvious. No list of the documents to be published has been sent out, so that the public knows neither the scope nor the extent of the volumes to be issued; a recent prospectus announces that there are now in preparation Alonso de Çorita's hitherto unpublished *Relación de las cosas notables de la Nueva España*; the rare *Comentarios de lo acaecido en las jornadas que hizo á las Indias*, together with unpublished documents; and various historical-geographical relations concerning Central America. A personal letter from Señor Graiño, of the publishing house, states that he intends to publish three or four volumes each year, and that the collection will contain the "most important and unpublished documents" that come to his notice, concerning either North or South America, provided that authors and originals are Spanish. One already selected is the unpublished *Historia de la conquista, pérdida y restauración del reino y provincias de la Nueva México* by Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor.

There is no general editor and hence no general introduction, a most serious lack. The volumes are not published chronologically. Annotation is deplorably weak, being limited to bibliographical notes in the several introductions, and to notes showing erasures in the original manuscript, and corrections made by the immediate editor. A few good maps and plans, of which the Spanish archives contain many in manuscript; would help the series out wonderfully, but the illustrations appear to be limited to those contained in the original document. A slightly greater outlay by the publishers would greatly enhance the value of the series, and would justify a higher price per volume. The bibliographical notes are valuable, and the introduction accompanying each volume or work is useful. It has been suggested to the publishers that a number of documents on Louisiana, Florida, and Cuba would be welcomed in the United States.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Die amerikanische Revolution, 1775-1783. Entwicklungsgeschichte der Grundlagen zum Freistaat wie zum Weltreich unter Hervorhebung des deutschen Anteils. Für das deutsche und amerikanische Volk geschrieben von ALBERT PFISTER. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1904. Pp. x, 400; vi, 429.)

THE author of this new history of the American Revolution betrays a rather haphazard knowledge of the bibliography of his subject, but on the whole has written a book so full of suggestion and new points of

view for the student that it would be captious to attack the book from its weak side. He begins his treatment with the origin and emigration of the Puritans. Though he grows sentimental occasionally, and writes in an exalted, rhetorical style, yet the resulting impression is not as a rule untrue. He traces the gradual expansion of the Massachusetts colony, the founding of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, and watches constantly for the influences that tend to make them freedom-loving and independent. He then passes to the founding of Virginia and the "feudal state" of Carolina. From the characteristics of the South, the author goes to the subject of the middle colonies, his real interest. After discussing the struggle between the Netherlands, Sweden, and England for possession, he treats at some length the coming of the Swabians and Palatines, and the several German settlements in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Here he calls attention for the first time to the subject which is emphasized throughout the two volumes—the influence of the Germans upon America and the American Revolution. Though the conventional story of the war is told with far too much emphasis upon the details of battles, yet the theme upon which the author lingers with fondness and some exaggeration is the "deutscher Anteil". The superiority of the character of the middle states is too strongly asserted (I, 95-96). After telling of the struggle with France for the possession of North America, Herr Pfister devotes about fifty pages to a view of the economic and spiritual conditions in America just before the great struggle with England. Following this first period is a valuable chapter treating of the European conditions at the outbreak of the quarrel with England. The Netherlands, Spain, Austria, the German Empire, Prussia, and France are discussed with reference to the attitude that they are likely to take toward the coming struggle. The new point of view gives especial value to this chapter. From this on the treatment of the Revolution is very conventional except for the emphasis placed upon such subjects, as the proportion of Germans who took the patriot side (I, 268-272). On the basis of several pamphlets written by Germans urging their fellow-countrymen to embrace the patriot cause, the author concludes that they were, as a rule, active patriots. The preponderance of evidence seems to me to show that the Germans of eastern Pennsylvania were very slow to embrace the patriot cause—or any other. They wanted to be let alone to till their farms. C. H. Lincoln in his *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania*, which Herr Pfister does not seem to know, gives the truer view. Again, the author gives eleven pages (I, 298-309) to the German mercenaries. An amusing evidence of the intense German spirit of the writer is seen (I, 390) where the Declaration of Independence is discussed. Klopstock greeted it as the dawning of a new day. Herder hoped that republican America was called to create a new civilization. Kant, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller were all delighted. In Germany, says Herr Pfister, all was pure enthusiasm, sheer joy, but in

France it was merely a greed for revenge! Frederick the Great is also represented as the friend of and sympathizer with America, in spite of much evidence to the contrary. The most interesting and valuable parts of this work are those which discuss subjects of German interest, but the limits of this review permit only a bare list of such subjects, and such a list is worth while because it is for these things that the book is worth consultation. Steuben's work and the German element in the army at Valley Forge are given fifteen pages. On page 158 of the second volume there is a curious and rather strained comparison of America in 1778 and Germany in 1815. The "hotter and swifter flowing colonial blood" is supposed to account for the fact that America in ten years succeeded in attaining a national constitution, while Germany delayed until 1871. This instance illustrates the author's peculiar tendency to philosophical generalizations of a fanciful nature. When the French begin to take active part in the struggle, Herr Pfister again takes occasion to draw attention to the "deutscher Anteil", and Lafayette's services are compared with Steuben's (II, 353). Some interesting views of Frederick the Great are given (II, 160-168). After the story of the American Revolution is completed, the author continues the history through the making of the Federal Constitution. He then sketches the expansion of the United States, and the influence of German migration—all in a rather eulogistic strain. He sees in the German struggle for unity an imitation of the American struggle, and he never misses throughout the book an opportunity to use American history to point a moral for the German people. On the whole, it is a curious book, well worth writing, even if peculiar in its workmanship. It ought to give German readers a kindly and not untrue impression of the American Revolution.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826. Printed under the auspices of the New Brunswick Historical Society. Edited by Rev. WILLIAM O. RAYMOND, M.A. (St. John, N. B.: The Sun Printing Company, Ltd. 1901. Pp. 732.)

THESE are the papers of Judge Edward Winslow, of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, who was a lineal descendant of Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth colony. After his graduation from Harvard in 1765, he was associated with his father, an important officeholder of Plymouth, and he espoused the cause of the crown when the Revolution began. Gage appointed him to the offices of collector of the port of Boston and registrar of probate for Suffolk county, which he held until the evacuation, when he retired to Halifax, taking with him all the records; these, however, were returned after the peace. He was active during the war, and subsequently held many important posts for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He died in 1815.

The publication of this collection is due to the generous coöperation of Francis E. Winslow, of Chatham, New Brunswick, and the New

Brunswick Historical Society. The volume was printed and ready in 1901, but owing to an unavoidable concurrence of circumstances its publication was delayed until December, 1904. It is by far the most important single historical collection relating to the maritime provinces that has hitherto been issued. The editor brought to the work an unmatched knowledge of the men and events in New Brunswick for the period covered by these papers, he holding an undisputed first place there as specialist for many years of American loyalist history. The volume teems with annotations by him, which elucidate the text.

The papers presented are a selection out of a "mass of materials of varying degrees of interest and importance to be found in the original collection", in the keeping of Francis E. Winslow, together with letters and documents possessed by other members of the family and some chosen from the Chipman papers, another unpublished mass of important papers to which the editor had free access. Only a few of them appeared in print before, as, for example, those to be found in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, 1886-1887, III, 64-94. Altogether the volume contains "about six hundred and fifty letters and documents written by about one hundred and seventy different persons and covering a period of nearly fifty years". About one hundred and fifty of Edward Winslow's letters are presented, mostly from rough drafts. The whole material is arranged in chronological order, from January 10, 1776, to January 11, 1826, and is made available by a copious index of over thirty-two closely-printed columns.

One of the points of value in the book is the perfect clearness with which it lays bare the origin of the province of New Brunswick—why it was set off from Nova Scotia in 1784, a subject hitherto obscure. It was largely due to the insufficiency of the officials at Halifax, who were quite unable to cope with the difficulties of settling the loyalists in New Brunswick, on account of the slowness of communication and the desire of the English government to form a new government in which offices could be provided for some of the loyalists who were well fitted for the places. The value of the papers for local history is immense, upon all kinds of matters connected with the province, and this is enhanced by the continuity of the material. It is discernible that Winslow was a chief adviser of Governor Carleton, and that Carleton was a devoted governor, but possessed of only moderate capacity. New light is particularly shed on the province's history from 1800 to 1812. Sixteen plates of portraits, views, and autographs accompany the text.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The United States of America. By EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, Ph.D.
(New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. xi, 425; viii, 385.)

THESE volumes are not intended as a consecutive history of the United States. They are a series of studies in an interpretation of that

history in its consecutive phases. The obvious purpose of the author is to bring out the principal influences and movements in the development of a centralized national life from the original decentralized colonies—from the formation of a loose league, in 1781 and 1787, to the present time. The volumes, without references or citations to authorities, are meant for the general reader rather than for the student. The specialist will find nothing new, except by way of suggestion or arrangement; but to the lay reader Professor Sparks's pages will be found very entertaining and suggestive, provided the reader already has a good basis for his reading in a knowledge of the facts.

The first volume opens with "A Union in Form Only", in 1781, "The Problems of the Back Lands", and the "Failure of the Confederacy", and closes, in 1828, with chapters on "Sectional Discord over Territory", "Announcement of National Individuality", and "Full Fruits of Americanism". Professor Sparks's analysis of his subject and his method of treatment enable him to touch briefly, with mere suggestion, a wide variety of topics in a single chapter. Under the last two chapter-headings, for instance, he brings within the reader's view the cultivation of republican simplicity; opposition to royal forms; separation of church and state; jealousy of European monarchy; American separateness; the nationalism of the Monroe doctrine; literary dependence; philanthropic enterprises; domestic public policies—the bank, tariff, and internal improvements; radical and wide-spread religious movements; the influence of the judiciary on unification and of Marshall's more notable decisions in this direction; the influence of the West; land grants for education; canals and roads and their unifying influence; and other topics that have not fallen logically under the subjects of other chapters. While he gives the history of none of these, he points briefly to the historical significance of all.

The decentralizing influences of the early days are also pointed out. State control of suffrage, and the control by the states of the method of choosing presidential electors; the states as centers of political power and interest; the natural tendencies toward strict construction in spite of the subsequent impossibility of its application; difficulties in interstate communication—in the treatment of these and similar topics the author seeks to present his subject from the viewpoint of the internal life of the states, as well as from that of the central government.

The second volume opens with a comparison of the country in 1829 with what it was in 1789, socially, politically, industrially, and intellectually. Under "Union Profit-Sharing" and "Paternalism in the Middle Period" the author brings into view educational aids from government, road-building, land grants and easy land sales, canals, surplus revenue, and other topics; and he points out how popular interests and demands were breaking the bonds of strict construction. He leads up to the final "Passing of Strict Construction" by the failure of "Secession as a Remedy" and the coercion of the states by the

Union, through a brief consideration of "Abolition", "The Whigs and Nationalism", "War and Territorial Extension", "Saving the Union by Compromise", "The Compromise Annulled by Reformers", and the final struggle for "Federal Control over Territories". Only one brief chapter of twenty-four pages is given to the period of the Civil War, and none of that to battle history. Reconstruction, industrial development since the war, and the present aspect of the republic close the series of studies.

The method of historical treatment presented by these volumes has its objections and difficulties. The facts and the order of facts may be too much taken for granted; and it is difficult to guard a generalization on all sides against misapprehensions and objections. While most students of American history would not dissent in many instances from Professor Sparks's interpretation of our national development, it is easy to see how controversial criticism might arise on every chapter. With the facts of our history used only as a text for comment rather than as a subject for a historical narrative, what is presented becomes very largely a matter of conflicting views and of cleverness and pointedness in expression. The author is apt to be criticized for his omissions, as in the case of Professor Sparks's work for its subordination, not to say omission, of all war history, or for its inadequate consideration of the history of parties in their causes and beginnings. We find no mention, for instance, of the early Free-soil movement, to which such great importance attaches in the early politics of the antislavery movement.

Professor Sparks's illustrations are valuable, especially in political caricature and cartoon. His judgments are acceptable; he shows discrimination in the selection of materials, a fine art in presentation, a vivacious style; and his pertinent and sometimes curious extracts from the sources vitalize his pages and give valuable glimpses of the real life of the past. He has achieved a worthy success in a difficult task.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

From the Monarchy to the Republic in France, 1788-1792. By SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1904. Pp. xv, 447.)

If it be remembered how much has been written upon the French Revolution, it is matter of surprise that there exist few works of moderate dimensions to which the general reader may be sent for an adequate account of the subject. Between the brief manuals suited to use as text-books and the histories in several volumes there is plenty of room for books like this, which aims to give "such a resumé of events as may interest the reader, and send him to the great histories for fuller information" (p. vi). But "resumé" is too modest a description for the book. So far as its scope permits, it is a developed narrative, based not merely upon what others have written, but also upon material collected by the author in the British Museum, the French National

Archives, from official records, memoirs, private letters, and journals. Consequently it has an interest apart from its function as a résumé. In this respect it is like the author's former volume, *The Last Days of the French Monarchy* (1901).

The title suggests the somewhat restricted field which is covered. It is the political conflict, the downfall of the monarchy, rather than social and administrative reconstruction, which is the theme. Attention is concentrated upon events at Versailles and at Paris, with few allusions to the affairs of the provinces. This keeps the narrative on the beaten track, but Miss MacLehose has avoided the risk of telling merely the familiar story. From her wide reading she has drawn many incidents which give a touch of newness to the course of events the general features of which are well known.

In a work upon a theme so distinctly political the legislation of the early Revolution necessarily holds a subordinate place. There is danger lest the allusions to it, from brevity if for no other reason, leave a wrong impression. For example, the page on the work of August 4 may lead one to imagine that the feudal system, with everything akin to it, was effectively abolished. Not a word is said of the task which engaged eminent lawyers like Merlin of Douai and Tronchet, members of the "feudal committee", four months, nor of its result, the law of March, 1790, which embodied a principle radically different from that announced in the decrees of August 4-11. It was the contrast between the August programme and the legislation which essayed to carry it out which angered the peasants and alienated them from the bourgeois leaders of the Constituent Assembly. The omission of reference to this subsequent work makes sentences like the following somewhat misleading: "In one night privilege, which for hundreds of years had lain at the root of French politics and French society, was destroyed" (p. 163), and "So died privilege, before the making of the Constitution was yet begun" (p. 164). The same fault may be found with the paragraphs on the assignats, because they ignore the legislation of April, 1790, attaching the issue simply to the decree of December 19, 1789. Furthermore, the details (note 3, page 235) in regard to denominations and rate of interest are inexact.

The action of the Constituent Assembly on the question of dividing the future legislature into two chambers would have been made more intelligible had the author connected the discussion of this problem with the discussion of the veto. In the debates the two were never separated. Several of the more aggressive members of the Assembly declared that the royal veto would operate as a sufficient check to the tendency to hasty legislation. To those who urged American precedent they replied that there was no comparison between the royal veto and the veto of an American governor or even of a federal president. The veto which they did concede was an effective check wherever the king dared to use it, as the history of the Legislative Assembly proves.

Unfortunately the circumstances were such that its use in the cause of the émigrés and the non-juring priests was an act of political suicide.

In her use of her material the author occasionally reaches results which are questionable. Speaking of the tumultuous action of the crowd gathered at the Hôtel de Ville on the morning of July 13, 1789, she regards it as a revival of the ancient assemblies of the inhabitants of the commune. This is rather fanciful, and certainly contrary to the implications of the *procès-verbal* from which she quotes. The electors made repeated efforts to send the citizens to their several districts, because their presence at the Hôtel de Ville caused endless confusion. Again, the surprising statement is made that there were at this time in Paris "five hundred thousand commons". If "commons" means men, this is erroneous, for there were only about 680,000 inhabitants. One is puzzled also to discover why in describing the action of the districts on July 13 she has selected as the typical case the meeting of the "Parish" of Saint-Germain-le-Vieil, which was not a district, and which is interesting as an instance of one of the efforts to organize as parishes rather than as districts.

With the exception of the treatment of a few subjects like these, the work is a satisfactory account of the period, pervaded by a sympathetic spirit and showing a desire to describe both incidents and men impartially. The interest of the pages is enhanced by the insertion of several contemporaneous broadsides or cartoons, reproduced from collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale or the British Museum.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

SOME RECENT WORKS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is probably true that a larger number of historical works of a high order of merit are put forth each year upon the period of the French Revolution than upon any other equally limited period of European history. The mass of the work is naturally done by French writers, who justly attribute to the great upheaval a preponderant influence in shaping the life of modern France, but not a little of value is being produced by the historians of other countries. The quantity of the output increases each year; and the quality, thanks to the influence of scholars like Aulard and to organizations like the Société de la révolution française, is steadily improving. The plans, now being executed, to study the local history of the Revolution throughout France, combined with the action of the French government in appropriating funds to publish the sources of the economic history of the Revolution, will undoubtedly increase to a remarkable degree the amount of valuable monograph work on the Revolution and hasten the day when a comprehensive and reliable history of the whole movement can be written.

In this rapid review of the publications of the past two years some works will be omitted that have already been considered in the REVIEW. No reference will be made to second editions of some important

works, and even the recent volumes of the source publications by Aulard and others, valuable as they are, must be omitted. For the most part, I shall deal with constructive work alone.

The growing literature upon the history and significance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man has been enriched by three monographs, one by an Italian jurist. In a study on *Montesquieu et J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, Chevalier-Marescq, 1903, pp. 85), J. Tchernoff notes that the old tendency to oppose Rousseau to Montesquieu is yielding to a tendency to "attach the *Esprit des Lois* and the *Contrat Social* to the same current of ideas, almost to confound the political work of Montesquieu with that of J.-J. Rousseau. It even goes so far as to affirm that Montesquieu is, in certain respects, more of an *étatiste*, more democratic than J.-J. Rousseau, and that the latter, in many passages of his writings, shows himself more conservative than the former." M. Tchernoff treats of the differences between the two writers, due to their methods of research, and of the resemblances in the construction of their theory. He demonstrates that they both made use of elements drawn from the political philosophy of the sixteenth century, and that both reflected the dominant tendencies of the period to which they belonged. He traces the influence of the writings of La Boétie, Bodin, and Hubert Languet upon the political writers of the eighteenth century, and maintains that contemporaries of Rousseau and Montesquieu naturally made this connection between their theories and the theories of the past and saw their relation "to the common fund of ideas existing previous to the Revolution". The bearing of all this upon the discussion of the historical evolution of the French declaration is evident. "The notion of sacred and imprescriptible rights had been affirmed so often since the time of Hubert Languet and Étienne de la Boétie that it very naturally reappeared in the eighteenth century." "Without doubt, the example of the individual states of the United States confirmed the current of ideas that existed, but it did not create it, did not alone contribute to its external form."

La Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen et l'Assemblée Constituante, by Émile Walch (Paris, Jouve, 1903, pp. 240), is the first satisfactory account of the debates in the National Assembly on the Declaration of Rights that has been written. The sources utilized for the study are the best possible, the *Procès-verbaux*, the newspapers, the *Courrier de Provence*, the *Point du Jour*, the *Journal des États généraux* of Le Hodey, and the originals of some fifteen projects of declarations. M. Walch has produced a well-balanced monograph that fills a real gap in the literature of the Revolution. In an appendix he examines the influence of the American declarations of rights on the French declaration. His conclusion is that a considerable influence must be attributed to the declaration of Virginia (1776).

The third of these studies, *La Dichiarazione dei Diritti dell'Uomo e del Cittadino nella Rivoluzione Francese*, by Dr. Giorgio del Vecchio

(Genoa, Gioventù, 1903, pp. 93), although printed separately, was conceived as a part of a larger work, soon to be published, that will treat more in detail the historical precedents of the French declaration. The study is a philosophical one, beginning with an examination of the connection between the Declaration of Rights and the French Revolution, in which the writer makes clear that the violent character of the outbreak was due to historic conditions and not to the metaphysical character of the declaration. The second and third chapters deal with the historical and philosophical presuppositions of the declaration and the various forms of the Declaration of Rights in the successive moments of the Revolution. The fourth chapter traces the history of the criticism of the declaration from Burke to the present time and shows a familiarity with the most important works upon the subject in English, French, German, and Italian. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is the last, in which Dr. Giorgio treats of the positive efficacy of the Declaration of Rights and its significance in the modern state. The hostility of critics has not interfered with the historical efficacy of the declaration; its ideas have penetrated profoundly the judicial conscience of all modern civilized peoples. If these principles have to-day become commonplaces, it is nevertheless true that it was due to their adoption that the *Stato di diritto* has taken the place of the arbitrary and policed state.

Two volumes upon the religious history of the Revolution, one by M. A. Aulard, *La Révolution Française et les Congrégations* (Paris, Cornély, 1903, pp. 327), the other by M. Edme Champion, *La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État en 1794* (Paris, Colin, 1903, pp. xiii, 282), were probably—the first one certainly—called forth by recent political events in France, but this fact in no way lessens their scientific value. M. Aulard publishes the texts of the decrees abolishing the congregations, reconstructs, from the *Procès-verbaux* and the most reliable contemporary newspapers, the debates upon the orders, and prefixes to the collection an excellent introduction of forty-three pages in which he traces the history illustrated by his sources. The book will prove to be a most helpful one to students who do not have access to such newspapers as *Le Journal* of Le Hodey, the *Chronique de Paris*, the *Point du Jour*, the *Procès-verbaux*, and the rare pamphlets of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is a model of what such books should be. M. Champion calls his volume “an introduction to the religious history of the Revolution”, “une course très rapide et très courte, à travers un sujet immense”. Beginning with chapters on “The National Religion” and “Gallicanism”, he traces rapidly, in a series of luminous chapters, the relations between church and state during the Revolution to the passage of the decree of September 18, 1794, that formally declared the separation of the two. Although the book is only an introduction, “une vue à vol d'oiseau”, M. Champion knows his sources and keeps in close touch with them. To such an extent is this true that he frequently

presents old problems in a new light, so that even the specialist on the religious history of the Revolution may derive some benefit from a reading of his excellent sketch.

Five years ago (1900), M. Paul Ardascheff published a volume in Russian upon *Les Intendants de Province sous Louis XVI*. It was so favorably received that he decided to publish the second volume of the work in French and translate the first volume into the same language, thus making them generally accessible to historians. Neither of these volumes has yet appeared, but M. Ardascheff published last year a third volume in French, composed of *pièces justificatives* (Dorpat, Mattiesen, 1904, pp. xi, 554), evidently the material upon which his first volume was based. In other words, it is a source-book on the intendant on the eve of the Revolution. The sources are both manuscript and printed. The former are drawn chiefly from the Archives Nationales and the Archives Départementales de la Marne; the latter from volumes new and old, some of them easily accessible. There are clearly two ways in which this volume may be approached, with a feeling of gratitude or with a feeling of wonder. One ought to feel grateful for a book of this kind, and a person that knows how to study documents will find it of inestimable value; but as the appendix to a work of erudition why, we wonder, has the author reprinted page after page from such easily accessible works as the *Archives Parlementaires*, the *mémoires* of Argenson, Bertrand de Moleville, Besenval, Bouillé, Bailly, and a dozen others, together with documents reproduced from works printed in the last ten or fifteen years? From the point of view of a final study on the intendant, the book for which this volume supplies the proof, would certainly be open to severe criticism; in the mind of the reader of this evidence too many questions arise that cannot be answered by the evidence that M. Ardascheff has given us, but could be answered by a more thorough examination of the archives. In his rapid transit, as he describes it, through the archives of southern France, it is doubtful whether he could have done justice to their contents. It is hardly fair, however, to pass judgment upon a book that one has not seen, and for my own part I am very much inclined to subordinate the attitude of wonder to that of gratitude in approaching this interesting and valuable collection of sources.

Les Débuts de la Révolution dans les Départements du Cher et de l'Indre (1789-1791), by M. Marcel Bruneau, has already been reviewed (IX, 165-166). It is a model of what a local history should be, local history in the setting furnished by the larger revolution. Here is a volume that fills one with respect and admiration for modern French historical scholarship. The bibliography of thirty-eight closely printed pages, devoted largely to the enumeration of the manuscript material contained in national, departmental, and local archives is proof that M. Bruneau has exhausted his sources in the preparation of his work. A sober, scholarly narrative that follows the evidence and avoids no

inferences, even when unfavorable to the revolutionary movement, opens with the elections for the States-General and closes with an exhaustive chapter on the civil constitution of the clergy.

Condorcet has waited long for a biographer, but as if to repay for this seeming neglect two excellent lives appear at almost the same time, the first by M. Franck Alengry, *Condorcet, Guide de la Révolution Française, Théoricien du Droit Constitutionnel et Précurseur de la Science Sociale* (Paris, Giard et Brière, 1904 [1903], pp. xxiii, 896), the second by M. Léon Cahen, *Condorcet et la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1904, pp. xxxi, 593). As a history, the volume of M. Cahen is the better piece of work, but it is far from rendering the work of M. Alengry antiquated. The writers conceive their tasks in different fashions. M. Alengry, treating Condorcet as "guide of the Revolution", divides his stout volume into two parts. In the first a brief account of the writings of Condorcet is given in a chronological order, accompanied by an enumeration of only the most indispensable historical facts; in the second and larger part the ideas of Condorcet are presented, grouped in logical order under the heads, "Condorcet Théoricien du Droit Constitutionnel ou Étude raisonnée des Principales Théories Constitutionnelles de Condorcet", "Condorcet, Précurseur de la Science Sociale, ou l'Économie Politique, la Morale et la Sociologie chez Condorcet", and "Originalité et Influence de Condorcet". It is this second part that is the most valuable portion of the work of M. Alengry. He has read nearly everything that Condorcet wrote and has grouped his material skilfully. A very full table of contents increases the usefulness of the book.

The volume of M. Cahen is of a different order and higher rank. Documentation, criticism of the sources, and construction offer little opportunity for adverse criticism. In his search for manuscript material he not only examined the public and private collections in Paris and the provinces, but even extended his investigations to Geneva and Berne. In the printed sources he makes excellent use of a long list of contemporary newspapers, together with official documents, pamphlets, and *mémoires*. He has evidently utilized the best of the secondary works touching his subject. The narrative is not only a satisfactory account of the rôle of Condorcet in the Revolution, but even casts light upon many important events that had not hitherto been satisfactorily treated, as for example the attitude of the Legislative Assembly toward the king during the summer of 1792. M. Cahen has also introduced in their proper places studies upon the political theories of Condorcet and his ideas upon public education.

The life of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, by Ferdinand-Dreyfus, has already been reviewed in the REVIEW (X, 411-412). It may not, however, be out of place to call attention to the thoroughgoing research that forms the basis of the work and has furnished us with a volume that does not fall into the class of ordinary biographies, but is

likely to be the standard work upon this interesting Revolutionary character for years to come. Just as the work of M. Cahen will prove valuable to students of education in France during the Revolution, so the life of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt will furnish material to the sociologist and the student of charities. Notice should also be taken of the *Correspondance Inédite de La Fayette, 1793-1801, Lettres de Prison, Lettres d'Exil, Précédée d'une Étude Psychologique* (Paris, Delagrave, [1903], pp. 389), by M. Jules Thomas, which contains fifty-six letters, some forty of which are published for the first time; the others have been either incorrectly or incompletely published. The letters are introduced by a "psychological study" of a hundred pages. It is suggestive and interesting, although the general opinion will probably be that it contains more psychology than history.

The larger part of the fourth series of *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1904, pp. 317), by M. Alphonse Aulard, is devoted to Danton. Although these studies, beginning with the "Jeunesse de Danton", combined with studies previously published by M. Aulard, would form a fairly complete and continuous biography, the writer makes no such claim for them. His purpose is twofold: to submit the published evidence upon Danton to a searching criticism, "dissipating the loyal benevolent legend" that has formed about him, and to make public additional evidence that M. Aulard has encountered in the course of his investigations. Many of the pleasing anecdotes concerning Danton's childhood, products of a subconscious imagination, turn out to be fables; the importance of the rôle that he played in the Revolution previous to August 10 is shown to be far less than his biographers have claimed. The real character of the rôle is rendered clearer by fresh evidence carefully combined but with no effort to elicit more information than it was capable of supplying. Danton suffers little by this stripping process; he remains one of the most attractive characters of the Revolution.

Four important contributions have been made to our knowledge of the life of Mirabeau. M. Paul Cottin has published two volumes of the letters of Sophie de Monnier to Mirabeau¹ and prefixed to one of these a study upon "Sophie de Monnier et Mirabeau" that is probably final work for that important episode in Mirabeau's life. The correspondence upon which the monograph was based was partly in cipher, the key to which was discovered by M. le commandant Bazeries. The cipher, the key, and a facsimile page of one of the letters form a part of the documentary material of the volume, together with a portrait of Madame de Monnier and a photograph of a bust of Mirabeau, both made public for the first time. The bust of Mirabeau, a very excellent

¹ *Sophie de Monnier et Mirabeau, d'après leur Correspondance Secrète Inédite (1775-1789)*. Par Paul Cottin. (Paris: Plon. 1903. Pp. cclx, 287); *Lettres inédites de Sophie de Monnier à Mirabeau (1775-1781)*. Publiées par M. Paul Cottin. (Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Nouvelle Revue Rétrospective. 1903. Pp. 351.)

one, represents him at about the age of thirty. The second volume of letters contains another portrait of Sophie de Monnier, taken at the age of twenty. These two volumes of letters form a necessary supplement to the letters of Mirabeau to Sophie, published in 1792 with the title *Lettres originales de Mirabeau*. Written for Mirabeau alone, they give us an insight into the real character of Sophie de Monnier—an insight better than we can get into the sentiments of Mirabeau from his letters, which were written with the knowledge that they would be read by the police. Sophie de Monnier does not lose nor does Mirabeau gain anything by this fresh light thrown upon their relations. It results from the work of M. Cottin, supported by a study of the portraits, that the attachment of Madame de Monnier was something more than an ordinary liaison, that she was devoted to him heart and soul, and that Mirabeau finally abandoned her without cause. Of her infidelity there is not a particle of truth. Mirabeau's influence upon Sophie de Monnier was both good and bad. She possessed a keen, active mind, which responded quickly to the constant impulses to thought received from Mirabeau: on the other hand, her life with Mirabeau ruined what little religious belief she may have had and developed the lower side of her nature. The responsibility of Mirabeau in inducing her to prepare a circumstantial account of their amours is clearly established. Whatever her faults may have been, Sophie de Monnier was much sinned against.

The *Lettres à Julie*,¹ published by M. Dauphin Meunier in collaboration with M. Georges Leloir, is a combination of sources and narrative. These letters, written from Vincennes to a woman whom he had never seen and finally ending in a love-affair, constitute some of the most remarkable evidence upon the life and character of this extraordinary man. The brilliantly written chapters, in which M. Meunier endeavors to clear up the mystery that Mirabeau threw around his relations with Madame de Lamballe, and to give the historical setting to the correspondence, make a definite contribution to the understanding of the character of Mirabeau. The "Épilogue" contains in half a dozen pages one of the keenest, fairest, and most sympathetic sketches of Mirabeau's character that I have ever read. The second appendix, or "Dictionnaire alphabétique des noms propres", of more than one hundred pages in double columns, is one of the most valuable parts of the volume. It represents a large amount of painstaking research and will form an indispensable aid to the student of Mirabeau's life.

The fourth volume of the Mirabeau group, *Mirabeaus geheime diplomatische Sendung nach Berlin* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1901, pp. viii, 202), by Dr. Erich Wild, appeared in 1901, but has not received the attention that it deserves. A volume by Henri Welschinger upon the

¹ *Lettres à Julie, Écrites du Donjon de Vincennes par Mirabeau*. Publiées et Commentées d'après les Manuscrits Originaux et Inédits par Dauphin Meunier avec la Collaboration de Georges Leloir. (Paris: Plon. 1903. Pp. iii, 467.)

same subject (Paris, 1900) was reviewed at some length in this REVIEW (VI, 235-253); Wild's monograph not only corrects the work of Welschinger, but renders it antiquated and proves its unreliability. The comment of Wild (p. 197) that "Diese gesammte Textpublication Welschingers"—supposed to be the original text of the *Histoire secrète*—"ist nun völlig unbrauchbar und in so unglaublicher Weise angefertigt, dass Welschinger nicht gewusst haben muss, worauf es bei seiner Aufgabe ankam, da Oberflächlichkeit und Unaufmerksamkeit bei der Arbeit allein nicht erklären, warum das Originalmanuskript so sehr selten und auch dann nur unexact benutzt wurde", is literally true, and not the carping criticism of one who is preparing the same text for publication. But a small part of Dr. Wild's volume—six pages in an "Excurs"—is devoted to the criticism of the publication of Welschinger; the major part (144 pages) deals with the origin of the mission to Berlin, the original letters written by Mirabeau, the rewriting by Talleyrand, the publication of the letters by Mirabeau, and the different editions. It is a most satisfactory piece of work, displaying unusual critical skill and powers of combination. The most noteworthy part of the book is chapter v, in which Dr. Wild by a comparison of the manuscript with the published text settles forever the question of Mirabeau's responsibility in the matter of publication. The outcome of the matter is summed up in this sentence: "Das Manuskript war aber, wie wir sahen, von Mirabeau selbst in der Absicht der Herausgabe verändert und dazu vorbereitet worden." The assumption of Dr. Wild that Mirabeau made but one copy of his correspondence from Berlin, an assumption that he made use of in discussing the question as to whether Mirabeau attempted to sell the correspondence to Montmorin, is incorrect. I found in the Arsenal Library last summer a second incomplete copy, which at one time must have been complete, judging from the promise to send the rest that is upon one of the sheets.

There are one or two general observations that I feel impelled to make in concluding this summary review. The first is that none of these volumes is the work of a dilettante, a mere literary exercise, but the result of serious research and critical study of all the documents. It is by such work alone that history can hope to establish its claim to be looked upon as a science. The second observation concerns the predominance of the purely scientific point of view that characterizes this work, the spirit of detachment, so difficult to attain in dealing with things human. Naturally the ideal has not been reached, but one feels that a wonderful advance has been made by Frenchmen, in the past thirty years, toward this ideal, even when dealing with the living question of the Revolution. Last of all, the superior quality of the work and the unusual quantity that is being done on this period of French history, taken in connection with what French historians are doing on other periods of the world's history, naturally leads us to inquire whether France is not recovering in these matters the primacy that she lost a hundred years ago.

FRED MORROW FLING.

History of the Library of Congress. By WILLIAM DAWSON JOHNSTON. Volume I, 1800-1864. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1904. Pp. 535.)

THE half-title of Mr. Johnston's *History* indicates that it is intended as a "contribution" to American library history rather than as a narrative history, and the letter of transmittal shows that other such contributions have been undertaken by librarians in various states for other libraries. The work is to be judged, therefore, as setting the pace for a series, as well as in itself, and as committed to that method which the scientific world has come to associate with the word contribution. It is, in fact, scientific, scholarly, abounding in documents, quotations, relevant details, and statistics, and this first volume is exhaustive to the point of more than 500 pages, exclusive of 25 facsimiles and other plates for the period ending 1864.

It may be added that the treatment of Mr. Johnston is painstaking and well judged. About 60 per cent. of the letterpress being fine-print quotation of documents and the like, while a large fraction of the remainder consists of other quotation of one sort and another, the strictly narrative portion of the work is relatively small and somewhat discontinuous; moreover the contribution does not lend itself well to those graces of style appropriate to the popular history as a form of polite literature, but Mr. Johnston's diction is on the whole adequate, albeit the style of this narrative portion might probably have borne a trifle more moistening without suffering the reproach of too much exuberance.

The work is of chief importance for technical library history, but it is, in very unusual degree for such a work, valuable for its side-lights on American political history and biography. Its contribution to the history of manners is, in spite of some good touches, perhaps not so great as might have been expected or as would be likely to be the case in the history of some Boston, New York, or Philadelphia library; but by the nature of its subject-matter it is close to politics, and the painstaking and elaborate way in which the whole history of legislation regarding it is brought out makes it a suggestive chapter in the history of Congress. The chapters on Librarian Watterston and his removal are a most suggestive contribution to the history of partizan politics and of the spoils system. The relations of Gerry, Clay, Everett, Choate, and various other members of Congress with the Library, and notably the matters connected with Jefferson and the purchase of his library, are also matters of more than technical interest.

In its primary aspect as a contribution to technical library history the work is of peculiar value in the attention that it gives to the history of administration, classification, cataloguing, and the like. In this it shows a remarkably well conceived plan and certainly a result of uncommon suggestiveness. It is distinctly a history of origins, ending as it does in 1864 with the appointment of Mr. Spofford, at which time the

Library was less than one-tenth of its present size, but it is excellent history in its foreshadowings. In its account of the growing demand for a library which should be national indeed, of the far-sighted, but for a long time unaccomplished, cataloguing plans of Jewett and of the still more far-sighted and ever valid principles of Jefferson as to the composition and the classification of a library, we see the real historical roots of the present Library of Congress and even have grounds on which to forecast its future development. The sections relating to Jefferson and to Jewett are, either of them, sufficient in themselves to give real distinction to the work in its technical aspect.

E. C. RICHARDSON.

Select Despatches from the British Foreign Office Archives relating to the Formation of the Third Coalition against France, 1804-1805. Edited by JOHN HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1904. Pp. xii, 289.)

THIS publication, forming volume VII of the third series, consists of the more important British despatches dealing with the negotiations leading up to the Anglo-Austro-Russian alliance by the treaty of April 11, 1805, and of the despatches from Berlin in October-December, 1805, bearing upon the attempt to draw Prussia into that alliance. Some preliminary work in the way of selection of the important documents had previously been performed by Mr. Oscar Browning and Mr. J. W. Headlam, but it is evident that the real labor of editing has rested wholly with Mr. Rose. The material presented, save in the texts of a few documents, is entirely new and extremely valuable for the light it throws on the relations of the four great powers in their attitude toward France. The only historian who has had access to these despatches is Mr. Rose himself, and even he has used them but briefly in his *Napoleon I* to show that the coalition was not the result of "Pitt's gold", but of Napoleon's own arrogant acts, really forcing Russia to take a step that she at first desired to avoid. It is interesting to note that in his *Napoleon I* Mr. Rose places the usual emphasis upon the influence exerted on the mind of Alexander I by the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, while in his preface to the present volume he calls attention to the lack of diplomatic interest in this incident and considers its international importance to have been overestimated by historians. This later judgment is certainly wholly borne out by the despatches themselves.

In a brief review it is impossible to do more than state the general impression received from the material presented, and to point out some few of the larger questions that threatened to prevent the successful issue of the negotiations. That general impression is that the Third Coalition was formed with much more difficulty than is customarily asserted; due partly to mutual jealousies and suspicions, partly to the Russian lack of confidence in Warren, the English diplomat at St. Petersburg in the earlier part of the negotiation, but principally to

distinct topics of disagreement between England and Russia. Thus Russia heard rumors of a secret negotiation for peace between England and France, while England became suspicious of Russian activities in Turkey, and at the same time feared a resumption of friendly relations between Alexander and Napoleon. When Leveson-Gower succeeded Warren at St. Petersburg, the element of personal disagreement ceased and the new British diplomat proved himself much more gifted and much more bold in conducting the negotiation, venturing repeatedly to go beyond his instructions, where Warren would have sacrificed the main plan to a strict observance of his instructions in detail.

The chief difficulties in the way of a coalition were: the uncertain attitude of Austria, without whose aid Russia would not move; the preliminary proposal of terms to be offered to France; the disposition of Malta; the question of an international conference on maritime law; and the attitude to be assumed toward Prussia. It is evident that the English government was not fully informed of the preliminary agreement already reached by Austria and Russia, and that Czartoryski used the uncertainty of Austrian policy to force from England greater and greater concessions of subsidy, though at the same time it appears true that Czartoryski was himself doubtful of the real purpose of Austria. The English government became so disgusted with the vacillation of Cobenzl, the Austrian minister, as to suggest that efforts be made to undermine him at Vienna—an intrigue which Czartoryski declined. The plan of a proposal of terms to Napoleon apparently originated with England as a measure calculated to show to Russia the futility of further negotiations with France (though the exact origin of the plan is not made clear by the despatches). In the end, however, the idea of such a proposal was distinctly Russian and was unwillingly agreed to by England. It was in connection with this plan that the difficulties about Malta and the maritime code arose, Russia maintaining that a proposal to Napoleon would be generally regarded as insincere if it did not include the restitution of Malta, and that England's willingness to enter a conference on a reform of the maritime code, for the better protection of neutrals, would be strong evidence of good faith. On both points the English government was positive and stubborn in its refusal, and while in the end it did consent to the offer of a restitution of Malta, this was to be compensated for by such acquisitions as made the concession itself of no value. In fact Lord Mulgrave, Foreign Secretary, privately informed Leveson-Gower that Malta would never be given up. Ultimately the plan of a preliminary proposal of terms to Napoleon came to nothing because of the latter's arrogant action in Genoa—an action justly regarded by Russia as an intentional insult to Europe.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the negotiations is the light thrown upon the attitude of Russia and in particular of Czartoryski toward Prussia, and toward the project of including Prussia in the coalition. England was very anxious to secure Prussian aid, with the

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especial purpose of releasing Holland from French control, and urged that inducements in the way of additional territory must be offered to Prussia. This did not please Czartoryski, who urged rather that threats should be addressed to Prussia to compel her aid. Unquestionably it is possible to read in Czartoryski's plan a desire to destroy Prussian greatness and to pave the way for a restoration of Polish importance. Thus these despatches furnish additional proof of Czartoryski's patriotic ideas of a regenerated Poland. The wishes of the English government carried the day, however, and offers were made to Prussia. Yet these were so restricted by Russian jealousy as to constitute no sufficient inducement at the time. Other points of interest are Russia's desire and England's unwillingness that Spain be included in the coalition, Russia's indifference to the fate of Sardinia (not her customary attitude), an agreement that Holland and Belgium be united in one kingdom, a total indifference to the cause of Louis XVIII, and the avowed determination not to interfere in any way in the internal government of France.

The Russian despatches cover the period from April 27, 1804, to August 14, 1805. Mr. Rose next gives us the despatches beginning October 27, 1805, detailing Lord Harrowby's mission to Berlin. The chief interest here is with Hardenberg's well-known assertion that Harrowby offered Holland to Prussia as a bribe to induce Prussia to join the coalition, and in the secret Russo-Prussian agreement that Prussia should have Hanover. As to the former, Harrowby's despatches show that he proposed the temporary occupation of Holland by Prussia, and nothing more, while on the question of the cession of Hanover the English government, as soon as it was aware of the plan, instructed Harrowby to take the ground that he could in no way discuss it as he was an English and not a Hanoverian diplomat. England, quite evidently, did not think anything would result from such a plan but was quite willing that Russia should hold out this bribe or any other, if only it would result in Prussia's active participation in the war. Moreover this Russian plan for the aggrandizement of Prussia evidently seemed to England to have the advantage of committing Russia to the policy of offering increase of territory to Prussia, and this might now well be urged on the eastern instead of the western boundary. But with the news of Austerlitz all negotiations soon ceased, the last despatch in the volume bearing date of December 13, 1805.

E. D. ADAMS.

Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I. Von THEODOR SCHIEMANN. Band I. *Kaiser Alexander I. und die Ergebnisse seiner Lebensarbeit.* (Berlin: Georg Reimer. 1904. Pp. x, 637.)

THE time has perhaps come when it is possible to write a full and reasonably impartial life of Nicholas I of Russia, the sovereign who prided himself on being not only the guardian of law and order, of religion and established principles, but also the first gentleman of

Europe. On the other hand, to millions he was the hateful embodiment of all that was most brutal in an unlimited despotism, a cruel tyranny supported by only a huge army and a base, corrupt bureaucracy. Outside of Russia his memory has met with but little sympathy. In his own country the opinion held of him may be taken as an excellent touchstone of a man's political principles at the present day.

For better or for worse Nicholas during many years almost dominated Europe; and the story of his aims and achievements, of his extraordinary successes and his final disastrous failure, is well worth the telling. His recent biography by General Schilder suffers from the limitations which censorship rules impose on a Russian author who writes of comparatively recent political events. Also, the work has not been translated, and after two sumptuous volumes has by the death of the author been brought to a premature end with the year 1830. In western languages we have nothing of consequence except the eight volumes of the French life of the emperor by Paul Lacroix; but, besides being superficial and out of date, it too is unfinished, not getting beyond 1841. A satisfactory study of him is yet to be written.

Of living foreign scholars Professor Schieman is probably the one best fitted for such an undertaking. From Reval in the Russian Baltic provinces he was called to the University of Berlin, where he has distinguished himself by notable work on Slavic history. His present task is one to which he evidently intends to do justice, as is shown by the fact that in five hundred closely printed pages (not counting the valuable appendixes) he does not reach the subject of his title. This his first volume is, as is announced by a second title-page, a history of the reign and character of Alexander I. Nicholas appears in it but little; indeed there is only one chapter devoted to him. The book deals more particularly with the career and the character of Alexander, his relations with his father, the story of his violent accession to the throne, and the affairs of his long reign.

Not even five hundred pages could do more than scant justice to so extensive a subject. Professor Schieman has done wisely in restricting his efforts to certain aspects of it. So far at least, his work is not a military history, hence he does not take up the tale of the many campaigns of the Russian armies between 1803 and 1826, nor does he enter into competition with Vandal by describing at length the diplomatic relations between Alexander and Napoleon. The doings of the Holy Alliance are likewise disposed of in the briefest possible manner. For many details in this connection the writer would probably refer us to Bernhardt, *Geschichte Russlands*. On the other hand Alexander's diplomacy in the Eastern question comes in for a hundred pages; his relations with the Poles are given as much more; and half of the rest of the volume is devoted to the internal affairs of Russia during his reign. Everywhere we find the same care on the part of the author in collecting, sifting, and making use of his facts. It is true that at times

we may wish for a little more warmth on his part—his book is not light reading—and we may feel that if he were capable of more sympathy for the persons he describes, his views of them would perhaps be fairer; still his judgment is always sane. When, in his last page of all, he sums up the strength and weakness of the emperor whom he has taken such pains in describing, even if the characterization is not artistically brilliant, it is convincing as being the opinion of a sound and thoughtful scholar. We look forward with much interest to the continuation of the work.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The True Henry Clay. By JOSEPH M. ROGERS. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1904. Pp. 388.)

MR. ROGERS, as the other authors of the "True" series, starts out with the purpose of employing the odds and ends of material which discriminating historians have rejected as unimportant, in order to reverse popular judgments, which are, in large matters, generally correct. He is, however, too good a Kentuckian really to diminish Clay's shadow, and precisely in this local setting lies the peculiar value of his book.

The topical method prescribed for the series is less felt to be a disadvantage in this than in some of the other lives, for Clay was one of those precocious men who flash in full brilliancy upon their contemporaries. Moreover, Mr. Rogers uses his method with freedom, so that although we continually shift backward and forward, we nevertheless make progress from chapter to chapter; gradually becoming aware that, though Clay's mind did not develop, his information increased and his character grew. The loose, rambling, repetitious style, running at times even into errors of grammar, informs us at once that we are not to look here for the minor accuracies of scholarship. Nor are all the errors minor. It is an inexcusable mistake to attribute to Clay the Missouri compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ (p. 238); Clay was more enthusiastic than Adams over the Panama Congress (p. 139); the sturdy descendants of Calhoun will view with surprise the statement that "if Calhoun had been blessed with a wife and children, the history of the country might have been very different" (p. 249). Nor is the lack of precision absolved by much contribution of new material. The book seems to have been written mainly from Colton's *Clay*, Adams's *Memoirs*, and Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, supplemented by a large personal knowledge derived from the press and from tradition. The author had access to certain Clay manuscripts, but their importance is not great. He has not the historical training to enable him to adjudge the value of this material, and the plan of the series forbids foot-notes; but he has met these disadvantages by giving in the text the sources of most new statements, and so allowing the reader to make an individual judgment. The absence of a good index is not serious in a book which cannot be used for reference, and whose value depends upon being read as a whole.

Read as a whole, the book produces an admirable impression. While lacking the equipment of Mr. Schurz for an understanding of national issues, Mr. Rogers abounds in shrewd observations and is nearly always fair in his treatment of the several sections and of the statesmen, except Calhoun. Nor is he especially guilty of the characteristic American vice of universal tolerance. In national affairs he is confident, but not always sure-footed, but once on the soil of Kentucky his tread is as certain as it is bold. His style carries one along until "coffee and pistols for two" seems the natural result of a senatorial colloquy; until one grasps the distinction between gambling in public resorts, playing for stakes with friends in a hotel, and playing in one's own home; until a Kentucky gentleman becomes distinguished alike from the frontiersman, the Cavalier, and the Puritan. One catches the charm of the blue-grass and almost shares Mr. Rogers's regret that the "siren of ambition" allured or the "demon of ambition" drew Clay so often from the delights of Ashland. Nor does Mr. Rogers reproduce simply the Kentucky of to-day. He so well makes us realize the conditions during the first half of the century that Clay's political programme rises naturally from his environment. The character of Kentucky slavery fully explains Clay's feeling with regard to that institution generally; his attitude in the War of 1812 and his advocacy of internal improvements and the tariff are seen to be the result of great forces at work around him, and we are shown exactly how the connection between the evolutionary and the personal element was made. Clay's personality is as happily developed as his environment. His sensitive, almost feminine nature, which made him particularly susceptible to his surroundings; his quick, intuitive mastery of new subjects; his subsequent lack of determination when policies conflicted, which brought him defeat when in conflict with narrower but stronger natures; and the charm and sweetness of his character are gradually made plain and fixed in the mind by illustrative stories. His superficiality is no more hidden than the quickness of his repartee and the power of his voice. It is true that the text does not convey a full appreciation of his power of leadership, but this defect is in part remedied by three illuminating portraits, now for the first time published.

This biography detracts no whit from the value of Schurz's account of the national activities of Henry Clay, but it will give the general reader a much better idea of the man, and can be neglected by no student of American history, unless, perchance, he has had the good fortune to be born in Kentucky.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Abraham Lincoln. By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1904. Pp. 389.)

It is unfortunate that a person so "discriminating" as Dr. Oberholtzer in his "standards of elegance" (p. 332) should become the

biographer of one so much of whose life was passed amid "objects and scenes which do not come within the range of attention of well-bred men" (p. 333). He is plainly distressed to find so much more that is "homely" than that is "dignified" (p. 283) in Lincoln's career, and it is doubtless this sensibility, that has prevented him from becoming more familiar with the region from which his hero sprang. Otherwise he would have better acquainted himself with the movement for internal improvements in the west (pp. 40, 44), and would not have devoted to the Army of the Potomac forty-two of his fifty-one pages on the war. He views the "slouch hats" of the Southern "hotspurs" (pp. 191-192) with equal disfavor, and perhaps for this reason finds it the easier to believe in the cabinet "conspiracy" preceding the war (pp. 164-165), which is now so generally discredited. Why Buchanan's good wishes to Lincoln should have been made "with half guilty irony" (p. 185), and why the valedictories of the Southern senators were "mock heroic" (p. 172), is not made obvious. The vigorous adjectives so liberally applied to the Democratic party and its leaders are matched by those descriptive of the Republicans and Abolitionists, but with this difference, if a style somewhat obscured by a craving for epigram does not mislead us, that the latter are always put in the mouths of opponents. They clearly do not represent the opinion of Dr. Oberholtzer, who cannot forgive Lincoln for not having been an Abolitionist and for not joining the Republican party at the moment of its inception. So much that is without the range of Dr. Oberholtzer's attention is necessary for a comprehension of Lincoln's character that it is not surprising to find him sometimes unequal to his task. The discussion of Lincoln's "use of the English language" (pp. 337-343) is calculated to produce inextinguishable laughter; that of his religion (pp. 301-303) is inane; of his love-affairs (pp. 45-52), atrocious.

This double sectionalism and these standards of elegance are fatal to the usefulness of a book which does not pretend to a "vast amount of research into sources not before used" (p. 5), and which presents few new ideas. Nor is the execution faultless. The handling of the debates with Douglas is good, except for an unaccountable neglect of the Freeport questions and answers. A life of Lincoln should show more fully his share in bringing about the dénouement at Fort Sumter (p. 191), and in saving Maryland to the Union (p. 198), and the steps he took toward reconstruction. Two legal errors are curious. It certainly did not require the doctrine of popular sovereignty to enable "the whim of a moment at the polling place" to convert "New York and New England" "into slave ground" (p. 85); that was a universally recognized attribute of their sovereignty. Again, not even the farthest-fetched *obiter dictum* of the Dred Scott decision stated "that slaves must be regarded as property entitled to legal protection as such in every part of the Union" (pp. 98-99). Of minor errors, it should be noted that monkeys were not, in Lincoln's time, numerous in

Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois (p. 333); that the President does not deliver his inaugural address on the Fourth of July (p. 206); and that the "United States Foreign Office" (p. 223) has never existed. It is unfortunate that the quotation from Lincoln's second inaugural should be marred by a misprint (p. 340), the repetition of "let us strive".

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Lee and Longstreet at High Tide: Gettysburg in the Light of the Official Records. By HELEN D. LONGSTREET. (Gainesville, Ga.: Published by the Author. 1904. Pp. 346.)

OF the great leaders of the South in the Civil War, competing with Stonewall Jackson for the honor of the place next to Lee, is Longstreet, familiarly known in the Army of Northern Virginia as Lee's old War-horse. Jackson's fame has had the advantage of a shorter, but more brilliant career, ended dramatically, at the moment of a wonderful victory, by the fire of his own men. Longstreet's distinction was won by the unique record of unbroken and distinguished service, second in command to Lee, from Bull Run to Appomattox. And in all that time his corps was never defeated and only once repulsed—at the "High-water Mark" on the field of Gettysburg. Its record is unsurpassed by that of any other corps upon either side, and its survivors took especial pride in the fact that, at Appomattox, Longstreet alone, among the leading officers, refused to advise surrender, and said to Lee, as he rode to meet Grant, "If he will not give us honorable terms come back and let us fight it out."

Two years later, during the period of Reconstruction, Congress proposed to readmit the South to participation in the government if it would disfranchise all its former leaders. Longstreet, who would have been one of those disfranchised, wrote a letter to a New Orleans morning paper advising acceptance of the terms. They were, indeed, for that year of the world, as liberal terms as were ever offered a conquered people; and far more liberal than those which the South was finally forced to accept after years of loss and suffering. But it was a period of intensely bitter feeling upon both sides. The South smarted under the sense of unjust oppression, and high-handed robbery by brute force. A vindictive party at the north hungered to avenge the "sins of slavery and rebellion". The high-minded example set by Grant at Appomattox and the statesmanlike intentions of Lincoln were forgotten in the fury kindled by the insane crime of his assassination. An afternoon paper greeted the appearance of Longstreet's unselfish and disinterested advice with the senseless cry of "Traitor to the South". It was taken up by the uninformed and the sensational, and Longstreet was soon practically ostracized in the city, and lost the small business by which he was endeavoring to support his family. Two years after this, Grant, who had been his intimate friend at West Point, knowing of his condition, unsolicited, appointed him collector of the port at New

Orleans. This identified him with the Republican party at the south, and for years popular prejudice was bitter against him except among the comparatively small number who knew the facts and the man.

During this period of strong political feeling, and three years after the death of General Lee in 1870, sensational charges first appeared that Longstreet had caused the loss of the battle of Gettysburg by disobedience of Lee's orders. For years afterward Longstreet's conduct at that battle was the burning question among Confederates and all interested in Confederate history. Among impartial historians the result has been the entire acquittal of Longstreet of anything that could be called disobedience. But it was developed that he believed the attack to be very unwise, and that, when first proposed, he had advised strongly against it. It is well known that Lee consulted freely with his lieutenants, but decided for himself and personally superintended the execution of his orders.

Meanwhile the political prejudice, which at first had fostered and maintained the accusations of treachery to the Southern cause, had died out; and at Confederate reunions Longstreet had long become again a welcome and honored guest, when, in 1903, General Gordon, a distinguished Confederate, in a volume of *Reminiscences* reiterated, in their most extreme form, the charges against Longstreet originally made thirty years before. Both Gordon and Longstreet at the time of this publication were in failing health, and both died within a few months thereafter. It is not surprising that Mrs. Longstreet, jealous of the fair fame of her long-maligned husband, and well equipped for the task with all the facts established in the much-sifted controversy, should feel impelled to marshal briefly the whole "Story of the Records"; and with it give the coup-de-grâce to the revived slander of a period too near to the events for true historic perspective. She has done this most creditably in a memorial volume, published by herself, of convenient size and attractive print, finish, and illustrations. The first portion of the book (90 pages) is devoted to Longstreet's part in the great struggle at Gettysburg, which is shown to have conformed to all of Lee's orders and to have received his approval then and thereafter. A second division (30 pages) is devoted to Longstreet the man, brave, strong, unselfish, and true in every relation of life. A third division sketches but too briefly his service in Mexico, where he was severely wounded at the storming of Chapultepec. A fourth reviews some of the noted battles of the Civil War, before and after Gettysburg, in which he bore a part. An appendix is devoted to personal records and to tributes of affection from friends, and of admiration from foes, among those who during the four long and bloody years fought with him or against him. In these tributes may be read an epitaph which will hand down to history the untarnished memory of a great soldier.

E. P. ALEXANDER.

El Verdadero Juárez y la Verdad sobre la Intervención y el Imperio.

Por FRANCISCO BULNES. (Paris and Mexico: Librería de la Vda. de Ch. Bouret. 1904. Pp. 873.)

THERE have been three great periods in the history of modern Mexico—the Conquest, the Revolution, the Empire. Each of these, in a phrase, was a conflict between forces of the Old and New Worlds, the first eventuating in victory for the older order, the second in a compromise, the third in a triumph for a society which, although fertilized by the Continent, was in its essence Mexican. Señor Bulnes's work falls within the third period, and for the above reason—together with the fact that the Monroe doctrine as expounded by the United States then received its severest test—it has interest for us.

Señor Bulnes in his *El Verdadero Juárez* is to be congratulated. Indeed, this does not quite express the full measure of satisfaction rendered by the very capable and, in a sense, fairly brilliant work. The book, however, has some drawbacks when tested by American standards. It is an excellent example of the difference between the modern scientific and the discursive Latin schools. Be this difference what it may, the manner and spirit of his writings pleases, even though one may smile at certain predilections and prejudices of the author, which, as though by purpose, are frankly exposed. If it had no other merit, it would be a notable production because of its wonderful portraits of the leading figures of the intervention and Empire. It is doubtful whether thus far anything has been published which quite equals it in this respect. The limning of Maximilian is capital. One phrase in his characterization is worthy of quotation: "Comenzaba todo y nada acababa" (p. 541). Juárez, too, is searchingly criticized, even his ability being questioned, while his character (as indeed for all his biographers) retains its mysterious qualities. In this respect it is no injustice to the author to place him in company with Loizillon, Lafévre, Zamacois (who could never strip anything because of his prolixity), Marx, Kératry, Bibesco, and the authors of *A través de los Siglos*. Señor Bulnes has been unmitigatedly harsh with all his characters except Márquez, one of the blackest, according to many; and one of the worst sufferers is Juárez, that personification of an idea, that imposing Indian struggling for his native land. Powhatan, Tecumseh, Pontiac—all battled to save their peoples from destruction. Juárez alone triumphed, saving, for the time, Mexico for Mexicans.

The book is divided into five parts. Part I deals with the questions which led up to the intervention; and it is scarcely necessary to say that the corrupt and utterly unconscionable rôle of the governments responsible for it is set forth with no mincing of words. As in his *El Porvenir de las Naciones Hispanoamericanas*, Señor Bulnes takes a gloomy view of the conduct of states. Truly, having at hand in Mexico so happy an illustration of the sinning of nations against a nation, he cannot be much blamed if he looks upon history as a chronicle of unkindnesses.

The utterly base and infamous claims which were given to the world by the powers as the bases for their intervention in Mexico have nowhere received a more complete airing than here. Be it said to the credit of England, Lord Russell refused to play the rôle assigned his government, though this does not relieve England of the stigma of having herself presented a very shadowy claim.

The answer to these claims might have been anticipated, for a man like Juárez could never have consented to the insolent demands of the powers. The intervention must therefore proceed, which among its other purposes held the beneficent one of giving Mexico a stable government. It is true that Mexico since 1810 had been more or less a seething political caldron, casting up leader after leader and as many forms of government. The saving grace of each of these—excepting the short-lived empire of Iturbide—lies in the fact that it was republican. So much was this the case, Señor Bulnes affirms, that when the foreign armies landed at Vera Cruz there was not in Mexico a monarchistic party large or small (p. 16). It is needless to say that on this point evidence is wanting, and that there are many dissenters; even the author himself is led to say (p. 472) that a man of character and mettle could have established permanently the Empire.

Parts II and III have to do with things military. The progress of the war is noted in detail. The author's strictures on the leadership of Juárez and his advisers are most severe. Especially is this true of their conduct of the Puebla campaign, which eventuated in the annihilation of practically the whole of the organized army of the Republic. Part IV, "La Salvación", treating of the causes contributing to the overthrow of the Empire, is, as a whole, not up to the standard. For example, a whole chapter (62 pages) is devoted to a discussion of the French depreciation of the Mexican soldier, an element characterized by Señor Bulnes as a third ally of Juárez. Other chapters, however, contain a superb analysis of the society of Mexico. The dissection of the native with his traditions and prejudices is most vivid and convincing. These chapters cannot be too highly praised.

Another discussion in this part is open to criticism. In the affair of the Empire the United States has never been clearly placed, nor has Señor Bulnes rendered it definite. While the subject of intervention had been broached by the powers as early as 1859, its final resolution was no doubt hastened by the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South. Pending the settlement of secession there could be no operation of the Monroe doctrine, so far as the application of its implied powers was concerned. Nevertheless, the author shows truly that from the first Juárez counted on the assistance of the Union. He does not, however, bring out the rather servile rôle played by the United States in refusing to permit the embarkation of a few arms bought by Bustamante, while facilitating French purchases of wagons and mules, without which the invaders had been stranded in the mountains between

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Vera Cruz and the capital. Nor does he begin to pierce the subtleties of Seward's diplomacy, which truly here borrowed some of the taint of Italy. With one hand this astute man blinded Romero, and with the other drew a veil over the befogged Napoleon, whom the secretary recognized as the European stalking-horse which, once properly deployed, might with all ease demolish the bulwarks of the Union. Another depth, too, he does not sound. How else could he affirm that, had the South triumphed, Mexico would have been conquered by her for the purpose of extending slavery? or indeed invaded and divided with Napoleon (p. 144)?

Part v, "La Justicia", recounts the final struggle with its calamitous ending. Here is laid bare the causes of the failure of the Empire. The utter weakness of Maximilian in dealing with great problems of state are all too manifest. And here again, as history has often chronicled, it is the failure of the finances which pulled down the structure of state. By 1866 the debt of Mexico was \$430,000,000, Maximilian's part in it reaching the enormous sum of \$255,000,000. These questions are luminously treated, and many others concentrating in the *chute*.

Señor Bulnes has produced a book which, spite of its defects, is notable. Had he avoided certain of the attractive digressions not material to his story; had he summarized the long quotations from other authors or banished them to foot-notes; had he given us a bibliography and an index (sorely needed, for there are 870 pages), there could have been nothing but praise for his work. He has, however, earned our gratitude by citing his authorities on most disputed points, and these citations are by no means infrequent, for he not only familiarized himself with the literature of his subject, but he delved in archives and upturned materials which cast a lime-light on not a few hitherto obscure pages. Finally, we can but repeat that, whatever its faults, the brilliance of his style, his sincerity, his fearlessness in handling severely some of the heroes of Mexico, can have from us but the warmest commendation.

WALTER FLAVIUS MCCAULEY.

Th. Nast, his Period and his Pictures. By ALBERT BIGELOW PAINE.
(New York and London: Macmillan. 1904. Pp. xxi, 583, xx.)

WITH an abundance of admiration and sympathy for his subject, Mr. Paine has produced this story of "the father of the American cartoon". It is a story full of striking incident and human interest, skilfully unrolling the picturesque career of a genius who had within him the potentialities of an American Hogarth. No other American artist has ever transformed his pencil into such a scepter of political power, and probably no other ever will. The 450 illustrations that lend a singular value to this volume are nearly all reproductions of Nast's contributions to *Harper's Weekly* between 1862 and 1886. They form at once a convincing illustration of Nast's character and ideals as described in the text, and a marvelous exposition and commentary concerning the polit-

ical history of that quarter-century. The hero is first introduced as "The Rover", under which caption Mr. Paine follows Nast's early wanderings from his birthplace at Landau, Bavaria, to New York city, to England to illustrate the famous Heenan-Sayers prize-fight for the *New York News*, and then to Sicily and Naples with the famous expedition of Garibaldi in 1860.

As a youth in New York city he lived where he could see the fierce tiger's head of big chief Bill Tweed's "Big six" fire-engine, an emblem which he was afterward to affix forever to Tweed and Tammany as the symbol of predatory politics. During the same period he laid the foundations of an artistic career under Theodore Kaufmann and Alfred Fredericks, and in the Academy of Design under Cummings. Part two of the story is devoted to Nast "The Patriot", and covers the period from 1861 to 1869, when his cartoons upon the war, or the issues of the war, drew from Lincoln the opinion that Nast was "our best recruiting sergeant", and from Grant the remarkable saying that Nast was "the foremost figure in civil life" developed by the Civil War, having done "as much as any one man to preserve the Union and bring the war to an end" (p. 106). Part three reveals in text and picture the ever-instructive tale of the warfare upon Tweed under the title of Nast "The Reformer", 1869-1871. In the issue of the *Weekly* for January 15, 1870, Nast first introduced the donkey as the symbol of the Democratic party, and just before the election in November, 1871, he first portrayed the fierce tiger in the amphitheater mangling the State while Tweed and his satellites looked on in splendor from imperial seats (pp. 146, 197). "Let's stop them damned pictures", said Tweed; "I don't care so much what the papers write about me—my constituents can't read; but, damn it, they can see pictures!" (p. 179). From 1872 to 1876 Nast is represented as "The Defender", which term defines Nast's attitude toward Grant. From 1877 to 1886 Mr. Paine follows Nast through the "Rag Baby" campaigns and into his bolt from Blaine in behalf of Cleveland. Part six, 1887 to 1902, tells the pathetic story of the latter days of the artist, wrecked in fortune, dethroned from his high place in popular favor by his rivals in *Puck* and *Life*, finally exiled for the sake of daily bread to a pestilential consulate in Ecuador, but retaining to the end the good humor and affectionate geniality which always characterized him and which are so manifest even in the picture that serves as a frontispiece to this biography.

The student of our political history during the last half of the nineteenth century will derive from this book a unique service. It is surprising what a light falls from these pictures upon the narrative of party strife. Tweed's fear was well-founded. Mr. Roosevelt once said to Nast, "I learned my politics from your cartoons", and the poet Stedman wrote, "Nast's double gift of art and epigram made history and was history itself." Text and pictures in this volume together present a story that can be found nowhere else, not even in the many

volumes of *Harper's Weekly* from 1862 to 1886. Mr. Paine possibly allows his affection for his subject to carry him near the danger-line of exaggeration, as when he defends Nast's claim to the title of "Statesman", or seems in danger of forgetting that Nast did not march alone. But there can be no doubt that Nast was always terribly in earnest, and that, by reason of his earnestness and power combined, his cartoons will have a permanent value in history. The great artists who made *Punch* famous never injected into their cartoons such fierce passion as that which seems to glow even now in or behind every one of Nast's pictorial arguments.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Treaties, their Making and Enforcement. By Samuel B. Crandall, Ph.D. (New York, The Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, 1904, pp. 255.) This is a monograph in the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law (volume XXI, no. 1). It is a concise presentation of the process of treaty-making and enforcement under the various constitutional governments of the world. Only brief descriptions of the treaty processes are given for most of the countries of Europe and for the Central and South American states. For Great Britain and France the treaty prerogative is more elaborately considered.

More than one-half of the volume is devoted to the treaty-making power in the United States. The monograph presents the subject both historically and from the standpoint of public law. Methods of negotiation, ratification, and enforcement are described under the operation of the Continental Congress, the Confederation, and the Constitution. Precedent and usage in the principal matters of public law and historical interest are set forth with clearness and discrimination, including the Senate's initiative, its confirming the negotiators, approving instructions, and its proposal of amendments. The fact and law of precedent and usage are presented with brevity and authority on a variety of treaty topics, including the Senate rules in treaty session; the distinction between ratification and approval; the President's power to withhold a treaty from the Senate, and to make protocols of agreement without Senatorial assent; the relation of treaty law to Congressional and state law; the abrogation of treaties; the duty of Congress when treaties call for appropriations; treaties touching territorial cessions, changes in the laws, international copyright, postal regulations, Indian tribes, and extradition.

In the discussion of the important historical precedents the student of American diplomatic history will find much of value and interest. As to whether the treaty power can bind the legislative action, the traditional view, first defended by Gallatin, has been that when a treaty includes matters confided by the Constitution to the whole body of Congress, an act of legislation will be necessary to confirm those articles,

and such an act the House is free to allow or disallow at its discretion, and that foreign governments are presumed to know that, so far as a treaty stipulates to pay money, legislative sanction is required to the validity of the treaty. Dr. Crandall's thesis rejects this view. While it recognizes, of necessity, that a treaty stipulating for an appropriation can be fully carried into effect only by an act of Congress, yet it is maintained (pp. 134-135) that "if the House has no agency in the making of the treaty, its action is not essential to the validity of the treaty. For the House to disclaim any agency in the making of the international compact, but at the same time to deny any obligation to execute it, is to recognize another organ of government as competent to bind the nation, but at the same time to except itself from the obligation." The monograph is a worthy study not only as an exercise in investigation, but in its tangible results. JAMES A. WOODBURN.

A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools. Prepared by a Special Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association. (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1904, pp. 375.) This committee of ten, of which Professor Herbert Darling Foster was chairman, undertook the task of making a thorough syllabus covering the four blocks or periods marked by the Committee of Seven, giving references to available and useful books, and in other ways furnishing the teachers with suggestions and useful information. The work has been done with great care and with elaboration. A general introduction points out the purpose of the volume and the way it should be used and gives a few well-chosen suggestions to teachers. Then each block of history is treated separately; the main problems to be met in handling the period and the chief end to be gained are briefly stated. For each period there is an elaborate outline, accompanied by explicit references to authorities. For each period also is given a select bibliography, with the names of publishers and the prices of the volumes, as well as the more necessary and usual bibliographical detail.

Almost any one, unwise enough to try, could find fault with some portion of this work. One might question the advisability of referring to certain books, or might doubt the wisdom of the method of analysis used. Of course history cannot be reduced to an absolutely logical system which will extort acquiescence from everybody. But these references have been made by those who know historical literature, and the analysis has been made by those who know their history; and the result is a general scheme which will surely be of unusual service to the teacher. It is not unwise therefore to use a time-worn expression and say that the desk of every teacher should be supplied with a copy of this book. The gratitude of the teaching profession (we do not speak so confidently of the boys and girls) is due the committee for the toil and intelligence with which this volume was prepared. Possibly some teachers will be bewildered by the wealth of illustrative material; but

it is unnecessary to say that many references are necessary to meet many conditions, and that the task of the teacher in making a selection ought not to be very burdensome.

A Register of National Bibliography, with a selection of the chief bibliographical books and articles printed in other countries, by William Prideaux Courtney (London, Constable, 1905, 2 vols., pp. viii, 314, 315-631), reminds one of the *Dictionary of National Biography* not merely by its title but by the exhaustiveness and compactness of the information it contains. While it includes references to bibliographical matter of interest to all scientists, it must, like other works of this class, be of primary value to the historian; partly for its references to bibliographies of historical literature, but even more for its references to bibliographies of related subjects. The work also contains a few notes of bibliographies in manuscript. Among these may be mentioned a catalogue raisonné of the Thomason collection of pamphlets in the British Museum, now in course of preparation, and the collections of a bibliography of ancient and Christian Rome, by Professor J. H. Middleton, which is preserved in the British Museum.

W. D. JOHNSTON.

Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia. Von Benedictus Niese. Dritter Teil. Von 188 bis 120 v. Chr. (Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1903, pp. xii, 468.) Niese's *History of the Greek and Macedonian States* is a supplement to Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*, and a companion work to Hermann Schiller's *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*. All three are professedly handbooks of ancient history. They have this in common—they all tend to be dull. Niese's history is more than dull—it is tedious. In the first place it lacks any distinction of style. In the second place it does not redeem or justify this defect by any real insight into character, or by any lucid combination of the material. In fact this volume is broken up into a number of parallel histories, which, according to Niese, is the only possible result when Rome is not made the historian's standpoint. That is tantamount to a confession that his work ought to have ceased earlier.

At any rate, this, the last book of the three, is distinctly formless. It begins at 188 B. C. because the second ended there; and the second ended for the same reason for which the third comes to a conclusion, not because of anything intrinsic in the subject, but, as Niese frankly admits, on account of the exhaustion of the space at his disposal. Niese tends to include everything he happens upon, if not in the text, then in the foot-notes. Such faults as these would ruin an ordinary book. But this is a German handbook, and, besides, Niese is not an ordinary man. He is, indeed, one of the keenest of modern critics, and, in addition, a scholar of wide range and exact knowledge. This volume, like each of the earlier ones, contains many invaluable sections, and

practically all the available data. Appended are seven pages of *Addenda et Corrigenda*, a rather perfunctory chronological supplement, and a complete index.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Die neue Livius-Epitome aus Oxyrhynchus. Von Ernst Kornemann. [Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, zweites Beiheft.] (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904, pp. 131.) The importance of the fragmentary epitome of Livy, which was one of the treasures of the fourth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, warranted Kornemann in making it the subject of a special study. His text (pp. 13-34) differs in numerous points from that of the *editio princeps*, but the general sense has seldom been altered by the changes. The commentary (pp. 35-68) is noteworthy for the quotation of the passages in Livy and epitomes of Livy by which the restorations suggested are supported. So far little strikingly new is offered. It is in the last two sections of his book, iv (pp. 68-87), in which is established the genealogy of the papyrus; and v, in which the history of the years 150 to 137 B. C. is recast so as to include the new material, that Kornemann has done his best work. The stemma on p. 88 presents the main conclusions of section iv. In section v the new information contained in the papyrus is summarized and appraised. It comes from the last 135 lines of the fragment, as is natural, since these alone are derived from lost books (40 to 55) of Livy. The second century B. C. of Roman history is like the third century B. C. of Greek history in the lamentable dearth of other than the merest apology for literary sources. And yet where in ancient history is knowledge more desirable than in the epoch which preceded the Gracchi? Hence the ready welcome extended by modern historians to this puny fragment with its penchant for prodigies, games, *stupra*, and anecdotes of all sorts; for out of its record of domestic affairs issues clearly, what Eduard Meyer had already surmised, the deadly reaction of the disastrous Spanish wars upon the position of the senatorial government. We learn how seriously it was embarrassed in securing recruits for the thankless conflicts with the Lusitanian and Celtiberian mountaineers. It obtained relief by sacrificing the Italian allies, and reaped its harvest in the Social War. The Principate had in this respect the same experience as the Republic, and for the same reason, the inability of Italy to support the burdens of world-empire. All this and much besides Kornemann makes clear.

W. S. FERGUSON.

La Terre et la Race Roumaines depuis leurs Origines jusqu'à nos jours, by Alexandre A. C. Sturdza (Paris, Librairie J. Rothschild, L. Laveur, 1904, pp. xvi, 724), if it only had an index, might be regarded as a handy encyclopedia of the history and conditions of Roumania. As it is, the task of reading through its seven hundred closely packed pages will be too much for the ordinary reader, even if he is interested in the subject, for there is not sufficient grace of style to ac-

celerate the digesting of so large an amount of matter. Of course to the specialist any such volume of general history is but of occasional use. Mr. Sturdza has devoted his first 150 pages to geography, physical, political, and economic; history comes in for about 440 pages, or the larger half of the book; and culture and civilization for 225 more. His dedication "à l'Héroïsme Séculaire des Roumains" shows the spirit in which he has written. We are thus prepared to find that the modern Roumanians are a harmonious blend of Dacians and Latins and "no one can to-day support the theory of Rössler and Hunfalvy" (that they were emigrants from south of the Danube) "without covering himself with ridicule". For the same reasons we are not surprised at being told that among the Magyars, "that last manifestation of Mongol savagery before the Tartars", the greater part of the aristocracy "was recruited from amidst the Roumanians who, having already an organized feudal nobility before the arrival of the Hungarians, imparted to them, together with this institution, a strain which clarified their blood and thus made possible the formation of an upper class among them" (p. 175). This is obviously not the tone of serious history. Nevertheless, in spite of the rather dithyrambic patriotism which deprives Mr. Sturdza's views of all claim to impartiality, he has written a solid work in more senses than one, for it is the product of no small amount of learning as well as of much toil. Most of us, indeed, who are still unable to read the history of Roumania in the language of the country itself must welcome every serious contribution to the subject in a western garb, especially when as in the present instance the book is based on the researches of the latest native writers.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Western Europe in the Eighth Century and Onward: an Aftermath. By the late E. A. Freeman, M.A., Hon. D. C. L., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (London and New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. viii, 470.) This volume contains portions of a considerable work on Frankish history at which Professor Freeman labored in his later years. They were left in disconnected form and in various stages of completion at the writer's death and were sent to the press by Professor York Powell, who considered them a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the period. They consist of a fragment on Balthild and Ebroin, a series of fragments on "Charles and Pippin and the Change of Dynasty", a fairly complete chapter of a hundred and eighty pages on the Italian and Saracen wars of Pippin, some scattering matter on "The Strife of Paris and Laon", and an appendix of critical notes. A book on Frankish history which makes a clean jump over the decisive years from 768 to 887 reads queerly, and it required some courage and considerable confidence in the importance of Mr. Freeman's conclusions to put his work before the public in such unfinished shape. The volume is plainly meant for the specialist, who will find profit in the discussions of the patriciate and donation and in the

detailed account of Pippin's campaigns, in spite of the amount of more or less relevant comparison and allusion with which the author was in the habit of overloading his writings. Mr. Freeman was deeply interested in the Franks and well versed in the narrative sources of their history, and he might well have produced a work in this field which would have done something to make up for the surprising lack of even tolerable books in English on the subject; but his real duty lay elsewhere. No one else was so well qualified to write the great *History of Sicily*, of which the four published volumes are only a beginning, and the time he spent on the Franks was taken from the more important task. "For this kind of thing the West-Gothic kings are left undone", wrote Mr. Freeman when Mrs. Ward published *Robert Elsmere*; and for an adequate account of the Normans in Sicily we could well spare all that is here written on the Aquitanian campaigns and the inexhaustible controversy over Pippin's relations with the pope.

C. H. HASKINS.

The Middle Ages: Sketches and Fragments. By Thomas J. Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (New York, Benziger Brothers, 1904, pp. 432.) The thirteen essays and papers which Father Shahan has here collected from various Catholic periodicals are addressed to a popular audience and make no claim to originality. The longer essays deal with such general subjects as Gregory the Great, Justinian, Islam, the cathedral builders, the results of the Crusades, and the Italian Renaissance. Among the "fragments" we find a summary of Janssen's conclusions regarding German schools in the sixteenth century, a few pages on "Clergy and People in Mediæval England" as seen by Gasquet, and a refutation of Michelet's characterization of the middle ages as "a thousand years without a bath". "The Book of a Mediæval Mother" deals with the little-known manual which Dodana (or Dhuoda), duchess of Septimania, wrote in 843 for the edification of her son William, and there are still briefer papers on "The Christians of St. Thomas" and "The Mediæval Teacher". On all these topics the author holds a brief for the mediæval church; and the longest essay in the volume, entitled "Catholicism in the Middle Ages", is an elaborate plea for the pre-eminence of the church as the great formative influence in mediæval society. Much that is here said the impartial student of history must admit, but there is also another side, and there is likely to be some dissent from the dictum (p. 191) that "It is owing to the Catholic Church that we now enjoy a regular procedure in the administration of law." Even where no ecclesiastical considerations are involved, the author's habit of facile generalization leads him into such eccentricities of judgment as the exaltation of Justinian over Charlemagne, or into such an error as the assertion (p. 235) that "The inseparable text-book of the mediæval teacher was Vergil, and his majestic Latin the highest scientific ideal." The essays are pleasantly written and will prove agreeable

reading to Catholics, while those of a different way of thinking will be interested in seeing how such subjects are viewed by a fair-minded Catholic writer like Dr. Shahan.

C. H. HASKINS.

Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón. Tomo I. *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Ramiro I: desde MXXXIV hasta MLXIII años.* Edited by Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez, Professor of History at the University of Saragossa. ([Zaragoza, A. Uriarte, 1904], pp. xiv, 273.) The appearance of this volume—which, as its title implies, is the first instalment of a series of publications dealing with the internal history of medieval Aragón—will be welcomed by all students of Spanish history, not only for its own sake, but also as an indication of the recent rise and growth in Spain of a new school of really scientific historians, a school of which Professor Altamira of the University of Oviedo may perhaps be regarded as the leader. This new school has already signalized itself by its zeal in publishing manuscripts and by its appreciation of the fact, which its predecessors failed to realize, that the history of a nation consists not merely in the narration of political events, but also in the description of social, economic, and constitutional conditions. The present volume is thoroughly worthy of the best aims of the school it represents. It comprises 150 documents of the reign of Ramiro I, of which 130 have never been published before, and the remaining twenty only in ancient works difficult of access; the material has been carefully gathered from seven different archives and six different printed sources; it has been arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order, according, by the way, to the Spanish era (*incipit* 38 B. C.), and published with useful and pertinent footnotes. The documents themselves, all of which are in medieval Latin, are for the most part deeds of donation of land and other property from King Ramiro either to some monastery or to some individual; there are also among them several records of judgments, sales, exchanges, etc., made in Aragón during his reign. The collection is perhaps chiefly of local interest, and will probably be used only by writers of special monographs: but the editor frankly states in his preface that it is this sort of work that it is his chief object to advance, and we certainly agree with him in assigning to it a position of prime importance, in view of the present state of historical study in Spain. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by an excellent index of names and places, a table of contents, and a supplementary index in which the documents are arranged according to the sources from which they come. A general glossary is promised after similar volumes for the reigns of Sancho Ramirez, Pedro I, Alfonso I, and Ramiro II have appeared. Professor Ibarra y Rodríguez would have done well had he printed the title of his work on the cover in modern rather than medieval characters; as it stands it is exceedingly difficult to read, and the loss in clearness is in no sense compensated by the gain in originality and attractiveness.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

Peter von Aragon und die sizilianische Vesper. Von Otto Cartellieri. [Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte: herausgegeben von Karl Hampe, Erich Marcks, und Dietrich Schäfer, Heft VII.] (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1904, pp. xii, 261.) This excellent monograph supplies a long-felt want by treating of the Sicilian Vespers as an episode in the foreign policy of Spain. Previous historians of this famous rebellion—and they are numerous (cf. the review of the most important ones by C. Cipolla in the *Revue Historique* for January–February, 1883, XXI, 135–147)—have occupied themselves chiefly with its local aspects, with discussions of the native struggle for liberty, and above all with the legend which has built itself up around the personality of John of Procida. The standpoint of Dr. Cartellieri on the other hand is strictly international. Beginning with the marriage, June 13, 1262, of Constance, the daughter of the Hohenstaufen Manfred, to Peter the son of James the conqueror of Aragon, he shows how the latter fell heir to the position in Naples and Sicily of the ancestors of his bride, and to their quarrel with the papacy, which had handed over their South Italian inheritance to the savage Charles of Anjou. Henceforth the chief goal of the diplomacy of the king of Aragon was the organization of a great coalition to drive the Angevin from his new possessions, and secure them for himself: he corresponded and negotiated for this purpose not only with the oppressed Sicilians, but also with several foreign powers, chief among whom was Michael Palæologus at Constantinople; and Dr. Cartellieri points out that the most important act with which John of Procida can be historically credited is his successful accomplishment of a mission to seek the alliance of the Byzantine emperor, to whom he had been sent by King Peter in August, 1281. The author also demonstrates that the traditional view that the revolt in Sicily came to pass when it did as the result of Peter's machinations is no longer tenable; he shows in fact that it occurred without the foreknowledge and consent of the king of Aragon, and was a positive hindrance to his plans; for when the rebellion first broke out in April, 1282, the leaders put themselves under the protection of the Holy See rather than that of Peter, thus promising to stultify the plans of the latter, who desired first and foremost the acquisition of the Hohenstaufen inheritance for himself. Several months of negotiation were necessary before the revolutionists could be persuaded that their only chance of safety was to place themselves under the protection of Peter and choose him as their king; and the story ends with the arrival of the Aragonese in Palermo and the subsequent beginning of that long struggle with the French for the supremacy in Sicily and Italy which lasted far on into modern times.

Dr. Cartellieri's work is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the foreign policy of medieval Aragon. The author is obviously in love with his subject, and though at times somewhat unnecessarily exclamatory, he has given us a sane and trustworthy account of a much-neglected

aspect of one of the most dramatic incidents of the middle ages. Non-German readers will be particularly grateful to him for an excellent index and table of contents, for exceptional simplicity and lucidity of style, and for the fact that his book is printed in Latin script.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

Mr. L. Cecil Jane's *The Coming of Parliament: England from 1350 to 1660* [The Story of the Nations] (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, pp. xvi, 406) is disappointing. All there is concerning Parliament could be compressed into a single chapter of the twelve. What there is about Parliament is not new. It is distributed without much plan or system; and some of it, as for instance the treatment of the creation of boroughs in the reign of Elizabeth, is inaccurate, and shows that in a work which from its title was to be chiefly concerned with Parliament, Mr. Jane did not take the trouble to go to any of the first-hand official and authoritative sources for such elementary data as the exact number of boroughs which were enfranchised in the days when the Tudor sovereigns were seeking to control the House of Commons. The general history of England between the Black Death and the Restoration makes an interesting narrative in Mr. Jane's pages, with here and there some new light on its different phases, or a new presentation of an old story. As a book professedly concerned with the "coming of Parliament" and the place of Parliament in national life, it cannot be said to have any particular merit or value, or to render of less service any of the accepted histories of English constitutional development. This is all the more to be regretted, as Mr. Jane hit on a good title, and might have given us a really serviceable volume had he kept to the idea which his title suggests.

EDWARD PORRITT.

A Mediæval Princess: being a True Record of the Changing Fortunes which Brought Divers Titles to Jacqueline, Countess of Holland; together with an Account of her Conflict with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 1401-1436. By Ruth Putnam, honorary member of the Maatschappij van Nederlandsche Letterkunde at Leyden. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, pp. xv, 337.) Under this formidable title Miss Putnam has given an account of the various marriage alliances and domestic treasons through which the states of Hainaut, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, and Brabant entered into that complex of lordships and jurisdictions which was ultimately to form the basis of the Spanish dominion in the Netherlands. The author states in her preface, in justification of her work, that whereas the tyrannies of Philip of Spain and their results have been fully and frequently considered, the details of the entry into these lowlands of his Burgundian ancestor a century and a half earlier have received scanty notice in English. This is the real theme of the book, and in this the interest of the reader centers. All else, to use the author's own words (p. vii), are only the "foot-notes of history". In fact it may be fairly questioned whether a

consistent biography can be constructed out of the scraps of material—treaties, papal bulls, fragments of official correspondence, public proclamations, and mutilated account-books—out of which Miss Putnam has teased the outline of a biographical sketch. With all Miss Putnam's skill, Jacqueline of Hainaut remains only a shadowy outline still, in marked contrast with that lime-light vividness which attends every movement of her contemporary, the heroic Joan of Arc.

But if the author fails to arouse interest in the personal fortunes of Jacqueline, the book is none the less valuable as a piece of sober historical composition, presenting to the English reader a consistent account of the methods by which Burgundian power was built up in the Netherlands. The story, moreover, is full of special interest to the student of institutions because of the picture which it presents of life in that most romantic of all the Christian centuries, the fifteenth. Here one may see in operation what we may call the working constitution of later feudalism, where under the suggestive pen of Miss Putnam even the entries on the worm-eaten ledger of some forgotten Dutch secretary are made to bring up visions of the world that is no longer.

The publishers have done much to add to the attractiveness of the book by providing numerous and effective illustrations and, what is rare in such books, illustrations that really have some remote connection with the text. A map or two presenting the Low Countries as they were outlined in the fifteenth century would have added greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of the reader.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

Europe and the Far East. By Sir Robert K. Douglas. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge, At the University Press, New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. viii, 450.) Professor Douglas has succeeded in presenting in English a useful text-book covering the entire period of the European relations of China, Korea, Japan, and Indo-China. His well-known wealth of information of these countries is perhaps better reflected in this than in any other work from his pen. The amount of data he has compressed into each chapter excites admiration. It is unfortunate that this valuable work should abound, as it does, in undignified expressions and also in unverified statements on important disputed points (see pp. 4, 144, 348-349, 411, 413, 414, 421, 422, 424, etc.). At times statements are so inaccurate that either the sequence of events or the truth of the subject under discussion is at best obscured (as on pp. 247 and 304, 284, 304, 307, 316, 414, etc.). Page 147 is, however, exceptionally bad, presenting uncritical and grave errors at least a dozen times. It is also to be regretted that the author should persist in his use of the most unscientific and misleading term "clan" for the Japanese fief or feudal domain. Perhaps the most serious charges to be brought against the work are the following two. First, while the work does not lack detailed accounts of court life and personal events, it is singularly defective in the institutional and economic aspect of the inter-

national relationship and on the analytical and explanatory side in general. Secondly, in the narrative of the events of which the author has the most intimate knowledge, namely, China's foreign relations, he is not content with a mere description, but throughout identifies himself with the British or European, or what he calls "our" side of the question. The result is that his point of view is rarely that of a student of history.

The tenth chapter, on Japan's new career, which alone was written by Professor G. W. Prothero, presents, both in style and in matter, a striking contrast to the remainder of the volume. Aside from its surprisingly few errors in a subject so strange to the writer, the chapter indicates his remarkable discrimination of data, as well as keen analysis of the various movements of the period and of the contents of the new Constitution.

The maps are well made, but the bibliographical feature of the work lacks the necessary care, as witness the foot-notes on pages 136, 140, and 239. The bibliographical appendix contains serious omissions and many errors. The fact that this volume should be included in the Cambridge Historical Series does not speak well for the general scholarship of oriental history. So far as the present state of this scholarship is concerned, however, Professor Douglas's work may perhaps be considered as one of the best productions that could be hoped for.

K. ASAKAWA.

A School History of the United States. By William H. Mace. (Chicago, Rand, McNally, and Company, 1904, pp. xiv, 465, xvii-xcv.) This text, prepared by Mr. Mace along the lines suggested in his *Method in History*, is intended for the grammar grades. The author has aimed to make the style at once vivid and simple; he has striven to inculcate the idea that American history is interesting, and that "men are always struggling to attain great ends" (p. v); he has given much attention to grouping "events into series" and "series into periods", even at the expense of strict chronological accuracy. It is the opinion of the reviewer that Mr. Mace has produced a good text for grammar-grade students. The presentation is clear and effective. The grouping, if a little overdone, is mainly well done. The proportion, with one exception which will be mentioned presently, is good. At the end of the book there is an elaborate series of questions for each division of the text, accompanied with references to sources, secondary accounts, and fiction. Two features are especially commendable; the space devoted to the life of the people and to the industrial development of the last quarter of a century; and the maps and charts, of which there are over fifty. The latter, judging from the vagueness of entering college classes on points of geography, should be of immense service. In the opinion of the reviewer, two defects stand out rather prominently. One of these is the excessive space devoted to military events. It is true that Mr. Mace offends less in this respect than some writers; it is perhaps true

also that military events are peculiarly adapted, by virtue of their dramatic quality, to the needs of the young student. Nevertheless, it is believed that thirty-six pages is too much to give to the eight years of the Revolution if there is left only forty-two pages for the twenty-one years of peace between 1760 and 1789. This is better, however, than the proportion given to the Civil War. Sixty-three pages are required to relate the eight years of war between 1789 and 1865, while one hundred and nine suffice for the sixty-eight years of peace. In the second place, it appears that the author's preconception that "men are always struggling to attain great ends" has distorted some portions of his narrative—particularly that of the Revolution. The student will certainly get the idea that the colonists were thoroughly united in their resistance to Great Britain, that they were quite right in their contentions and in their acts, and that there was no other issue involved than that of home rule. That "conciliation fails in England" (p. 154) is emphasized by making the expression the heading of a paragraph. Surely the student should be taught that conciliation failed in America quite as certainly as in England. This is illustrative of a great number of expressions that will leave a mistaken view of the Revolution in the mind of the reader. As usual the Regulator movement in North Carolina is quite misunderstood (p. 147).

CARL BECKER.

Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the Seventeenth Century. By C. Litton Falkiner. With three maps. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1904, pp. xx, 433.) This volume has been prepared in a workmanlike style. It has been Mr. Falkiner's aim, so he states in his preface, "to realise" for himself "the social condition of Ireland at a period singularly pregnant of lasting effects upon her history". Whether Mr. Falkiner has realized this to the full for himself it is impossible to say; but it is beyond question that his handling of the subject on which he has written, and the original papers which he has reproduced and edited, afford excellent opportunities to students of Irish history for realizing many features of Irish life and governmental and social economy in the seventeenth century.

Only one of the papers Mr. Falkiner has written is devoted to Irish rural economy—the history of "The Woods of Ireland". All the others, except the history of the Irish guards and that of the Irish counties, are concerned with the history of Dublin—with the Castle and its place in the governmental economy of Ireland; with Phoenix Park; with the parish church of the Irish Parliament; and the civic and commercial history of the city. In this last group there are histories of the Ballast Office, out of which grew the Port and Docks Board; of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce; and also histories of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, and the remarkable marine society so long known in Dublin waterside traditions as the Ouzel Gallery. These are the papers Mr. Falkiner has written from his own research.

The seventeenth-century treatises on Ireland which Mr. Falkiner has edited cover a much wider field. They include the *Itinerary* of Fynes Moryson, who was secretary to Mountjoy when he was viceroy of Ireland from 1600 to 1603; Sir Josias Bodley's visit to Lecale in 1602; Luke Gernon's "Discourse of Ireland", 1620; Sir William Brereton's travels in Ireland in 1635; and M. Jorevin de Rocheford's (Albert Jouvin, de Rochefort) description of 1668. Several of these papers are not published for the first time. The larger part of Moryson's *Itinerary*—from the manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford—was included in Mr. Charles Hughes's *Shakespeare's Europe*, published in 1903. Luke Gernon's "Discourse of Ireland", however, is from the Stowe Papers in the British Museum, and was never in print before. These papers are of much value for the light they throw on social conditions in Ireland between the end of the reign of Elizabeth and the Revolution of 1688—especially for the insight they afford as to the reasons for the marked social degeneration of the English in Ireland before the Cromwellian settlements.

The notes to these papers are numerous and characterized by scholarly care. There are three maps: of the walls of Dublin; of Ireland in the middle of the sixteenth century; and of Dublin in the seventeenth century. In general Mr. Falkiner must be credited with a volume which will be permanently serviceable to students of Irish history.

EDWARD PORRITT.

The sixth volume of Professor P. J. Blok's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk* (Groningen, J. B. Wolters, 1904, pp. iii, 595) brings the story from the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702 to the downfall of the republic in 1795. With the same breadth of view as in his earlier volumes, the author deals with every phase of Dutch life—political, social, literary, religious, industrial, commercial. Though he finds in eighteenth-century Holland much more that is sound than have earlier historians, there runs through his narrative that same sense of growing decay which makes the period so painful to all patriotic Netherlanders. To a larger extent than any of its predecessors this volume rests on unpublished sources. There now remains but a single volume of the great work, the seventh, which will deal with the nineteenth century and will be completed during the next two or three years. Many of Professor Blok's readers will meantime have been glad to welcome that volume of miscellaneous historical studies (*Verspreide Studiën op het Gebied der Geschiedenis*), mainly on Dutch topics, which he last year gave to the press.

G. L. BURR.

History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870. By Lewis Preston Summers. (Richmond, Va., J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903, pp. 921.) This is a better book than the ordinary county history. The author has had access to considerable original material. In view of its frontier position and prominence at critical

periods the people of Washington county played an important part in the history of the whole Allegheny region, and so its history is one of exceptional interest. An unfavorable impression of the author's historical training is given by his assertion that "it is a matter of history that the Queen of Spain, to enable Columbus to explore the western seas, sacrificed many of the jewels pertaining to her queenly estate" (p. 20). He claims (p. 8) that he "in nearly every instance has required documentary evidence for all statements made". One wonders if it was such evidence that led to his statements that southwest Virginia was not improbably "the seat of a civilization that would have compared favorably with that of Greece and Rome", and that DeSoto visited Washington county in 1540 (pp. 30, 21). A good deal is said of the Ohio and Loyal land companies without a reference to the Vandalia affair. Considerable space is given to accounts of individual adventures with Indians. The work of the county in the Revolutionary War is well brought out by drawing heavily from Draper's *King's Mountain*. The most valuable part of the work is that bearing on the Civil War. After showing how near Washington county came to union with West Virginia, the author gives an account of the strong support given by the county to the Confederate cause, the name of General Joseph E. Johnston heading the list of officers contributed. G. H. ALDEN.

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society have published the *History of Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and of the Wabash Towns from the British in 1778 and 1779* (Columbus, Ohio, F. J. Heer, 1903, pp. xix, 815), which was among the literary remains of the late Consul Willshire Butterfield. Mr. W. H. Hunter, of Chillicothe, furnishes a laudatory preface, in which he speaks of this history as the most important of all Mr. Butterfield's works; but this estimate is far from being borne out by the facts. Indeed, we must regard the book as showing all of the author's failings—diffuseness, insistence on trifles, lack of historic perspective, undue aggressiveness, and utter disregard of continuity. At the same time it lacks the virtues of his less pretentious works—local color, and intimate acquaintance with the lives and habits of that swarm of second-rate and third-rate personages who figured in the border warfare in the northwest during the Revolution. Butterfield's researches into the life and travels of Nicolet and Brulé are authorities essential to the student of the early history of the northwest; and his *Washington-Crawford Letters*, his *History of the Girty's*, and his *Expedition against Sandusky under Crawford* contain valuable materials, which well repay the labor that must be expended by the reader in order to dig out the facts from the mass of debris. The present volume contains 508 pages of text, and 143 notes occupying nearly 300 additional pages. Often the notes are more important than the text, which is so confused as to be entirely unreadable in the ordinary sense. Moreover, the new material

is so meager that it adds next to nothing of historic value. The cover bears a picture of the capture of Vincennes which is juvenile in the extreme.

CHARLES MOORE.

A Short Constitutional History of the United States. By Francis Newton Thorpe, A.M., Ph.D. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1904, pp. vii, 459.) It is not easy to say any word of truthful commendation concerning this book. It bears evidence of being based on a study of the sources, particularly public documents, and evidently the writer has worked hard and brought many facts together, some of them not easily obtained elsewhere save in his larger works; but there is no distinct indication that the works of other investigators have been pondered, though they may have been. The style is not attractive, though not often very bad; the arrangement is unsatisfactory, and the general method of presentation is not telling; the author's conception of his subject, as in his early volumes on constitutional history, is limited. These faults might be passed over without too serious consideration if the book were accurate in details, and if, with all its apparent weight and sturdiness, it were done with care and circumspection. But there are errors which, it seems, the average author would make only when writing under pressure. There are other errors which one would not expect from any writer of experience. What, for example, can be said of a volume on constitutional history which says (p. 31) that Franklin's persuasive speech did not have the effect of convincing all the members of the Philadelphia Convention, for sixteen members persisted in staying out of the room while the signing was in progress? Such a blunder is primitive. The reviewer does not dare to say how many errors in fact the book contains; certainly there are a good many. To reverse the statement made above: if the style were interesting and enlivening, if the method were strong and forceful, if the work were suggestive and novel, even primitive errors might be forgiven—all writers are prone to error. But as it is, what remains to be said? If, for instance, we pardon the actual errors in the treatment of the Fourteenth Amendment, nothing can be said in favor of the method and manner of exposition; the uninitiated on reading the pages discussing the subject would be hopelessly perplexed.

The Navy Records Society has issued, as its twenty-eighth volume, *Selections from the Correspondence of Admiral John Markham during the years 1801-4 and 1806-7*, edited by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B. (London, Printed for the Society, 1904, pp. xx, 451.) Admiral Markham, who entered the navy in 1776 and died in 1827, was born in 1761. His father was archbishop of York. Markham served much under St. Vincent. From 1801 to 1826 he sat in Parliament for Portsmouth, and during the administrations of Addington and Lord Grenville he was a lord of the Admiralty. In 1802 he conducted through the Commons the act creating the commission of naval inquiry and after Addington's

fall Markham defended St. Vincent successfully against parliamentary attacks of those who had suffered by the commission's exposures. The present selection is confined to Markham's four and a half years at the Admiralty. It is drawn from originals in the family's possession, and consists of letters, dealing almost exclusively with service details, from St. Vincent, Keith, Saumarez, and others of more or less distinction. An interesting section of fifty-seven letters from Admiral George Murray describes his share in the expedition to La Plata in 1806-1807.

Reminiscences of Peace and War. By Mrs. Roger A. Pryor. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904, pp. xv, 402.) This volume opens with a chapter on "Washington in the Fifties" and closes with "Starting Life Anew". The whole gamut of experience of a woman who lived in the midst of trying and exciting times is run. In addition to this rich experience Mrs. Pryor is a woman of exceptional gifts; and her residence in Washington, her glimpse of things in the neighborhood of Richmond and Norfolk during the war, with her forlorn position in 1864 and 1865, only sharpened her vision. And no one who reads her book will deny that the story is well told.

From a historical point of view Mrs. Pryor's book is valuable for its pictures of social life and manners in Washington and Virginia just prior to secession; and again it adds to our knowledge of conditions in Richmond during the war by giving pictures here and there of President Davis and his many embarrassments (e. g., p. 250). The note of complaint in the Pryor circle against Davis and his management of the war is strong. General D. H. Hill is quoted (p. 284) as saying angrily at Mrs. Pryor's table: "I could forgive mistakes! I cannot forgive lies! I could get along if we could *only, only* ever learn the truth, the real truth." The writer then adds, "he was very personal and used much stronger words than these." A lurking suspicion somehow or other comes into the reader's mind that the Pryors were not satisfied with the tardy promotion which the Confederate authorities gave, and this counteracts the effect of the criticism aimed at Mr. Davis.

What adds again to the value of these reminiscences is the unconventional offhand sketches of Southern and Northern leaders, though they in the main confirm and complete former knowledge. The picture of General Sheridan in Petersburg is rather an exception—his conduct as seen by Mrs. Pryor was certainly unworthy of his high station. The chapter headed "A Winter of Want" (pp. 319-337) is a pathetic picture of a brave woman fighting manfully against insurmountable obstacles. It is an unsurpassed arraignment of war and of men who, excusing themselves with the old fallacy that "all's fair in love and war", wantonly commit crime against the innocent and the helpless.

A not less interesting and comforting feature of the story is the account (all too short) of Roger A. Pryor's reception in New York city after the war, his ready success among men against whom he had

fought for four long years, and his final elevation to the position of chief justice of the greatest state in the north. It is a proof that, despite many facts of a contrary nature, we are not so vindictive as some have thought.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White. (New York, The Century Company, 1905, two vols., pp. xxi, 601; xix, 606.) An autobiography of a man who has played a conspicuous rôle in American life for two generations is of great service to the historian, as well as of general interest. Especially is this the case if, as in this instance, the story is told with candor and simplicity and with a knowledge of the importance of things, if it is written by one who has sane views of life and a deep appreciation of its meaning. Full of entertaining anecdotes and reminiscences, the volumes contain little that the reader can consider trivial. Personal characterizations, references to political issues, discussions of educational, social, and religious questions, are given entertainingly, but are set down without malice, without straining after unnatural effect, and without wearisome iteration. It would be difficult to obtain anywhere else a wiser and more helpful account of American movements during the last fifty years than one gets from these volumes. Even such an episode as the Cardiff Giant imposition, which the author tells with some detail, is seen to have its significance in the history of American life in the last half of the nineteenth century. It is needless to recount the activities of Mr. White's career or to comment at length upon the narrative. A teacher of history at the University of Michigan, president of Cornell, state senator in New York, minister to Russia, and ambassador in Germany, a man of wide learning and a thoughtful student, he saw much, knew many men, and was able to understand his experiences. Some portions—the portrayal of the best Northern sentiment during the Civil War, the work for the Hague Tribunal, the effort to found Cornell University—will be of lasting historical importance. The value of the volumes seems chiefly to arise from the charmingly simple tale of personal experience told by a man of wisdom and insight, a tale told with considerable literary skill. For only unusual talent allows one to write with this utter clearness and air of perfect ease, and to discuss, without appearance of labor, problems of education, protection, and finance, traits of character, and the deeper questionings of the heart. It is withal hard to write of one's life truthfully; even if one's vision does not make distorted images, it is hard to be so thoroughly a master of words that style at no time obscures the exact outline of what one would say. Mr. White seems to have been able to tell his story without even the refraction of ill-chosen words and free from the control of an artificial, impersonal style.

Forty Years of Active Service. By Colonel Charles T. O'Ferrall. (New York and Washington, The Neale Company, 1904, pp. 367.) The author of this volume was an honest soldier and capable officer on the

Southern side during the Civil War; as such he saw service under Mosby and Jackson in the valley of Virginia. His recollections offer many interesting details for the student of the campaigns in that section of Virginia; but they do not add anything of consequence to our general knowledge either of the contest or of the great personalities who played leading rôles.

The chief value of the book is to be found in the second half; which section is again subdivided into two parts: 1. the author's rise to the position of governor of his state, the sharp campaigning incident to this career, and the bitter struggles of Mahone and John S. Wise in their attempt to "carry the state"; 2. his course in the United States House of Representatives from 1880 to 1892.

There is no other work describing Virginia's political life during the Cleveland epoch in so acceptable a manner, and this lends Colonel O'Ferrall's book decided importance. O'Ferrall is known in Virginia as an excellent chief executive and as a politician of very high character. The perfect frankness of the account of himself is refreshing; and his open statement of his ambition to become governor with a description of his management leading to the nomination as Democratic candidate causes the reader the more readily to accept statements and accounts the proof of which is as yet not forthcoming.

In Congress Colonel O'Ferrall was an intimate friend and associate of Speaker Crisp and of William L. Wilson; he was for some time chairman of the committee on elections. Of his services on this committee he speaks as follows (p. 270): "While I had never done violence to my conscience in any case, I fear I was not an entirely cool, calm, and unbiased judge, for I may have been warped to some extent at times by my party sympathies."

Civil Service reformers will read the commendation of Daniel S. Manning (p. 348) with some interest: "He was in full sympathy with the idea of the Democrats that 'to the victors belong the spoils,' and it was not difficult to persuade him that James Jones, Republican postmaster at Spring Creek, should be turned out. . . . In a single day he appointed forty-two postmasters for me, all in about three hours. Whether any other Representative beat that record or not I never learned. In fact, I kept it quiet, for fear other members might complain, and he would go slower with me thereafter. But I made many other fine daily records." One may well question if even a United States Senator could give better account of himself to his constituents. There are many other suggestive side-lights on a Congressman's life and activity, but, for lack of space, attention cannot be called to them. As a commentary on Virginia politics during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the book possesses unquestioned value; and its review of the events of the two Cleveland administrations, with here and there a character-sketch of leading figures, makes it worthy of a place in the literature of the time.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Forty-five Years under the Flag. By Winfield Scott Schley, Rear-Admiral, U. S. N. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1904, pp. xiii, 439.) For the student of naval history Admiral Schley's book has, in greater or less degree, the value which attaches to naval memoirs. It throws less light upon the esoterics and characteristics of naval life than one would wish. In this respect it is greatly excelled by Admiral Robley D. Evans's *Sailor's Log*, possibly for the reason that Evans's book is based upon a very full diary. Admiral Schley's experiences in the opening of Korea in 1871 and in the revolution in Chile twenty years later afford a view of the naval officer acting in a diplomatic capacity. His work as Inspector of Light Houses, Chairman of the Light House Board, Member of the Board of Inspection of the Navy, and Chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting plainly shows us that, contrary to the popular understanding, the sea officer performs most important duties on land. As commander of the Greely Relief Expedition Admiral Schley rendered efficient and successful service, which justly brought him the commendation of President Arthur and of the whole nation. The three chapters upon this subject are valuable for the history of Arctic exploration. Three other chapters recount the author's employment during the Civil War with Farragut in the Gulf of Mexico and on the Mississippi. More than one-third of the book is concerned with the naval operations off the coast of Cuba during the Spanish-American War and with the unfortunate dispute that arose in regard to them. Admiral Schley says in his preface that he narrates the events of this war from his own point of view. He prints many important documents illustrative of these events.

The style of this book, although it does not reveal a practised hand, is acceptable. One misses the smack of the salty sea which gave such a relish to Admiral Evans's memoirs. The style is objective and unadorned. Admiral Schley has performed the feat of writing his memoirs without once using the first personal pronoun. His substitutes for it, the "writer", "inspector", "commander", and "admiral", may prove confusing to some readers. The index is imperfect.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

Recuerdos de Mi Vida Diplomática: Misión en Estados Unidos (1885-1892). By Vicente G. Quesada. [De los Anales de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, Buenos Aires, 1904, Tomo VI.] (Buenos Aires, Librería de J. Menéndez, 1904, pp. 303.) Señor Quesada's *Recuerdos* is divided into two parts: I. La Sociedad; II. La Cuestión Malvinas. Part I (comprising 155 pages of the 303 of the work) may be said to be a chronicle of the social life of Washington, as he saw it, during his residence as representative of the republic of Argentina (1885-1892). This section of the volume is distinguished by its minute descriptions of the leading figures of the day, social and political. To a considerable extent the story is one of social twaddle, such as a glib tongue might deliver to one ignorant of the usages of this country;

or such as might be recorded in a diary for the edification of an alien audience. Tales of receptions at the White House and at the homes of cabinet officers and wealthy celebrities of the day who flocked to the capital for the season are told in tiresome detail.

Despite this it may be said that his observations on the political tendencies of the country, its contrasts, its apparent weaknesses, are at times tempered with wisdom. Perhaps even more worthy of consideration are the strictures he lays on certain regulations of our society as contrasted with Spanish and continental usage. He is not a little pessimistic over the breaking down of the family (p. 40). He also notes the growing struggle between capital and labor and offers some observations which, inasmuch as he is distinguished in social dynamics and widely traveled, may not be without value.

Part II redeems the publication. But for this question Señor Quesada's mission would have been a diplomatic desert. Fifty-two pages are given to a recital of the case against the United States arising out of the attack of the sloop of war *Lexington* on an armed vessel flying the flag of Argentina—an attack committed in 1831, but which had never been settled to the satisfaction of the South American republic. At the bottom of the affair lay the determining of the status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and here Dr. Quesada presents a strong case, marshaling a deal of data to prove that they were Argentina's both by tradition and occupation.

There are ninety-four pages of documents which the student of South American history will welcome. There is no index, which is regrettable; it is likewise regrettable that he should have been careless in his spelling of English terms, many of which besprinkle his pages.

W. F. McCaleb.

The series of sixteen volumes by Archer Butler Hulbert closes with a volume of reprinted essays and addresses on *The Future of Road-making in America*. (Cleveland, A. H. Clark Company, 1905, pp. 211.) A stretch of imagination is required to justify the introduction of the volume in a "historic" series. So ends an undertaking which promised from its title to be a historic "find". It is well done in places, but from the narrow geographic limits assigned to its examination of highways and from its "padding" by reprinting it causes a feeling of disappointment that the enterprise has come off so poorly and regret that much money has been expended and large library space taken with small profit.

E. E. S.

COMMUNICATION

THE PHILIPPINE "SITUADO" FROM THE TREASURY OF NEW SPAIN

THE array of data upon the above subject presented by Professor Edward G. Bourne in his communication printed in the January number of the REVIEW (X, 459-461) was most interesting, and unquestionably points to the correctness of the assertion generally made by historians and other writers, to the effect that there was always a deficit in the Philippine treasury prior to the nineteenth century—an assertion which, indeed, derives weight of authority from the very fact that it is made with such uniformity by these writers. I did not wish to challenge this assertion, as I think Professor Bourne has recognized, but simply to call attention to the challenge regarding its accuracy made by Govantes, and apparently passed by Pardo de Tavera in his *Biblioteca*. Nevertheless, I am still not quite satisfied that we can feel sure of having got to the bottom of the matter.

Of the authorities cited by Professor Bourne, I do not possess, and hence, at my distance from a consulting library, do not have access to, the *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias, América y Oceanía*, nor to Concepcion, Delgado, and Le Gentil. Foreman is so loose and inaccurate throughout his writings, almost always failing to give credit and often mixing in his own assertions with the abstracted statements of early writers, especially Concepcion, that he is utterly worthless as an authority, unless checked at every step with the sources from which he has drawn. Humboldt is, of course, a writer of a different sort, and great weight must be given to whatever he said. It is to be noted, however, that Humboldt never visited the Philippines, and never wrote with a view directly to setting forth the situation of those islands, but only touched upon them in their relations with the American colonies of Spain, and especially with Mexico. Before assigning any special weight to Humboldt's statements with regard to the subsidy of the Philippine government (except for what his statements of fact are worth upon their face), we should need to know that he had made some special investigation of the peculiar relations existing between the treasury of Mexico and that of the Philippines, and particularly the regulations governing the trade between the two possessions. There is no evidence that Humboldt ever investigated this subject. He has simply taken the average amount sent from the Mexican treasury to that of the Philippines during five of the closing years of the eighteenth century, and put this sum in his tables as the annual charge upon Mexico caused by the Philippines.

If one could regard the case as entirely proved for the contention

of Professor Bourne that the import duties collected at Acapulco on the goods brought in the galleons from Manila were never covered into the treasury of Mexico, but were held as a separate credit for the Philippines, we could feel more sure of our ground in arguing from the statements of Concepcion, Humboldt, and others. But the very reading of the decree of 1606 upon this subject which is given by Professor Bourne in the communication above referred to seems to me to make it perfectly clear that the amount of these duties was to be deducted in Mexico from the sum sent for the support of Spanish enterprises dependent upon Manila as their fitting-out point. A reference to the original text of this decree (*Leyes de Indias*, lib. IX, tit. 45, ley 65) the more strongly confirms this view. The issue presented as to whether this money "was covered into" the treasury of Mexico is rather one of bookkeeping than of anything else. As between 1606, the date of this decree (which, like many of its contemporaries, may never have been effectively put in force in just the precise way in which it was meant), and the end of the eighteenth century, about which Humboldt was writing in Mexico, methods of accounting may have been modified a dozen times, and it would be unsafe to rely upon this 1606 decree as a link in any chain of argument regarding the subsidy during the two succeeding centuries. Certainly, we have the categorical statement of Hernando de los Ríos Coronel (in his *Memorial y Relación*, reprinted in translation in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XIX, 183-297), who had been for some years prior to 1621 procurator-general of the Philippine Islands, that the twelve per cent. collected on the merchandise sent to Acapulco "enters into the royal treasury of Mexico" (*ibid.*, 250). Valuing the cargoes annually so shipped at 500,000 pesos, the legal maximum, we have duties of 60,000 pesos as a credit against the amount sent from Mexico to Manila, aside from the *alcabalas* and other credits mentioned by Professor Bourne himself. The royal orders were that the cargoes should be valued and the duties collected, not at Acapulco, but at Mexico city, and the presumption as to the course followed in disposing of this money is rendered stronger by the absence of the entry upon the books of the Philippine treasury of a special item covering the amount collected for such duties at Acapulco and expended in Mexico for supplies, etc., for the Philippines.

It is to be remembered also that only in exceptional years was the cargo of these galleons limited to the amount specified by law; instead, it amounted commonly to 1,000,000 pesos and often to 2,000,000. If duties were proportionately collected, though only for a portion of the illegal excess, the credit in favor of the Philippine treasury would considerably increase. The whole trade-throttling system of Spain only indicates that it is hard to make any unqualified assertions as to the matter of the cost to Spain of her colonies or the profit reaped from them. This, of course, is the really substantial question underlying this

point in colonial bookkeeping. The Philippines were kept so far as possible tied to the apron-strings of Mexico, until the latter country struck out an independent course; and, even supposing that the ordinary view of the subsidy is in all respects correct, we have to make due allowance for the gains reaped, legally or illegally, through Mexico's monopoly of the trade passing through Manila. The abolition of the line of galleons, instead of working the ruin of Manila, increased its exportations of native goods sevenfold between 1816 and 1840, according to Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, Tomo II, Comercio exterior, 27. As to the nineteenth century, there is no dispute whatever that the Philippines paid their own way and more. They supported Spain's entire naval force in the Orient, as well as her diplomatic and consular representatives, and paid a part of the pensions to the descendants of Columbus and others. To be sure, during a large part of the nineteenth century the chief source of revenue was the tobacco monopoly; but after its abolition the revenues under a scheme of government somewhat better organized, from an economical point of view, were progressively greater each year up to 1897.

In weighing this question in its broader aspects, one must take into account not only the monopolistic trade regulations, but also the fact that in all the early years of Spanish rule the money sent to Manila or raised there by taxation was in large part spent, not for the maintenance of government in the islands themselves, but for the conduct of Spanish plans for conquest elsewhere in the Orient. Manila was but the fitting-out point for such expeditions, as it was, under the old economic régime, merely a trade-depot for the products of countries other than the Philippines; and the money thus spent, though to be regarded as in a degree a means of protection to the Philippines, is in the main to be regarded as spent in behalf directly of Spain herself, and for the benefit of her home people, whether wisely or unwisely so spent. The Coronel memorial above cited (*The Philippine Islands*, XIX, 292-296) shows in the early years of the seventeenth century an annual expenditure of over 200,000 pesos in the Moluccas, which were producing practically nothing to Spain, and this sum did not include the forced labor of Philippine natives in building ships, the materials gathered for such ships, the casting of artillery, etc., in the Philippines from 1636 onward, amounting, says Coronel, if paid for at proper rates, to millions. So the figures presented by Pedro de Caldierva de Mariaca (*ibid.*, XIV, 243-269), showing an annual deficit of 135,000 in the Philippine treasury, show also that most of the expenditures were for ship-building and conquest. Obviously, to charge the Philippines with having been a drain upon Spain's resources in those early years, because they did not provide money for the conduct of plans of conquest in the East Indies generally, aside from the men, materials, soldiers, and supplies which they did furnish, in large part without pay, would be entirely unfair.

In later years, after the encomiendas were abolished, and the missions and all internal plans of government had to be supported by the treasury at Manila, while on the other hand the government collected the entire product of the tributes from the inhabitants, there was still, so far as the weight of authority goes, a deficit. But there were also credits of one sort and another to be taken into account. For instance, the missions in China and elsewhere in the Orient were, at least during a certain period, supported from the Philippine treasury, as later Spain's diplomatic representation in the Orient was so maintained.

Bowring, in his *Philippine Islands* (London, 1859, pp. 98-99), says that "the Philippines have made, and continue to make, large contributions to the mother country, generally in excess of the stipulated amount which is called the *situado*". Bowring, it may be, learned of the remittances to Spain from the products of the tobacco monopoly (mostly in the form of leaf-tobacco or cigarettes) during the nineteenth century, and did not mean to speak of the state of affairs prior to the nineteenth century. Still, his categorical statement will invite investigation. The matter is one, it seems to me, which cannot be regarded as closed until we have more specific data than any of the careless Spanish writers (and the early writers in Philippine history are all careless, differing only in degree in this respect) have so far given us.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL.

Dr. Hermann Hueffer, long professor of the history of law at the University of Bonn, and author of various historical works on the period from 1792 to 1802, died in March, at the age of seventy-four. In the preceding month occurred the death of Dr. Bruno Gebhardt, author of the well-known manual of German history.

Henry Van Ness Boynton, a prominent citizen of Washington, breveted brigadier-general for gallantry at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, died in June. General Boynton was the author of a volume on *Sherman's Historical Raid*, and was a frequent contributor on historical subjects to numerous periodicals.

Bernard Monod, son of the well-known historical scholar, Gabriel Monod, died in January, on the very eve of a promising career as a student and writer of history. Though not quite twenty-six he had already done considerable writing, notably, besides a thesis on the relations of Pascal II with Philip I and Louis VI of France, a small volume on *Le Moine Guibert et son Temps (1053-1124)*.

A service in memory of Annah May Soule, late Professor of American history and political economy at Mt. Holyoke College, was held in the college chapel, South Hadley, Massachusetts, on Monday, March 20. Miss Soule was graduated from the University of Michigan, but through several years of valued service became thoroughly identified with the college that has just honored her memory. Her death occurred March 17.

An important change in the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution will take place in the fall. Professor A. C. McLaughlin, who has been at the head of the Bureau for the first two years of its existence, will return to the University of Michigan to take up his academic work, and Professor J. F. Jameson, who has resigned his chair at the University of Chicago, will come to Washington to assume the directorship of the Bureau. A number of important undertakings are under way. The bibliography of *Writings on American History, 1903*, is now in press and will be issued in the immediate future. The examination of American material in foreign archives, commenced last year, is being carried on and its scope has been somewhat enlarged. Professor Andrews, whose preliminary report on the British archives appeared in the January number of the *REVIEW*, is now in London continuing his investigations, the results of which may be expected to appear in the form of a full report in about a year. In connection with

this report will be published a complete list of all the transcripts from the English archives that have been printed, and a calendar of those that are to be found in this country in manuscript. The list of printed transcripts is already nearly completed and the calendar of manuscript transcripts is well under way. An examination of the Spanish archives has been commenced this summer by Professor William R. Shepherd, while Mr. Luis M. Pérez is at work on an investigation of the material in Cuba. During the past winter and spring Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Bureau, has been in Virginia and North and South Carolina examining and listing the manuscript collections of historical societies, locating private collections of manuscripts, and calendaring transcripts from foreign archives. This work will be continued in the fall and winter in the farther south, and it is hoped that in the course of time a general report on the manuscript sources for American history may be prepared. Another piece of work in which a beginning has been made is the collection of transcripts of letters from delegates to the Continental Congress. A number of unprinted letters have been found in Virginia and North Carolina, and the search will be continued in all of the original states. Finally, the federal archives in Washington have received considerable attention. The Revolutionary material in the Pension Office has been examined and calendared, the Schoolcraft papers in the Smithsonian Institution have been examined, and investigations in the State Department have been continued.

Princeton University has chosen the following new preceptors in history and politics with the rank of assistant-professors: E. L. Bogert, Oberlin; C. H. McIlwain, Miami; Royal Meeker, Wisconsin; E. S. Corwin, Michigan.

Professor A. L. P. Dennis of the University of Chicago has accepted the chair of modern history in the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., until recently secretary of the South Carolina Historical Society, has been appointed secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission. All the archives of the state offices, with the exception of those in current use, have been placed in his charge, and rooms in the capitol at Columbia are being fitted with metal cases and cabinets for the filing of the manuscripts. Much valuable material has been lost from the South Carolina archives of late years, and that body of records has been in a most deplorable condition. It is fortunate that the legislature has at last awakened to the importance of caring properly for the records of the state, and equally fortunate that the services of Mr. Salley, in caring for them, could be secured.

An analytical index to the first ten volumes of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, to be compiled by Mr. David M. Matteson, will be published as soon as possible. It will be issued as a separate number of the *REVIEW*, and will be placed on sale.

A new undertaking which will be of interest to university teachers of history is planned by Harvard. A summer camp for Harvard history students is to be opened in June at Squam Lake, near Ashland, New Hampshire, in connection with the Harvard engineering camp. The camp as a whole is to be in charge of Professor H. J. Hughes, the history work is to be in charge of Mr. R. M. Johnston. Only such students as have attained a satisfactory grade in their studies will be qualified for admission. There will be no regular lectures, and students will be masters of their own time, but there will be informal conferences and discussions on the larger aspects of history, or on such questions as may arise from the students' reading, in which they will be directed and assisted. A library and facilities for study will be provided. The benefit which the student acquires is intended to be in the direction of maturing and broadening his knowledge by reading and discussion not bearing directly upon his college courses. If, however, the reading done is of a satisfactory character, students intending to take a degree with distinction in history may be credited with it.

The beginning of the year saw the revival by William Abbott, of New York, of the old *Magazine of American History*, so intimately associated with the name of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. The new periodical takes a slightly different name: *The Magazine of History; With Notes and Queries*.

The ceremonies attendant upon the dedication of the new building of the John Carter Brown library have been attractively printed. The volume contains the address of Mr. William Vail Kellen on the library and the address by Professor F. J. Turner, entitled "The Historical Library in the University".

The latest addition to the English Men of Letters Series is Harry Thurston Peck's *William Hickling Prescott*, a volume seemingly of no distinctive merit. The author, in his statement that "the poise, judgment and distinction" of Prescott "places him at the head of all American historians", accepts the view of Dr. C. K. Adams.

The papers of the historian Michelet, including a voluminous correspondence, were intrusted, after the death of Madame Michelet in 1899, to M. Gabriel Monod. From them chiefly M. Monod is now preparing a biography of Michelet; and he also has in view a complete edition of his correspondence.

The paper on the degree of doctor of philosophy, which was read by Professor George B. Adams at the meeting of the American Historical Association last December, appears, considerably amplified, in the June number of the *Educational Review*.

Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning (Cambridge University Press, 1905, pp. xv, 212), by J. E. Sandys, is a readable and scholarly work, which the author hopes may serve as a convenient sequel to his

earlier publication on *The History of Classical Scholarship to the End of the Middle Ages*. It deals, therefore, chiefly with those aspects of the Revival which relate to the recovery of the Latin classics and the renewed interest in their study.

Dr. Enno Littmann has prepared *A List of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library* (Princeton University, 1904, pp. 84), which is in fact simply a supplementary list of 355 manuscripts in the Garrett deposit of Oriental manuscripts in the Princeton University Library and contains only Arabic additions—and not all of those—not included in Houtsma's *Catalogue d'une Collection de Manuscrits Arabes et Turcs*. Dr. Littmann is engaged upon a careful descriptive catalogue of the whole collection.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company announce for immediate publication the first volume of *A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe*, by David J. Hill, United States Minister to Switzerland. There are to be six volumes in all. The first has the title of "The Struggle for Universal Empire", and together with the second, on "The Establishment of Territorial Sovereignty", may be regarded as indicating the foundations of modern diplomacy. It is intended in the other volumes to consider the diplomacy of the "Age of Absolutism", of the "Revolutionary Era", of the "Constitutional Movement", and of "Commercial Imperialism".

It is announced that Mr. Herbert Paul, the third volume of whose *Modern England* appeared lately, is engaged upon a biography of James Anthony Froude.

A Short History of Citizenship (London, Elliot Stock, 1904), by H. Osman Newland, is a very condensed account, beginning with citizenship among the Greeks.

Lieutenant-Colonel William R. Livermore, of New York, has been engaged for a number of years on a rather exhaustive *Historical Atlas of Europe*, and now has it so far along that he hopes it may be published within the next two or three years. He aims to show by a series of maps, usually one for each decade, all the political changes that can be represented on a scale of 1:7,000,000. He has three maps for the period from 1500 to 800 B. C., then one for every fifty years down to 550 B. C., and from 520 B. C., one for every ten years, down to 1900 A. D. Such work requires much labor and endless patience and pains, but once well done it should prove of lasting service.

Among the recent publications of the Oxford University Press is *Origines Islandicae*: a collection of the more important sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland, edited and translated by G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell, in two volumes.

Number 3 of volume X of the *Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology, and Education* is devoted to an essay which

aims to make more clear, at least to English-speaking people, the antithesis between history and the natural sciences—an antithesis which, as the writer says, is maintained in Germany and France much more commonly than here or in England: *The Concept Action in History and in the Natural Sciences*, by Percy Hughes. Action as contrasted with law is the central theme of the essay, its thesis being that to describe the content and purpose of historical construction the concept action is fully adequate.

The house of A. Colin, which published the *Histoire Générale* edited by Lavissee and Rambaud, has now undertaken a work of similar features on the history of art: *Histoire de l'Art depuis les Premiers Temps Chrétiens jusqu'à nos Jours*, edited by André Michel. It is planned to form eight volumes; and it will be published by fascicles, of which at least three have already appeared.

The *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for April opens with an article on the bounds of history: "Die Grenzen der Geschichte: ein programmatischer Versuch", by a philologist, O. Dittrich. In this same general field belongs the inaugural address of A. Cartellieri as professor of history at Jena: *Über Wesen und Gliederung der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, Dyksche Buchhandlung, 1905, pp. 32).

The most noteworthy contents of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* for February comprise: an article on "Condorcet, ses Idées et son Rôle Politique", by H. Sée; the beginning of a general review of work done upon the economic history of the French Revolution, "France (Révolution Française, 1789-1804) (Les Sources)", by P. Boissonnade; and a continuation of R. Pichon's general review of work on the history of Latin literature, which was begun in the December number.

Present circumstances in the Far East and the problems developing there render timely the appearance of a seventh edition, revised and enlarged, of the well-known work of William Elliot Griffis on *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xxvii, 502). The most noteworthy change in this new edition is the addition of four fresh chapters, treating respectively of the economic condition of Corea, its internal politics, the war of 1894, and Japan and Russia in conflict. The account is thus carried down to the year 1904.

Alleyne Ireland has gathered together two series of periodical contributions in *The Far Eastern Tropics*, recently issued from the press of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. The four chapters which deal with the Philippines are of especial interest in this volume, because associated with chapters on other eastern colonies, thus giving a chance for some comparative study.

Many students of history will welcome a recent bibliographical undertaking covering the fields of the various social sciences: *Kritische Blätter für die gesamten Sozialwissenschaften*, edited by three German scholars, Beck and Spann of Berlin and Dorn of Munich, and published

through O. V. Böhmert in Dresden. The plan includes, first, a list of current books and articles—this list to be complete at least for all German channels of publication; and second, a department devoted to accounts and criticisms of the more important pieces. The first number was announced for last February.

General John Watts de Peyster has given to the Smithsonian Institution a collection, numbering over two thousand titles, of books, pamphlets, and maps relating to Napoleon Bonaparte, and representing years of careful selection. The Institution has carefully arranged the collection in its halls and hopes ere long to publish a complete card-catalogue.

Gossipy home letters, written by a woman who saw much of royalty, the papal court, and personages generally worth meeting, are published by Scribners under the title *Italian Letters of a Diplomat's Wife*. The wife and widow of M. William Henry Waddington, Mary King Waddington, is the author, and the letters reflect impressions on two visits twenty years apart, the first visit being in 1880.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

The lectures delivered in America last year by Dr. J. P. Mahaffy are now published: *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).

In *A Grammar of Greek Art* (New York, Macmillan, 1905, pp. xii, 267) Professor Percy Gardner has tried to solve the "urgent problem how best an elementary study of Greek art may be made a part of general classical culture and put on terms with the study of Greek and Roman literature and history". He endeavors to explain, for the aid particularly of classical teachers in schools, what are the main principles of Greek art and what are its relations to literature.

Corrections of various errors, and more, especially additions to bibliographies, are supplied in a supplement to the third edition of R. Cagnat's manual of Latin epigraphy: *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine: Supplément à la Troisième Édition* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1904, pp. 473-505).

An English translation of the work of the Italian scholar, G. Negri, on Julian the Apostate is announced for early publication in London (Unwin). One of the principal themes in this work is the struggle between Christianity and paganism in Julian's time.

Under the title of *The Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church*, Reverend A. J. Mason, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has given in English such records as those of St. Polycarp and the martyrs of Lyons, St. Perpetua and St. Cyprian, the martyrs of Palestine under Diocletian, and the less-known stories of Pionius, Montanus, and others (Longmans). Relating to the same period is *The Church's Task under*

the Roman Empire, by Reverend C. Bigg (Oxford University Press). The subjects dealt with in this work include education, religion, and moral and social conditions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Callewaert, *Questions de Droit concernant le Procès du Martyr Apollonius* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); W. Warde Fowler, *Notes on Gaius Gracchus*. Part I (English Historical Review, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

A Source Book for Mediæval History, by Professor O. J. Thatcher, of the University of Chicago, and Dr. E. H. McNeal, of Ohio State University, has just appeared, through Scribners. It gives in all 325 selections, mainly from charters rather than the chroniclers; and these apply to the period down to 1500, but with France and England omitted. The editors hope to atone soon for their omission of France by publishing a small collection relating exclusively to France.

The doctoral theses of E. C. Babut, on the Council of Turin, which were published last year at Paris, have led to a serious discussion between their author and Abbé Duchesne. The discussion centers chiefly about the date of the council, since the acceptance of the year proposed by Dr. Babut, 417, has an important bearing on the history of the development of papal authority in the fifth century. Abbé Duchesne sets forth his views in the *Revue Historique* for March-April, and Dr. Babut replies in the same periodical for May-June. It may be added that the theses out of which this discussion has grown were but by-products, connected with a large work which their author has in hand on St. Martin and the conflict between ascetic and worldly currents in the church of the fourth century.

Among the more interesting current announcements is a two-volume work on Gregory the Great: *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought*, by F. Homes Dudden (Longmans).

The new edition of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, which is now more than well begun, is to be accompanied by a publication similar to that (*Archiv* of Pertz, later *Neues Archiv*, etc.) which has long served as a complement to the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. It will be issued under the revived title of *Archivio Muratoriano*, will set forth the results of studies carried on in the preparing of the new Muratori, will appear, at least at first, only as occasion demands, and in fascicles of varying heft and price, and will be edited by Vittorio Fiorini. Two numbers are published so far, the first containing the editor's survey of preparatory studies, which was communicated to the International Historical Congress at Rome in 1903; and the second, articles, by M. Vattasso and others, on manuscripts utilized for some of the new editions.

We should have mentioned before, our receipt of the tenth fascicle of "Opuscles de Critique Historique", which is devoted to a careful ex-

amination, by M. Paul Sabatier, of recent works by Lemmens, Boehmer and Goetz: *Examen de Quelques Travaux Récents sur les Opuscules de Saint François* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1904, pp. 48).

Dr. James Sullivan has among the "Notes and Documents" of the April number of the *English Historical Review* an article on "The Manuscripts and Date of Marsiglio of Padua's 'Defensor Pacis'". He tells, for one thing, of his discovery of a new work of Marsiglio, entitled *Defensor Pacis Minor*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Jordan, *Materialien zur Geschichte der arabischen Zahlzeichen in Frankreich* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, III, 2); H. Freytag, *Preussische Jerusalem-pilger vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, III, 2); H. Wopfner, *Freie und unfreie Leihen im späteren Mittelalter* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Social-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, III, 1); N. Valois, *Concordats Antérieurs à Celui de François I^{er} Pontificate de Martin V* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); A. Poncelet, *Les Saints de Micy* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXIV, 1).

MODERN HISTORY.

Present circumstances will no doubt give an added interest to Mr. R. Nisbet Bain's *The First Romanovs (1613-1725)*: a history of Muscovite civilization and the rise of modern Russia under Peter the Great and his forerunners (London, Constable).

Mr. H. B. George has edited, for the Oxford University Press, Thiers's account of Napoleon's Moscow expedition, from the fourteenth volume of the *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. The great length of the original work repels all but professed students of history, and they avoid it for other reasons. Yet the work has great literary merits. It has been thought that at least the more unified and complete parts of it might be rendered useful by being carefully edited and published separately. So it happened that the account of the Waterloo campaign came out a number of years ago, under the care of E. E. Bowen. Mr. George finds it necessary to accompany the *Moscow Expedition*, whose text occupies 258 crown octavo pages, with fifty pages of notes. In this way, however, he certainly increases the trustworthiness of an exceedingly dramatic bit of historical writing.

Napoleon: The First Phase. Some Chapters on the Boyhood and Youth of Bonaparte: 1769-1793, by Oscar Browning, is a forthcoming publication of John Lane.

An account of Napoleon in his relations with Italy was begun in the May-June number of the *Revue Historique*: "Napoléon I^{er} et l'Italie". It will comprise three parts, relating respectively to "Bonaparte et la République Cisalpine", "Bonaparte et la République Italienne", and "Napoléon Roi d'Italie".

Some four years ago Mr. F. P. Badham published a pamphlet on *Nelson at Naples*, in which he took positions concerning Nelson's part in

the extraction of the Republican garrisons of Naples, on June 26, 1799, that have attracted severe attack from several quarters. Latterly he has returned to the problem, discussing it in the light of new evidence: *Nelson and Ruffo* (London, Finch, 1905, pp. 54).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Hauser, *De quelques Sources de l'Histoire des premières Guerres d'Italie* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, February); C. H. Firth, *Blake and the Battle of Santa Cruz* (English Historical Review, April); W. Köhler, *Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen von Hessen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 3); H. Froideveaux, *Le Commerce Français à Madagascar au XVII^e Siècle* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, III, 1); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Question in 1717*. Part II (English Historical Review, April); L. Maury, *Les Comtesses de la Marck et de Boufflers et Gustave III, d'après les Correspondances Conservées à Upsal* (Revue Historique, March and May); O. Hintze, *Stein und der Preussische Staat* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 3); M. de Germigny, *Frédéric-Auguste devant Napoléon, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Aus den Tagen des 17. und 18. Juni 1815* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, April); J. K. Kochanowski, *Le Développement de l'Historiographie Polonaise dans la Seconde Moitié du XIX^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, March); Lady Blennerhasset, *Lord Acton (1834-1902)* (Deutsche Rundschau, January).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

We note the appearance of *Essentials in English History, from the Earliest Records to the Present Day* (New York: American Book Company, 1905, pp. xlii, 550), by Albert Perry Walker.

Father Gasquet, who is known especially by his books on *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* and *The Eve of the Reformation*, has now in the press a considerable work on Henry III, with special reference to his ecclesiastical policy and his relations with Rome (London, Bell).

A History of the Manors of Suffolk, by W. A. Copping, in which the account of each manor will usually begin with Domesday, is announced by Unwin, London. It will occupy seven volumes.

The Cambridge University Press has agreed to undertake the publication of Miss Frances G. Davenport's Chicago thesis on "The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor" (Forncett).

The Friends' Historical Society in England—which was organized only recently, with the well-known historian Thomas Hodgkin as president—has issued the first five "Journal Supplements", in which it is printing a hitherto unpublished history of the seventeenth-century Quakers, under the title of *The First Publishers of Truth* (London, Headley Brothers, 14, Bishopsgate Street, Without, and Philadelphia, American Friend Office, 718 Arch Street). This history is in the form of accounts compiled by or for the meetings of Quakers in the various

counties in England and Wales and sent to London Yearly Meeting early in the eighteenth century. The accounts are being edited with annotations by Mr. Norman Penney, Librarian of the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House. They throw light alike on the origin of an important religious movement in England and on various aspects of the life of the early Friends, such as their social status, occupations, education, and manner of life in general.

A short biography of William Pitt, naturally with spécial reference to his rôle in public life, was lately added to the "English Statesmen" series: *Chatham*, by Frederic Harrison (Macmillan).

Four lectures on *The British Army (1783-1802)*, delivered by J. W. Fortescue at the Staff College and Cavalry School, have been published by Macmillan.

Under the title *Colonial Nationalism*, Mr. Richard Jebb has concealed a number of essays bearing, more or less immediately, on the relations of England's self-governing colonies to the mother-country. The first essay, "The Canadian Hegemony", discusses the national sentiment of Canada, and declares that there is no danger of union with the United States, if for no other reason, because Americans and Canadians are so different in temperament: "For example, alike upon the football field and in the international court, the Englishman calls a 'foul' where the American applauds a 'smart' play". When Americans are in general so boastful, bombastic, and brutal, it would certainly be a sad step backward in civilization, if Canada should have too much to do with her southern neighbor. The chapters on the Alaskan boundary give the author's belief that Canada was sacrificed by England to a mawkish sentiment of friendship for the United States. Other chapters deal with Australia, the South African War, and the colonial conference of 1902, and kindred subjects, and may be of some value (London, Arnold, 1905, pp. xv, 336).

Dr. Frederic Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, first published in 1895, has appeared in a second edition (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904, pp. xlvii, 238). It will be recalled that this study was designed to introduce a wider inquiry, in which other tribal systems besides the Welsh would be included; and that we have had at least part of the results of this more extended inquiry in a volume on *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*. In now reissuing his first study Dr. Seebohm has left the text without material revision, but has preceded it with a note entitled "On the Unit of Family Holding under Early Tribal Customs", in which he discusses the chief points upon which fresh light may have been thrown back upon the Welsh tribal system from his later studies of Germanic tribal custom.

Many works are now appearing on John Knox, this year being the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth. The most important of them so far is one by Andrew Lang: *John Knox and the Reformation* (Long-

mans). It would seem from the announcements of it that it is not likely to be any too kindly received by those who think of Knox only as of a saint.

The School of Irish Learning, which held its first session in 1903, has realized its purpose of starting a periodical devoted to Irish philology, literature, and history. This periodical is called *Ériu*, is edited by Professors Kuno Meyer and John Stachan, and may be subscribed for with the Secretary of the School, 28 Clare Street, Dublin.

The Life of St. Patrick and his Place in History, by Professor Bury, is announced to appear shortly, through Macmillan.

FRANCE.

A considerable study relating to the history of humanism during the reign of Francis I occupies the fourth fascicle of the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne*: "Jacques Colin, Abbé de Saint-Ambroise (14 ?-1547)", by V. L. Bourilly. Also of interest on the same period is this writer's recently published doctoral thesis on Guillaume du Bellay (Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition). It may be added that M. Bourilly is preparing an edition of political correspondence of Jean du Bellay and will draw upon it for a biography of this personage.

Among the more important recent publications is an English account of Catherine de' Medici and her relations to the Reformation in France: *Catherine de' Medici and the French Reformation*, by Edith Sichel (London, Constable).

With the publication of *Histoire Graphique de l'Ancienne Province de Languedoc*, by E. Roschach, the new edition of the Devic-Vaissette *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* is brought to completion (Toulouse, E. Privat). The sixteen quarto volumes of this work have been long in the making, but they will be long useful.

The service rendered to all serious students of modern French history by the *Répertoire Méthodique de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France* is extended, by the fifth fascicle of that publication, through the year 1902. The divisions on history of the sciences, literature, and art are however omitted, but will reappear in the fascicle for 1903 (which by this time is possibly already issued) and will there include the matter for both 1902 and 1903. One improvement is especially noteworthy: the titles of books published in 1902 are accompanied by mention not only of critical reviews appearing in the same year but also of those appearing in the following year. Since trustworthy reviews are frequently somewhat tardy this arrangement should prove an important convenience (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1904, pp. xxxvi, 255).

A handy concordance of the Republican and Gregorian calendars was issued recently under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire Moderne: *Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Grégorien*, by P. Caron, a small octavo of fifty-nine pages (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition).

An account of the plans of the commission on documents relating to the economic life of the Revolution, and of what has been done so far toward carrying out those plans, is given in the March number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*.

The University of Chicago Press has published, in a pamphlet of forty-five pages, an English translation of the address delivered by Professor Langlois at the University of Chicago last October: *The Historic Rôle of France among the Nations*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Mirot, *Le Rétablissement des Impositions et les Émeutes Urbaines en 1382* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); B. de Mandrot, *Le Meurtre de Jean Berry, Secrétaire de Jean, Duc de Bourbon (1488)* (*Revue Historique*, March); A. P. Usher, *The French Corn Laws during the Period of Local Control, 1515-1660* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May); H. See, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, February); E. Bourgeois, *La Collaboration de Saint-Simon et de Torcy. Étude Critique sur les Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (*Revue Historique*, March); A. de Maricourt, *Un Intendant de Corse sous Louis XV. Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon et sa Famille (1731-1805)* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); R. Guyot et F. Thénard, *Le Conventionnel Goujon. First Article* (*Revue Historique*, May); A. Mater, *L'Histoire d'une Paroisse au XIX^e Siècle sous le Régime du Concordat. Paroisse de Bancafort, Cher* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, April and May).

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, BOHEMIA.

The Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has established another series of publications: *Bibliothek des königlichen preussischen historischen Instituts in Rom*, in which will be published such matter as cannot be given a place in its *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* or in collections like its *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*. The first volume of the new *Bibliothek* is given to "Die Kaiserinnengräber in Andria", a contribution to the history of art in Apulia under Frederick II, by A. Haseloff. Two other volumes are promised for this year: "Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess", by P. Kalkoff, and "Forschungen über die apostolische Pönitentiarie, ihre Statuten und ihre Geschäftspraxis vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert", by E. Göller.

A second volume of T. Sommerlad's work on the economic history of the church in Germany is among the newer books: *Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche im Deutschland . . . in der Zeit des erwachenden Staatsgedankens bis zum Ankommen der Geldwirtschaft*. The first volume, which appeared five years ago, came down to Charlemagne (Leipzig, Weber).

The first volume of a history of Germany at the end of the middle ages, by V. von Kraus, was published recently, in the "Bibliothek

deutscher Geschichte" of Zwiedeneck-Südenhorst: *Deutsche Geschichte im Ausgange des Mittelalters (1438-1519)*. The period covered in this first volume is that of the reigns of Albert II and Frederick III (Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta).

A collection of important material on the history of Prussia in the first half of the eighteenth century has been made available by the publication of the letters of Frederick William I to Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau: *Die Briefe König Friedrich Wilhelms I. an Fürsten Leopold zu Anhalt-Dessau, 1704-1740*, edited by O. Krauske (Berlin, Parey).

A three-volume French account of Bismarck, by P. Matter, has begun to appear at Paris, through F. Alcan: *Bismarck et son Temps*. The first volume treats of "La Préparation", from 1815 to 1862; the second will set forth "L'Action de Bismarck (1862-1871)" and the third, "Le Triomphe et le Déclin (1871-1898)".

The Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève publishes, in the second livraison of the eighth volume (new series) of its *Mémoires et Documents*, a reimpression, after the edition of 1603, of the "Histoire de la Supervenue Inopinée des Savoyards en la Ville de Genève en la Nuit du Dimanche 12. Jour. de Décembre 1602" by Melchior Goldast, with an introductory study of some length by F. Gardy. Also, in the same livraison, it publishes a considerable study, from unpublished documents, upon Philibert Blondel: "Le Syndic Philibert Blondel (1555-1606). Étude sur sa Vie et son Procès", by E. Chatelan. It may be noted here, too, that the *Bulletin* issued by this same society has reached the close of its second volume. The current livraison, no. 9, contains in the way of matter of possibly more than local interest, an article on "Théodore Mommsen; son Activité Littéraire à Zürich et sa Correspondance avec Charles Morel", by C. Seitz.

The Bohemian scholar, Count Lützow, improved an opportunity of helping to make his country better known to English-speaking people when he delivered last year at Oxford a series of lectures on the works of the historians who have recorded the annals of Bohemia. These lectures have since been published: *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (London, Frowde, 1905, pp. viii, 120). They extend from the time of the earliest chroniclers to the present generation, and provide such an introduction to Bohemian historiography as has not hitherto been available.

AMERICA.

The plan originally adopted of publishing *The American Nation* in groups of five or six volumes each has been abandoned, and the individual volumes will be issued in succession. Following Professor E. B. Greene's volume on *Colonial Commonwealths*, which has just appeared, will be *France in America*, by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, to come out this month, Professor G. E. Howard's *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, which will be issued in September, and Dr. C. H. Van Tyne's

The Revolution and Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *Confederation and Constitution*, which will be published in October.

Higginson's larger *History of the United States*, which in the original edition extended only to the close of Jackson's administration, has been brought down to 1905 by the addition of six chapters, written by Professor William MacDonald. The whole constitutes a readable and attractive one-volume history, which ought to supply the demand—if there be one—for a short and comprehensive narrative (New York, Harpers, 1905, pp. vii, 633).

We note the appearance of the second volume of Chancellor and Hewes's *The United States* (Putnams). The fourfold classification of subject-matter under the heads of Population and Politics, War, Industry, and Civilization is adhered to. The period covered is that from 1698 to 1774.

A new high-school text-book by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart has been added to the series of which he is the general editor. The volume, *Essentials in American History* (American Book Company), is especially prepared for the last year in the high-school. It is noteworthy for the careful consideration of such subjects as political geography, foreign relations with diplomacy as a factor in the settlement of controversies, and social and economic conditions, which are usually given scant or inadequate attention in secondary school texts. We note also the publication by Ginn and Company of a revised edition of D. H. Montgomery's *Students' American History*.

Among the latest government publications of interest to the student of history and politics may be mentioned *The Declaration of Independence. Illustrated Story of Its Adoption With the Biographies and Portraits of the Signers and of the Secretary of the Congress*, by William H. Michael, Chief Clerk of the Department of State; and volume II, *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, which gives the proceedings of the open and secret sessions of the Senate of the First Congress during the two sessions held at Richmond in 1862. Other publications worth noting include the *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1901*, and three volumes of maps published in connection with the work of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal: *United States Atlas, British Atlas, Atlas of Award*.

The latest addition to A. C. McClurg and Company's series of "Library Reprints of Americana" is Lahontan's *New Voyages to North-America*, reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and fully annotated by R. G. Thwaites. The foot-notes are admirably done, and a long introduction describes entertainingly the character of the writer and his narrative. Mr. Thwaites thinks the work "a satire upon European life and civilization", as well as "a narration of the author's adventures in new and unknown realms". Mr. Paltsits in this, as in preceding volumes of the series, contributes a scholarly and satisfying bibliography.

The ever interesting *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* is one of the new Temple Autobiographies published by Dutton. William MacDonald, as editor, contributes a bibliographical preface and biographical data for Franklin's later years.

Major Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes of the Revolution* originally appeared in two series, published in 1822 and 1828, respectively. A three-volume reprint was issued in 1865. A revised and illustrated edition in two octavo volumes is now put on the market by William Abbott, of New York.

"Classes of Operations of the Continental Navy of the American Revolution", by Charles Oscar Paullin, has been reprinted from the *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute*, volume XXXXI, no. I.

Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, and the War on the Lakes (New Amsterdam Book Company), by Olin L. Lyman, is said to be based on much original research.

The Relations of the United States to the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838, the University of Michigan doctoral dissertation of Orrin Edward Tiffany, is reprinted from the Buffalo Historical Publications, volume VIII. The chapters dealing with the conditions on the border and the attitude of the Van Buren administration toward the violations of the neutrality laws seem especially enlightening.

Two biographies of Thomas H. Benton are of recent issue. To the American Crisis Biographies, edited by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Joseph M. Rogers contributes a volume; and William M. Meigs, in *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Lippincott), has produced a readable account of the Missourian's career.

A popular and altogether eulogistic biography is Frank Abial Flower's *Edwin McMasters Stanton, Lincoln's Great War Secretary* (Akron, O., Saalfeld Publishing Company, 1905).

The military secretary's office of the War Department has issued a very important document—*Memorandum relative to the General Officers appointed by the President in the Armies of the Confederate States, 1861-1865*. It shows in tabular form the names of the general officers, date of appointments, date of rank, date of confirmation, and "remarks". Under the latter heading considerable valuable information on personal history is given.

A fourth edition of G. Cary Eggleston's *A "Rebel's" Recollections* has been published by Putnam. There is included an additional chapter on "The Old Régime in the Old Dominion".

Professor Walter L. Fleming, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va., solicits "information as to material to be found in old diaries, correspondence, newspapers, state documents, books privately printed, etc." dealing with the Reconstruction period. Such information is to be used in connection with a collection of documents, illustrative

of that era, announced for publication in September by the Arthur H. Clark Company.

Albert G. Robinson made three visits to Cuba during the years 1899-1902, in the interest of certain periodicals, and the results of his first-hand observations have been incorporated in a volume called *Cuba and the Intervention* (Longmans, 1905). The volume covers the various phases of American activity and gives valuable insight into the difficulties of the task confronting the American authorities.

An admirable book, partly in the field of history but largely in the field of politics and political science, is *Party Organization and Machinery*, by Jesse Macy (New York, The Century Company, 1904), one of the "American State Series". Students of political and constitutional history will find it of great service, not because it traces in detail the rise of parties, but because it treats the problems wisely and brings home to the reader forcibly the significance of party organization as a fact. This is one of the earliest attempts to discuss scientifically the make-up and movements of the parties that control government, and it is an entirely successful one.

A clear and useful statement of the administrative functions of the various departments of government is given in John A. Fairlie's *The National Administration of the United States of America* (Macmillan).

To the "American Citizen Series" has recently been added *Constitutional Law in the United States*, by Emlin McClain, Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa (New York, Longmans, 1905, pp. xxxviii, 438). It is an able, fresh, vigorous treatment of the subject, handled with assurance and with considerable novelty in method. It is devoted to a consideration of constitutional law in its limited sense, not touching on the practices that have grown up or on the important phases of "actual government", which are discussed by Professor Hart in another volume of the series.

The Bank and the Treasury (Longmans), by Frederick A. Cleveland, is an elaborate discussion of "the problem of providing a more 'sound' and 'elastic' system of current credit-funds".

Miss Frances G. Davenport, at present instructor in Vassar College, is preparing for publication a volume containing annotated texts of such treaties between European powers as have a bearing on the colonial or subsequent history of the United States.

Lynch Law. An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States (Longmans) is a historical study, in which the sociological motive is prominent, by James Elbert Cutler, instructor in economics in Wellesley College.

Two recent volumes which touch upon various points in the history of the negro and upon his present condition are: *The Aftermath of Slavery* (Small, Maynard, and Company), by William A. Sinclair, and *A Peculiar People* (Washington, W. C. Chase, Jr.), by Mrs. Arabella Virginia Chase.

The Library of Congress has published a timely volume of nearly five hundred pages, entitled *Copyright in Congress, 1789-1904*. It is prepared by Thorvald Solberg, and contains "a complete bibliography of all the bills relating to copyright which have been introduced to Congress, the resolutions and laws which have been enacted, and those reports, petitions, memorials, messages, and miscellaneous copyright documents which have been printed, together with a complete chronological record of all action taken in Congress, in any way relating to the subject of copyright, showing how each proposal has been dealt with".

The Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology consists of reproductions, in color, of drawings of the deities or Katcinas of the Hopi Indians by native artists, with comments by Jesse Walter Fewkes, and of three versions of the Iroquoian cosmology, translated by J. N. B. Hewitt. *The Twenty-second Annual Report* is in two volumes; the first is devoted to an account of "Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins", by Jesse Walter Fewkes, and to the second part of the monograph by Cyrus Thomas on "Mayan Calendar Systems". The second volume is devoted to "The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony", by Alice C. Fletcher.

The Dover, New Hampshire, Public Library has published a list of its books and pamphlets relating to New Hampshire. The list fills 172 pages, and includes many rare and valuable items.

Vermont has followed the worthy precedent of several states in publishing *Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to 1783* (Rutland, Vt., The Tuttle Company, 1904, pp. xx, 927). The work of compilation and editing is done by John E. Goodrich, under the authority of the state legislature. *The Revolutionary Soldiers of Redding, Ct., and the Record of their Services* is edited and published by W. Edgar Grumman (Hartford, Conn.).

The History of Hadley, Including the Early History of Hatfield, South Hadley, Amherst, and Granby, Massachusetts, by Sylvester Judd, was originally published in 1863. It is now being reprinted, with an introduction and genealogical additions, by H. R. Hunting and Company, of Springfield, Mass.

The Putnams have recently added to their series of volumes on historic rivers *The St. Lawrence River, Historical, Legendary and Picturesque*, by George Waldo Browne. It will probably well serve the purpose for which it was intended; it is a beautiful volume filled with interesting pictures. The text appears not to be inadequate, for one would hesitate to demand too close a distinction between legend and history, but no one can think the style good or graceful; it is strange that any writer should think even in recounting legend that it is good to say that "the westering sun was kissing the mountains on the farther view good night".

Not agreeable in diction and without foot-notes, *A History of the*

New York Iroquois (New York State Museum, Bulletin 78), by William M. Beauchamp, will not altogether appeal either to the popular reader or to the scholar. Quotations are very frequent. A series of reproductions of maps and parts of maps is included, beginning with the Charlevoix map of 1745.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is devoted largely to the printing of original documents. The most important of these comprises thirteen letters from members of the Continental Congress, selected by Miss J. C. Wylie, from the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There are letters from Gunning Bedford, William Duer, Abraham Clark, Josiah Bartlett, Silas Deane, Elias Boudinot, Daniel Jenifer, George Clymer, John Dickinson, William Grayson, John Langdon, and Samuel Chase, those by the last two being dated considerably later than the close of the old Congress; the other letters range from 1776 to 1785. Military matters, personal affairs, depreciation of the currency, and, to a limited extent, foreign relations, are the subjects mostly treated of in the letters. Two letters to James Wilson, from Alexander Hamilton and Reverend William Smith, written in 1789, contributed by Israel W. Morris, relate to the first election for president and vice-president. Two petitions, in facsimile, of citizens of Philadelphia county to the governor for protection from Indians, dated 1728, are from the state archives; while a letter from Robert Proud to his brother, 1778, four letters to John Dickinson from Thomas Willing and Benjamin Rush, 1796, and selections from the letter-book of Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States, are all from the collections of the Historical Society. Bishop Cammerhoff's narrative of a journey to Shamokin, Pennsylvania; in the winter of 1748, edited by John W. Jordan, shows the intelligent observation that marks the writings of most of the early Moravian clergy.

"The Colony of St. Mary, in Pennsylvania, North America", translated from a German work of 1846 (?) is printed in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* for April. It is accompanied by a map.

The April number of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* appears under the joint editorship of Mr. Edwin Mims and Mr. William H. Glasson, the former editor, Mr. John Spencer Bassett, having been compelled through stress of work to retire from the active management of the magazine. The articles in the present number are of general rather than historical interest; among them may be noted "The New North", by Hamilton Wright Mabie; "Sidney Lanier: Reminiscences and Letters", by Daniel Coit Gilman; and "Matthew Whitaker Ransom: a Senator of the Old Régime", by Robert Lee Flowers.

Recent additions to the Johns Hopkins University Studies are: *State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781*, by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., and *English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon, 1660-1667*, by Percy Lewis Kaye.

Much of the material in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April is documentary. The opening article, on "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734", contains extracts from the Journal of the Virginia Executive Council. There are continued instalments of "Virginia Legislative Papers"; "Virginia in 1639"; "Vestry Book of King William Parish"; "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence 1759-'70".

The biography of a Revolutionary soldier, Peter Francisco; "Letters of William T. Barry", throwing light on the administration of Jackson; and "William Gregory's Journal from Fredericksburg, Va., to Philadelphia, 30th of September, 1765, to 16th of October, 1765", appear in the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly*. These are in addition to the continuation of the "Diary of Col. Landon Carter" and the "Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College".

William E. Dodd, the editor, promises the early publication of the *Life and Writings of Spencer Roane, Chief Justice of Virginia, 1803-1822*, as no. 5 of the Branch Historical Papers.

A historical account of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, is contributed to the April number of the *West Virginia Historical Magazine*. Numerous other brief articles deal with family history.

It does not appear wholly clear why William Edwards Fitch should have chosen *Some Neglected History of North Carolina* (Washington, Neale Publishing Company, 1905) for his account of the Regulators and the Battle of Alamance. His purpose, as stated by himself, to prove the Battle of the Alamance to have been the first battle of the Revolution, seems to indicate that the neglect of North Carolina history referred to has been largely on the part of the author himself. The work is flimsy, incoherent, prejudiced, made up of quotations from such authorities as Moore, Wheeler, and speeches at the Guilford battle-ground, with frequent reference to the *North Carolina Colonial Records* to give a semblance of original research. The author states that the prejudice of Northern historians has prevented the acknowledgment of the Regulators as the real beginners of the Revolution, and conceives himself as peculiarly fitted to remedy the injustice on account of his descent from one of the Regulators, the fact of his having been born and reared in Orange county, and because he has "many times surveyed the ground made sacred by the blood of heroes". He unfortunately has not consulted—or if he has, has not thought it worth while to note—such works as Marshall Haywood's *William Tryon*, John Spencer Bassett's "The Regulators of North Carolina" in *American Historical Association Report, 1894*, Francis Nash's little pamphlet on Hillsboro, or Charles Lee Raper's *North Carolina*. Had he done so he would have discovered that the prejudice of which he complains on the part of Northern historians has manifested itself in at least four North-Carolinians.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues to print valuable documentary material. The April number has more of the Laurens correspondence, and of the Revolutionary records of the South Carolina Line. Henry A. M. Smith, in an article on "The Town of Dorchester in South Carolina—a Sketch of Its History", has made a careful study of records and diaries dealing with this once flourishing hamlet.

It is unfortunate that the editor of *The Colonial Records of Georgia*, the first two volumes of which were noted in our last number and are now before us, should not have profited by the mistakes of the editors of the *North Carolina Records*, which have made that series, now nearly completed, the despair of students. It is true that these first two volumes contain little material other than the Journal of the Trustees, and the Minutes of the Common Council of the Trustees, and so are less difficult to use than if their contents were more miscellaneous in character, but if the present method of editing is adhered to, it will be open to very grave criticism as soon as any considerable number of documents is included in each volume. What can be more exasperating than a constant page-heading like "Colonial Records"? Surely it would be a simple matter to make each page-heading descriptive of the material beneath it. Again, what possible excuse can there be for omitting a table of contents or for neglecting to insert marginal dates? Although it is undoubtedly a matter of considerable expense to supply each volume with an index, it may nevertheless be questioned whether such an omission is justifiable. In view of the fact that the publication of the *Records* must necessarily cover a period of years, it would appear but a reasonable demand to ask that each volume be equipped with all the necessary aids to its use. The publication of the *North Carolina Records* was commenced in 1886, and there are still five volumes to appear before the index volume can be sent to the printer, while the unnecessary labor that has thus been caused students of North Carolina history has been far greater than would have been required in preparing an index for each volume. The desirability of indicating fully the source of each document would appear to be evident, but the bracketed headings "From British Public Record Office", or "B. P. R. O. Board of Trade" are not sufficiently definite to enable the investigator to locate originals without considerable search. That Georgia should commence the publication of her early records was indeed to be desired; but it is fully as desirable that that publication should be attended by all the marks of careful editing and thoughtful scholarship.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries deserves much credit for her little volume recently published, bearing the title *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740*. The work is based almost wholly upon original sources, the most important of which are the archives of the Moravian church at Herrnhut. The relations between the Moravians and the Trustees of Georgia are plainly indicated, as are the reasons for the failure of the settlement so far as Georgia was concerned. It is pointed out that the attempt

in Georgia, unsuccessful though it was, was of great importance in establishing the Moravian church in America. Of especial interest should be noted the diary kept by Bishop Nitschmann during the voyage of the second company to Georgia, printed side by side with the journal of John Wesley, who made the voyage in the same vessel.

Thomas M. Owen has recently edited volume IV of the *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, containing the proceedings and papers of the society's annual meetings for 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903. The articles in this volume are of an unusually high standard, many of them bearing marks of careful scholarship. "Was Mobile Bay the Bay of Spiritu Santo?", by Peter Joseph Hamilton, is based on a careful examination of early maps, and discusses the reasons for deciding in the affirmative the question asked in the title of the article. "The Buford Expedition to Kansas", by Walter L. Fleming, contains a considerable amount of documentary material, and is accompanied by very full foot-notes. Dr. George Petrie in "What Will be the Final Estimate of Yancey?" discusses the Alabamian's political views and policy, while Gaius Westfield, Jr., contributes a somewhat elaborate article on "The French Grant in Alabama, a History of the Founding of Demopolis". The volume contains also a number of biographical articles, among which may be noted "Basil Manly, the Founder of the Alabama Historical Society", by Thomas M. Owen; "Bishop Richard Hooker Wilmer", by Walter C. Whitaker; "Henry W. Hilliard", by Miss Toccoa Cozart; and "William F. Samford", by George Petrie. This volume is a large one of over 600 pages, and is a fine specimen of book-making.

The *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* for January was delayed in publication. Under the title "De Leon's Expedition of 1689" Elizabeth Howard West has translated a document from *Memorias de Nueva España* bearing upon an attempt of De Leon to locate a French colony at Matagorda bay, on the Texas coast. One of the results of the exploration was the first Spanish settlement in Texas, in the following year. There is annexed an interesting contemporaneous map. "Explanation to the Public Concerning the Affairs of Texas, by Citizen Stephen F. Austin", is a translation of an 1835 Mexican pamphlet showing the attitude of Texas toward Mexico and toward Coahuila.

The Finances of the Texas Revolution, by Eugene C. Barker, is published by Ginn and Company. It is reprinted from the *Political Science Quarterly*, volume XIX, no. 4.

The History of the Medical Department of Transylvania University (Filson Club Publications, no. 20) is a companion volume to the eleventh publication of the Filson Club, which appeared in 1896. That volume dealt with the literary department of the university. Both were prepared by Miss Johanna Peter, from the manuscript history of the institution, left by her father, Doctor Robert Peter. The medical department constituted the second school of medicine in the United States, and

the teachers were prominent along political, educational, and scientific lines. The contents of the volume are chiefly biographical. It is needless to say that the typography and general make-up of the volume are excellent.

A welcome addition to the list of state historical periodicals is the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, published in Indianapolis. W. E. Henry, State Librarian, is the manager, and George S. Cottman, editor and publisher. The first number is unpretentious and promises well, including "The Journal of John Tipton", who in 1820 was selected as commissioner to locate the site for the state capital; "Works on Indiana History"; and a "List of Indiana Newspapers on File in the Indiana State Library".

The Department of History of the University of Illinois has recently been coöperating with the Board of Trustees in investigating the historical material to be found in the county archives of Illinois. Mr. Clarence W. Alvord has examined the papers in the St. Clair county archives at Belleville and found much interesting material, including records of the French occupation, and material illustrating the short period in which Illinois was a county of Virginia.

The *Annual Report*, 1904-1905, of the Chicago Historical Society, gives over thirty pages to recent manuscript and book accessions. There is also a brief account by the librarian of a visit to *L'Église de la Sainte Famille des Kaoquias*, "the oldest shrine still extant in Illinois". Mention is made of coöperation with the Missouri Historical Society in the compilation of a "List of Works on the Mississippi Valley in the Libraries of that Region".

A study of *The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862* by Mr. O. M. Dickerson, a Fellow of the Department of History in the University of Illinois during the year 1904-1905, has recently been published as no. 9 of the University Studies. The paper, based mainly on original materials, is a contribution to the study of Northern public opinion during the Civil War, while, in the field of political theory, special interest attaches to the debates in the convention with regard to its own claim of "sovereign" power, in the field of legislation and administration.

The appearance of the *Pathfinders of the West*, by Agnes C. Laut, has given rise to a great deal of discussion as to the places to be assigned the various explorers of the Mississippi. In this connection is to be noticed a contribution to the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections, volume X, part II, by the secretary, Warren Upham, entitled "Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota 1655-'56 and 1659-'60, and Their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River". There is an annotated bibliography of 107 books and papers attached. An author, subject, and personal index of the early volumes published by the society appears in the same part. Volume XI is given over to an illustrated work by J. V. Brower on "Itasca State Park".

Minnesota Pioneer Sketches (Minneapolis, H. H. S. Rowell, 1904, pp. 371), by Frank G. O'Brien, is a volume of interesting reminiscences.

William Salter is the author of *Iowa, the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase, from its Discovery to the Admission of the State into the Union*, which, the preface says, is a record of the incidents in American history that made it "the first free state in the Louisiana Purchase".

Reports made to the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* by representatives of the various state historical societies show a commendable spirit of activity. Two important contributed articles in this number are: "The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa", by Jacob Van der Zee, and "The History of the Office of Governor in Wisconsin", by James D. Barnett.

Among the articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for April we note "The Struggle for the Half-Breed Tract", by B. L. Wicks.

Volume XIII of *Early Western Travels* is a reprint from the Philadelphia edition of 1821 of *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory during the year 1819*, by Thomas Nutall (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company). Volumes XIV and XV give us the *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*, compiled by Edwin James. These two volumes are backed "S. H. Long's Expedition", I and II. In spite of the carelessness with which the Long expedition was conducted in some respects, the narratives have their value and are of distinct interest. All the volumes contain contemporary maps and illustrations and like their predecessors are amply and intelligently edited.

Among the articles in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December we note "The Lessons of History and Evolution", by T. W. Davenport; a second instalment of the "Journal and Letters of David Douglas", recounting his trip to the northwest in 1824-1827, reprinted from *The Companion to the Botanical Magazine* of London, 1836; and the concluding part of Peter H. Burnett's "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer".

The United States Bureau of Census has published in four volumes a description of the people and geography of the Philippines. Some of the results of the census are republished in the *National Geographic Magazine* for April.

Volume IX of the University of Toronto Studies (Toronto, Morang and Company) is a *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada for the Year 1904*, edited by Professor George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. As in previous years, the book and periodical literature is carefully examined; and, on account of the size of the output, much is done within the 230 pages of large type and wide edges. There is an additional author-index of ten pages. Contents are stated, often at some length; point of view noticed and criticized; and often the reviewer fills in gaps from his own store of knowledge. The editing is well done, and the value of the whole is increased by its early publication.

The University of Toronto Library has published as no. 1 of volume III of "University of Toronto Studies" *A Colony of Émigrés in Canada, 1798-1816*, by Lucy Elizabeth Textor. This essay in a new field is of considerable interest; the author explains that she found but little material in print, and her description of the manuscript sources upon which the work is based is an important part of the bibliography which prefaces the monograph. In successive steps are sketched the character of the Comte de Puisaye, his plan and its support by the English government, the personnel of the company of émigrés, their journey, the settlement at Windham, the breakdown of the colonization scheme, the difficulties in securing titles to land, and the later fortunes of the individual colonists.

An elaborate bibliography in which critical and descriptive comments abound is *Essai sur les sources de l'histoire des Antilles françaises, 1492-1664*, by Jacques de Dampierre, published as volume VI of "Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes" (Paris, A. Picard et Fils, 1904). In the introduction the principal American bibliographies are described, while the body of the work is in three chapters; the first is devoted to descriptive works, the second to narratives, the third to diplomatic sources, among which are included public documents and the principal collections of archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *List of Bibliographies Contained in United States Public Documents from June, 1903, to May, 1904* (Library Journal, May); Charles Cheyney Hyde, *Agreements of the United States other than Treaties* (The Green Bag, April); Felix Klein, *La Séparation aux États-Unis*, the legal history of the separation of church and state (Le Correspondant, April 10); Henry Loomis Nelson, *The Pleasant Life of Père Marquette* (Harper's Magazine, June); Francis W. Shepardson, *John Paul Jones* (The World To-Day, June); Adrian H. Joline, *Martin Van Buren, the Lawyer* (The Green Bag, March); Ulrich B. Phillips, *Transportation in the Ante-Bellum South: an Economic Analysis* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); *The Everetts in England*: extracts from the letters and diaries of Edward Everett's daughters during his ministry, 1841-1845 (Scribner's Magazine, June); George P. Fisher, *Webster and Calhoun in the Compromise Debate of 1850* (Scribner's Magazine, May); Seymour D. Thompson, *Lincoln and Douglas: the Great Freeport Debate* (American Law Review, March); George P. Fisher, *A Visit to Washington on the Eve of the Civil War* (Scribner's Magazine, June); Thomas M. Semmes, *A Pupil's Recollection of "Stonewall" Jackson* (Century, June); William Garrott Brown, *The Tenth Decade of the United States* (Atlantic Monthly, May and June); Charles H. Ambler, *Disfranchisement in West Virginia*, I (Yale Review, May); James Bain, *Canadian Public Documents* (Canadian Magazine, June); Paul Fauchille, *Le conflit de limites entre le Brésil et la Grande-Bretagne et la sentence arbitrale du Roi d'Italie*, with maps (Revue générale de Droit International Public, January).

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